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FACTS FORUM

NEWS

America's Most Thought-Provoking Magazine



Are "Right-to-Work" Laws Right?

George Meany, AFL-CIO President

HOW TO SAVE \$7.5 Billion a Year

Book Condensation of HOOVER COMMISSION REPORTS
as edited by FRANK C. HANIGHEN

"DEAR CONGRESSMAN" — Points for Letter Writers

plus...A Miniature Congressional Directory

READERS REPORT

People Must Choose V.P.

Mr. Irving Edinger, 15 Melvin Avenue, Brighton 35, Massachusetts, is a man with a plan — a plan in which he has been able to interest several members of Congress.

Mr. Edinger suggests that more thought and consideration should be given to the selection of men to occupy the Vice-Presidency. He writes:

The choice should not come about by arbitrary selection, which is contrary to basic democratic principles of this country, but by the choice and vote of the people. We do not have this privilege today. . . . There is no voice and no choice, and it is no better than a Russian election.

Mr. Edinger's plan is that delegates at both conventions would select a three-man slate for Vice-President, which would appear on the voting ballot. Voters would be permitted to vote for only one man on the slate they choose. Only the slate of the party winning the presidential election would be considered, and the candidate having the most votes would be elected. In this way the Vice-President can be selected by the popular vote of the people.

"I urge the readers to contact their representatives in Washington to do something about returning this privilege to them," writes Mr. Edinger.

A Healthy Bite of Jelly Beans

According to *The Bee* of Phillips, Wisconsin, second graders in the city schools, under the instruction of Mrs. Ned Slocum, meet twice weekly for a "64 Jelly Bean" game, which parallels the \$64,000 Question program of TV fame. The youngsters have devised a complete setup, including an isolation booth where they may deliberate on the questions in one of the 25 categories provided. Among these categories are spelling, arithmetic, science and reading questions.

Mr. Bob Taylor, 1767 P Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., who has sent us this information, suggests that the game might be made still more enlightening for our youth if teachers who wish to adopt the idea were to incorporate the income tax payment on the jelly bean winnings.

"We have been told," he comments, "that under income tax rules a youngster would have to win five hundred jelly beans in order to take home sixty-four. . . ."

"If the cackling of geese saved Rome, who is to say that a levy of jelly beans from youthful winners might not save America?"

Feeding His Lambs

A reader has forwarded to us copy of a bulletin from the Superintendent of Sayreville (N. J.) Public Schools, Mr. R. S. Pollack (Superintendent's Bulletin No. 14, December 6, 1955), in which he advises:

We are told, by the State Department in charge of enforcing the anti-discrimination statutes, that there is a growing feeling in various parts of the state with respect to the celebration of Christmas by special observances and exercises in public school. . . . It may be wise to consider, beginning at once, how the Christmas Program to be offered in your school could be re-planned so as to de-emphasize the sectarian religious aspect thereof and to emphasize instead the folklore values. . . . It is the opinion of your Superintendent that within the next three to ten years it will be required by the courts that the specifically religious aspect of the celebration be deleted from public school programs, and that it will become illegal to use some of the hymns and anthems that are now quite common, and that it will become necessary to avoid pageants involving the nativity, angels and similar props. It is suggested that it might be well to begin to re-plan this program in this direction so that the change-over is so gradual as to be unnoticeable to the general public over a period of years.

The question arises as to whether the purpose of such changed emphasis is, as stated in the bulletin, to avoid discrimination, or whether it is part of a much larger plan emanating from the Kremlin which would destroy our religious foundations by taking the Christ out of Christmas for our children.

Workers — American Style

Mailings received from the Volunteer Precinct Workers, Gold Feather Women of California, Box 2038 South Annex, Van Nuys, California, indicate that an admirable job is being done by this organization in informing others of developments in Congress, as well as local legislation pending, in recommending current literature of informative value to their members.

If you would like to plan such a bulletin for any group to which you belong, we suggest that you write to the Volunteer Precinct Workers for a sample copy of their mailings — simple and effective.

Orlando J-C Shows the Way

Arthur W. Schlichenmaier, 601 Clayton St., Orlando, Florida, writes:

The public schools here in Orlando, like most counties throughout the nation, were so overcrowded that the Junior Chamber of Commerce decided on some fast action. Rather than changing all the red tape of another election to raise school taxes, the association made a direct "CAN-VASS BY MAIL" to everyone in the county, to mail in money for the construction of new classrooms! Within a few weeks, thousands of dollars were raised, and the campaign is still in action. The directors of CLASSROOMS, INC., have already released more than \$10,000, and told the trustees to select the site for the first classroom to be built by the non-profit organization.

On the Political Scene

Many readers have written to us regarding third party movements and their activities. However, since it is necessary to work

well in advance of our publication date, readers' reports concerning such organizations as For America, We the People, or the Texas Constitution Party, have become outdated by the time *Facts Forum News* reaches publication.

It is significant, however, that the For America rally held at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Washington's birthday filled the hall with 3,600 present, despite a practical blackout of the press, and that 4,000 were turned away. All seats were reserved and sold out weeks in advance as a result of letters and a word-of-mouth campaign.

Readers who wish information regarding the FOR AMERICA movement may request from General Bonner Fellers at 1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. a copy of FOR AMERICA's political action program.

Free Men Speak, 7314 Zimpel Street, New Orleans 18, Louisiana, is a publication which provides excellent coverage on the activities of all new party movements.

Information regarding WE THE PEOPLE may be obtained by writing 35 E. Wacker Dr., Chicago 1, Illinois.

Bible Balloon Project

For the past four years, the Billy James Hargis Committee of the International Council of Christian Churches has released large numbers of balloons carrying portions of the Bible to the countries behind the Iron Curtain. In 1955, 250,000 portions of the Bible printed in Czech, Slovak, Polish, Russian and German were launched. These carried each capable of lifting five portions of the Bible, can float great distances, some as far as 3,000 land miles.

Churches and individuals throughout the United States help finance this crusade against communism.

Dr. Billy James Hargis, 1516 So. Boulevard, Tulsa, Oklahoma, internationally known evangelist and radio pastor, who has personally conducted each of the twelve launches, in referring to criticisms of this program by the Communist lands, tells us:

The claim that the oppressed souls in Communist lands enjoy religious freedom is untrue. The only religious leaders functioning behind the Iron Curtain are Red puppets, stooges of Moscow. The reports we have received from Communist lands speak of religious persecution and oppression unlike anything known in modern history.

According to Dr. Hargis, "Distribution of the Scriptures by this dramatic and unique method is having a softening effect on the hard, cruel atheistic control of the Iron Curtain countries." This conclusion was reached based upon information he has received from four anti-Communist groups working behind the Iron Curtain in underground activities.

What would you like to see in this column? Constructive suggestions for publication, recognition of patriots, who are connected with the news — all are welcome, including illustrative photographs or snapshots. Place your orders by writing: Readers Report, *Facts Forum News*, Dallas, Texas.

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Photo Credits: Page 9, Ruth Boyer Scott, Harris & Ewing
Back Cover, Mount Rushmore National Memorial, Wide World

BACK COVER: Mount Rushmore National Memorial in the Black Hills of W. South Dakota was established in 1929. On the granite face of the mountain four gigantic stone heads have been created, of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln — each measures 60 feet in height. These are the work of the sculptor Gutzon Borglum, who died in 1941.

TO ORDER FACTS FORUM NEWS REPRINTS

To encourage distribution of thought-provoking articles appearing in *Facts Forum News*, we are making reprints available when it is warranted by the interest of our readers. The following articles have been reprinted and may be obtained at prices shown, delivered:

	Less than 100	100	500	1,000	5,000 or more
Of Bread and Circuses Admiral Ben Moreell (Feb., 1956)	10c each	9.00	40.00	75.00	35.00 per 1,000
Constitution of the U. S. (12-page folder) (Jan., 1956)	15c each	14.50	70.00	130.00	
Any article containing: 2 pages or less	10c each	4.00	18.00	32.50	20.00 per 1,000
3 or 4 pages	10c each	7.50	35.00	60.00	25.00 per 1,000
5 to 8 pages	10c each	9.00	40.00	75.00	35.00 per 1,000

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IN THE Next Issue

OF

Facts Forum News

READ ABOUT

Art

The Director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, René d'Harnoncourt, in writing of *Modern Art and Freedom* disagrees with the article which appeared in our February issue, *Art For Whose Sake?* by Esther Julia Pels.

Communist Party, U.S.A.

The fourth and final installment of the Handbook for Americans prepared by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The Case For and Against Foreign Aid.

What is the relation between foreign aid and collective security? Between poverty and communism? Does our aid win us friends and good will? These and other pertinent questions will be discussed.

Southern States and Interposition

Proponents' and critics' views on interposition and its relation to the question of segregation will serve to clarify the issue for our readers.

Right-to-work laws promise to be a major campaign issue in the coming presidential election. No doubt the newly-wedded AFL-CIO will wield its tremendous political power against these laws, while proponents of such laws will be equally vigorous in their support. In the tradition of *Facts Forum* this vital and controversial question is examined from opposing points of view.



Are "Right-to-Work"

Yes

say those who feel that compulsory unionism is another name for creeping communism. Arguments those favoring right-to-work laws are as follows:

MANY people regard the current movements toward compulsory union membership as wayward cancer cells, spreading malignantly through the bloodstream of America.

One newspaper has labeled compulsory unionism "depersonalization."¹ Submergence of self is another way of putting it. To join or not to join — it seems that this will no longer be the question if unions have their way. Workers will be forced to join a union.

It has been said that unscrupulous politicians, gangsters, and some labor leaders are banding together in an ever-increasing manner. Losers from such an alliance are, first, the workers; and, second, the public at large.²

When the time comes that a worker cannot work at a job except by belonging to a union, with subsequent support of same, he becomes, in effect, a victim of "government without consent of the governed."³

Granted, union membership by compulsion does make the union strong. At the same time this captive membership makes it possible for unions to expand and pursue courses which may be at variance with the

workers' viewpoints. Compulsory unionism vests great power in a few. And, while labor unions have many great and honest leaders, they have also small and dishonest ones. While good leaders may build mighty machines for worthy purposes, bad leaders may later operate them with evil intent. All they need is the chance. Voluntary unionism is the best defense against bad operation.⁴

Critics cite, to illustrate how far the unions have come — the wrong way — an excerpt from Samuel Gompers' final presidential address to the AFL Convention, El Paso, Texas, 1924:

"... I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty — the principles of voluntarism. No compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible..."

It may be hard for many to believe that this was the message of Gompers, that "Grand Old Man" of Labor. Compare that approach to the unions of today, which, some allege, are getting fat and happy on the sweat of the workers.

Again, from the speech of Gompers:

"So long as we have held fast to voluntary principles and have been actuated and inspired by the spirit of service, we have sustained our forward progress and we have made our labor movement something to be respected and accorded a place

in the councils of our Republic. Where we have blundered into trying to force a policy or a decision, even though wise and right, we have impeded, if not interrupted, the realization of our aims.

"... Base your all upon voluntary principles..."

It seems to be the consensus (certainly a revolutionary consensus) today that a citizen has to belong to a pay union dues to a labor organization in order that he may be permitted to work and earn his livelihood. This tenet is contrary to our free democratic system of government. It violates individual freedom and right of choice, and it is unconstitutional as well. Economic slavery might well be the term applied to forcing a person to join an organization in order to enjoy the privilege of working.⁵

Some declare that not only does this violate the constitutional rights of the people, but it may well perpetuate parasitic union control members, honest or not. And, worst of all, since there is little nationwide opposition to this social "disease," our federal government, too often the tool of pressure groups, has fallen in with organized labor, state laws notwithstanding. As a matter of fact, the tendency is for courts to rule that states will be prohibited from enacting labor legislation where the federal government has

(Continued on Page 2)

¹"A Laboring Man Looks at Labor," by Joseph A. Byrd, *The Tablet*, Mar. 19, 1955.

²"Forced Membership Steals Your Freedom," pamphlet issued by National Right to Work Committee, not dated, p. 13.

³"The Case for Voluntary Unionism," pamphlet issued by Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., not dated, p. 8.

⁴"The Case for Voluntary Unionism," issued by Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., not dated, p. 9.

⁵"The Right to Work," published by National Right to Work Committee, Washington, D. C.



EXPLANATION OF TERMS

1. **CLOSED SHOP:** Employees are required to be union members at time of hiring and must remain in good standing during employment period.
2. **MAINTENANCE OF MEMBERSHIP:** Union members must remain members (in good standing) for agreement duration.
3. **MODIFIED UNION SHOP:** Employees who were hired before union shop was established will not be required to join the union.
4. **PREFERENTIAL HIRING:** Union members hired when available. When unavailable, employer may hire other workers who need not become union members.
5. **UNION SECURITY:** Provided in a union/employer contract that union membership is a condition of employment.
6. **UNION SHOP:** Employees need not be union members when hired, but must join union, usually within 30 to 60 days, and remain union members through duration of employment.
7. **UNION SHOP WITH PREFERENTIAL HIRING:** Agreement sets forth that union members shall be given employment preference, or that union shall do hiring.⁶

Right to Work Laws Right?

No

say those who contend that right-to-work laws will wreck labor unions, with workers as the ultimate losers. This reasoning is given below:



MAGAZINE and press proponents of right-to-work laws, working overtime on their tired "tripewriters," have gathered, so to speak, not to praise labor but to belittle it. They would have one believe that the labor movement is not responsible to a considerable degree for bringing about social and economic reforms and helping to enrich the lives of millions of Americans. With often odious and indelicate phrasings said proponents direct attention toward Big Labor, that monstrous vampire which, the ubiquitous "they" claim, is siphoning away the life's blood of democracy, of our American way of life.

To explain how unfounded are the claims of union security detractors, certain background data about our changing cultural scene are important:

The past hundred years have witnessed a vast change in types of employment.

The dominant type of business today is the huge, impersonal corporation employing thousands of workers, frequently in establishments that are located in different parts of the country.

The individual worker on his own is at a distinct disadvantage in trying to influence the company's decision regarding his wages, hours and working conditions.¹

The time was when the bulk of American workers were self-employed—farmers, mechanics, etc. They were

their own bosses; they worked the hours which suited them best. Now, however, culture changes have shrunk rural employment and rural population, and enlarged urban population and urban employment. Some 80 per cent of the present working population consists of those who work for wages. The remainder are either self-employed or are employers.²

In view of the foregoing percentages one may see that four out of five workers are dependent on employers for jobs. And, working for the employer, they are subject to his working conditions and schedules. The individual is, in the main, all but helpless in trying to influence the employer in matters of salary, hours, etc. Without union security he might as well joust with windmills as try to influence Big Management. He is forced to accept salary and working conditions which are thrust on him by his employer. He is, in brief, a puppet on a string, to be dangled at will by a possible big, bullying management, a management which may well treat him with polite inconsideration and be attentively indifferent to his outraged outcries.

This is where the union comes in. Through organizational strength the union speaks for the individual worker and lends the strength he lacks. Through the union he is strong

enough to "stand up and be counted." This was recognized in the Wagner Act. Also, it was carried in Section 1 of the Taft-Hartley Act:

Experience has proved that protection by laws of the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively safeguards commerce from injury, impairment, or interruption, and promotes the flow of commerce by removing certain recognized sources of industrial strife and unrest, by encouraging practices fundamental to the friendly adjustment of industrial disputes arising out of differences as to wages, hours, or other working conditions, and by restoring equality of bargaining power between employers and employees.

The banding together for mutual protection and advancement goes back a number of years. Since the Civil War, farmers have organized into associations and cooperatives, seeking help from the government and stabilization of markets. Also, the American Bar Association is another example, as well as the American Medical Association, to which almost all physicians belong. The union shop developed in the printing trade before the Civil War.³

This, then, is why unions regard the states' rights-to-work laws as an unnecessary evil. These laws prevent

(Continued on Page 5)

¹"The Right-to-Work Controversy," *Labor's Economic Review*, January, 1956, Vol. 1.

²U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Extent of Collective Bargaining and Union Recognition, 1946*, Bulletin No. 909.

³"The Right-to-Work Controversy," *Labor's Economic Review*, January, 1956, Vol. 1.

⁴"Right to Work Laws," *Facts Forum News*, March, 1955, Vol. 4.

already taken legislative action. Additionally, state laws are the No. 1 target of national labor unions.

It is said that if union officials are allowed to have their way, the sixty million working people in this country, two-thirds of whom belong to no union, will eventually be able to keep no job without a union's say-so. Call it social dictatorship or whatever—in this case a thorn by any other name is still a thorn. There will be both economic and political domination of the country. Especially is this true since the marriage of AFL and CIO. And now the wary wonder whether a cretin offspring will inherit the earth, literally.

The newlyweds have announced, as objectives, a repeal of the 18-state right-to-work laws, as well as amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act. And, if the wedded bliss continues, the country may well "enjoy" an unofficial labor dictatorship.

The favorite argument of union officials against a man who works at a job and accepts raises, bettered working conditions, etc., secured for him by the union to which he does not belong, is that he is a "free rider." This, most agree, is a half-truth, cleverly camouflaged more often than not by evasive gobbledygook. He is no more a free rider than is the man who benefits from the work of various charity, community and religious organizations to which he has contributed nothing.

By the same token, state the scoffers, could not unions themselves be termed "free riders"? Certainly they pay no taxes, but they receive governmental services through the medium

of any one of a number of agencies.

The "free rider" thing was backhanded by the Supreme Court of Nebraska in a decision that the union shop contract between the Union Pacific Railroad and several railroad unions was illegal, this under the First Amendment to the Constitution. The Court made the following statement:

Assuming it would be reasonable to require free riders to pay their proportionate share of the cost of collective bargaining . . . we do not think the means selected has any real and substantial relation to the object sought to be obtained.

First, and primarily . . . his right to join or not to join a union, has no relationship to the object sought, and, second, by requiring him to pay initiation fees, dues and assessments, he is required to pay for many things besides the cost of collective bargaining.⁶

Taking note of the fact that unions had welfare funds, participated in lobbying and political activities, etc., which were not directly associated with collective bargaining per se, the Court said:

In some instances, compulsory membership would compel support, financial and otherwise, of policies which an employee might deem objectionable from the standpoint of free government and the liberties of the individual under it.

To compel an employee to make involuntary contributions, from his compensation, for such purposes is a taking of his property without due process of law.⁷

It is common knowledge that, as a rule, the employer who forces compulsory unionism on a minority of his employees doesn't like the task. He does this to placate the unions, so that he may stay in business.

Leaders of labor unions realize that mass picketing has been prohibited by

⁶"The Right to Work National Newsletter," Aug. 15, 1955, Vol. I, No. 5, published by the National Right to Work Committee, Washington, D. C.

⁷*Ibid.*

state law in many places, and that picketing always leads to violence. Nevertheless, they go ahead with their mass demonstrations, wanting to frighten the workers who wish to return to work. In times past some employers used to intimidate workers by the use of "goon squads." The courts punished them for this. But now days labor unions are so strong that they are almost above the law; they can threaten to defeat mayors and governors if they use public authority to put down violence.⁸

Paradoxically, America spends millions on defense, and it spends great sums checking security risks. Yet seems unperturbed by the fact that thousands of citizens are losing their civil liberties one by one.

. . . One simple amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act (repeal of the section known as 14-B) would remove the states' right to pass and enforce Right to Work Laws, and would wipe out the laws in all eighteen states.

. . . The big labor union leaders, reinforced in their gigantic political power through the . . . AFL and CIO merger, are determined to seek this amendment to Taft-Hartley in the next Congress . . .

The Right Honorable Lord Justice Denning, Lord Justice of Appeal in England, in a speech before a Philadelphia session of the American Bar Association, said that, although trade unions in both our countries provide workmen with greater bargaining power, they also led to the closing of a shop. And a man had no right to work there unless he was a member of a particular trade union. And this, he pointed out, led to private tribunals where there was no recourse to courts of law when a man was punished. He made the following statements:

When a man joins a trade union he is bound by the rules. They are said to be a contract between the men themselves and between them and the union. But they are in no sense a contract freely negotiated. A man must accept them or go without employment. . . .

I suggest that where the law falls short is that it puts too much emphasis on the supposed contract between the man and his union and too little emphasis on his right to work.

. . . His right to work is left open to marauders. If he is wrongfully deprived of his right to work, the courts should intervene to protect him. They should also protect him against wrongful exclusion by a union.⁹

Lord Justice Denning quoted Charles Geddes, chairman of the British Trade Unions Congress, as saying:

(Continued on Page 5)



The late Samuel Gompers, AFL's "grand old man of labor," testifying before a House Judiciary Committee. Against compulsory unionism, Gompers said, ". . . Base your all upon voluntary principles."

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

⁸"Westinghouse Mass Pickets Called Foes of Rights," by David Lawrence, N. Y. Herald Tribune, January 4, 1956.

⁹"The Right to Work—A Basic Moral Issue," address by E. S. Dillard, Chairman, National Right to Work Committee.

¹⁰"The Right to Work National Newsletter," 1955, Vol. I, No. 6, Washington, D. C.

No (Continued from Page 3)

unions from extending. They hamper in any one of a large number of ways. In actuality these laws are conducive to low-wage incomes. And, as such, they have a bad effect on the entire community. Low wages mean low living standards.⁴

State right-to-work laws involve, of course, states' rights. In essence, states' rights means an issue of governmental authority between the federal government and the states, with the states maintaining that the issue should be settled in their favor.

The entire thing is a matter of terminology. For example, states' rights as such in labor relations merely disguises. Essentially, these rights would empower the states to add state restrictions to those of the federal law; they would be in addition to them.⁵

It should be obvious to all that a national economy requires national economic policies. If all states adopt right-to-work laws, there might well be forty-eight different laws. National firms buy and sell in the national market. Multiplant firms, with plants in various states, might well run afoul of a seemingly nightmarish hodgepodge of industrial relations. Mix state laws with an additional federal law, and the nightmare would become real.

A favorite argument of those proponents of right-to-work laws is that a man needs no union security. If his job doesn't come up to his expectations, or if the working conditions are unsatisfactory, or if there are any other numbers of ways in which he is unhappy with his job—why, let him quit! Let him move on to another job that he likes better.

This is a ridiculous philosophy. A serious worker knows he will find no greener pastures over the next hill, no matter how many hills he crosses. Without union strength to bolster his own puny might, he could wait forever for an indulgent management to get around to giving him some of the things he believes he deserves. But this worker's weak cry, joined with other cries, combine to form a shout easily distinguished by the sensitive ears of management.

It is extremely easy for a high-salaried executive to be objective about the rights of workers—he is on the inside looking out. But what of the man who is on the outside looking in, who may lack the formal education or skill necessary to hold down a preferred job? Perhaps this man knows only one trade, and it would work a considerable hardship on him and his



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Secretary of Labor James Mitchell. Mitchell, at a CIO national convention, defended compulsory unionism and condemned state laws prohibiting such a policy.

family to quit his job and move to another location.

Motives for having right-to-work laws are legion. States often pass anti-union laws in order to attract industry their way. By maintaining a low-wage area, they think they can lure industry their way by an anti-union Circe song. Industry which does this can make a "killing" by manufacturing in a low-wage area and selling in a high-wage area. For this reason, perhaps, the South offers considerable inducement with its right-to-work laws. This may be a contributing factor in the increasing industrialization of the South. Also, the absence of anti-injunction laws may be a factor in the growth in southern developments.⁶

An editorial in an Oklahoma newspaper stated that Texas and Arkansas are attracting around ten times as many industries as Oklahoma. It stated, further, that these states had no more to offer industry than Oklahoma—in fact they were inferior in some respects. The reason advanced for this was that Oklahoma doesn't have laws assuring industry that unions will not impede them. The article pointed up that Oklahoma couldn't compete with its neighboring states, nor with other states which had right-to-work legislation.⁷

That right-to-work laws are low-wage laws is more or less self evident. Our nation is in need of a high wage economy. Our country has had an all but unlimited productive potential. But more important is the maintenance

and increase of consumption. If we do not have employment at high wages, we cannot find buyers.⁸

A depression cycle comes when wages fall and consumption subsequently falls. The states themselves bear out this tenet—high-wage states are prosperous, and low-wage states are not. Further, the tenet is borne out by countries of Europe. Italy and France, even with the United States' aid, are always having economic difficulty. England has fared better because wages have climbed.

According to law, it is the union's responsibility to see that there are peaceful settlements of grievances, and that the work is carried out. Surely the union cannot do these things adequately if it does not have full control of all the workers and can insure management that non-union members won't stop work, violating the union workers' contract. Also, to those who criticize the power of unions, they must realize that unions have to have power to discipline workers who violate their contract.⁹ Thus, if there is a minority of non-union members, they may well keep the union in hot water.

The National Planning Association pointed out that employers saw advantages in bargaining with a well-disciplined union, and were prone to encourage workers to join such an organization.¹⁰

When the union has a closed shop, there is elimination of friction to a marked degree. There is no competition between diverse labor groups. No two or more unions will be working the same side of the street, so to speak. The result of such competition would be unrest among the employees. Management, too, would suffer from such a situation.

With a closed shop the union would be in a better position to bargain with management. It would not have to seek to impress the workers and subsequently get them to join the union by showing how strong they were by wangling new concessions from management. A strong union, firmly entrenched, would not have to be constantly proving its strength. Its strength would already be a matter of record. Also, it would not seek new advantages when business conditions did not warrant it. Too, the workers themselves would feel that they had a personal interest in their jobs, inasmuch as they had a voice in their working conditions.¹¹

(Continued on Page 7)

⁸The Case Against "Right-to-Work" Laws, published by Congress of Industrial Organizations, not dated, p. 29.

⁹Golden & Ruttenberg, *Dynamics of Industrial Democracy*, p. 212 (1942).

¹⁰*Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining—Fundamentals of Labor Peace*, p. 74 (1953).

¹¹*Studies in Personnel Policy No. 12, The Closed Shop* (1939), pp. 6-7.

⁴"Labor Factors in the Industrial Development of the South," *Southern Economic Journal*, October, 1951, pp. 201-02.

⁷Quoted in Oklahoma State Industrial Union Council, CIO, *A Legal, Economic and Statistical Survey of So-Called "Right-to-Work" Legislation*, p. 16.

⁵The Case Against "Right-to-Work Laws," published by Congress of Industrial Organization, not dated, page not numbered.

Yes (Continued from Page 4)

I do not believe the trade union movement of Great Britain can live for very much longer on the basis of compulsion.

Must people belong to us or starve, whether they like our policies or not? Is that to be the future of the movement? No. I believe the trade union card is an honor to be conferred, not a badge which signifies that you have got to do something whether you like it or not.¹¹

Speaking to the same group, Mr. J. C. Gibson, vice president and general counsel of the Santa Fe railroad, said:

... Compulsory union membership ... reflects an awareness of a threat to our free way of life inherent in compelling a man to join a private organization before he can hold any sort of job in industry ...

Here, as in every other instance through the centuries, an attempt is being made to justify the deprivation of individual liberty on the grounds that it is in the best interests of everyone, including those whose rights are being curtailed or taken away. But in this case, as in so many others, the reasons advanced are insufficient.¹²

Fred A. Hartley, Jr., president of The National Right to Work Committee and co-author of the Taft-Hartley Act, declared that compulsory unionism is the cancer of the labor movement. To avoid dictatorship he emphasized that our country must stop compulsory unionism. He said that union shop with control of the working man "increases the power of the union leaders over the politicians. . . The drive for compulsion is a drive for power. The demands of some union leaders are insatiable. . . They want eventually to control everything and everybody. . ."¹³

One application for union membership read much like a giant giveaway of rights. Exacting, in essence, blind obedience, it authorized the union to act for the worker before any committee, board, court or other tribunal in any way that affected his employee status. More, it represented and bound him in the prosecution, adjustment and settlement of all kinds — in short, stripped him of all personal rights and free will.

There are eighteen states which have right-to-work laws. Twelve of them have banned forced membership in unions since 1947. Their contention is that these laws protect the rights of their citizens to work, and they may or may not choose to belong to a union, as they prefer.

Of those twelve states which have banned forced union membership since 1947, all either match or exceed



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Former Representative Fred A. Hartley, Jr., and the late Senator Robert Taft, co-authors of the Taft-Hartley Bill, curbing labor unions. Hartley is now president of the National Right to Work Committee.

national average gains in retail sales, bank savings accounts, per capita earnings, private auto registrations, total firms in operation, and a number of others. These twelve states are Texas, Virginia, Tennessee, South Dakota, North Dakota, Arkansas, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Nebraska and North Carolina (Florida since 1944). The six other states are South Carolina, Utah, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Nevada. These have passed laws since 1947, and government statistics are hardly significant enough as yet to prove anything.

Those in favor of right-to-work laws do not claim that they are solely responsible for the above gains, but certainly the laws were an important factor, they state.

Forty years ago Justice Charles Evans Hughes, in *Truax vs. Raich*, 239 U.S. 33 (1915), stated:

It requires no argument to show that the right to work for a living in the common occupations of the community is of the very essence of the personal freedom and opportunity that it was the purpose of the Amendment to secure.

The Amendment Justice Hughes referred to was the Fourteenth.

Not only are such rights provided for in our constitution, but they are recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. Section 1 of Article 23 states:

Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work, and to protection against unemployment.

Article 20 provides the following:

¹⁴"The Legal and Moral Basis of Right to Work Laws," distributed by The National Right to Work Committee, Washington, D. C., p. 9.

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.¹⁵

In 1941 President Roosevelt said that the government would never force workers to join a union. "That," he stated, "would be too much like the Hitler methods toward labor."¹⁶

Powerful labor officials can, overnight, bring about an economic crisis. They can stop production of vital minerals and metals and can stall transportation. By the same token, workers may be forced into membership in a union that is Communist-dominated. The workers will not be able to oust leaders who they believe are not loyal to our country. These union leaders, in the main, are doubtless loyal Americans, but the labor movement has not been able to weed out all those of doubtful loyalty. Thus, compulsory unionism gives the American worker no choice but to belong to such a union; either that or forfeit his job. Too, no matter how aboveboard a man may be, it is a matter of record that later some stronger man will rise to dominate his group. Mr. E. S. Dillard, Chairman, National Right to Work Committee, stated in an address:

If a labor union is operated on dictatorial principles, it soon becomes another foundation stone in building a type of government operated on dictatorial principles. If we do not halt the spread of compulsion in this field — compulsion under which the rights of the individual are sacrificed for the "good" of the state (that "good" being determined by one or a small group of leaders) — then we will bid our competitive free enterprise system goodbye and sacrifice our freedom on the altar of stupidity, management avarice and covardice.¹⁶

Unions, in their publications and otherwise, do their utmost to convince workers that a union shop is for the benefit instead of the benefit of union officials. However, a mere one-fourth of American labor is unionized. It is obvious that the other three-fourths feel that they have little to gain from unions.

Mr. Dillard remarked further:

It is neither fair, American, nor constitutional to place a decision concerning fundamental personal liberties and individual rights in the hands of others.

American history and all history justify the principle that "the means justifies the end" to be the most iniquitous and dangerous precept affecting the interests of both the individual and the whole community. That is the Communist doctrine — the doctrine of complete immorality and total disregard of Christian principles and the rights and dignity of the individual.

(Continued on Page 6)

¹¹"The Right to Work National Newsletter," Oct., 1955, Vol. I, No. 6, Washington, D. C.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle*, Oct. 19, 1955.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁵"The Right to Work — a Basic Moral Issue," address by E. S. Dillard, Chairman, National Right to Work Committee.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

The advantages of a union are manifold. For example, the union hall is, in certain industries, to union workers what the employment office is to others.

... Aside from every other consideration, the union is essentially the only vehicle through which the employer can recruit the labor force he needs for a specific contract. It is virtually impossible for the employer to get workers of the requisite skill from the labor market at large...

Skilled craftsmen cannot be secured expeditiously in any usable quantity unless the union directs workers to a particular job. This direction may involve the labor force in a particular craft for a whole region, as when several thousand iron workers are needed on a large-scale project. It is impossible for the contractor to do this on his own or even with the assistance of the United States Employment Service unless the union recruiting machinery is utilized.¹²

As for the worker in a union shop who doesn't join the union, yet who reaps all the benefits which the union secures for its members, he is known as a free rider and a chiseler. He is reaping where he has not sown.¹³ This is comparable with a man living in a community and refusing to pay taxes, as his neighbors have to do.

The non-union employee might be regarded as parasitic. He spins not, and neither does he weave, yet he enjoys all the union-bought benefits. Worse, setting a bad example, other workers might follow in his path. Few men want to pay for industrial citizenship privileges if they see that they can get them for nothing.

Trade unions not only need dues to carry on their work, but they need member participation to discuss issues and pass on them in elections. Only in this way can a democratic union function.

Many union members maintain that those who do not see the "light," have a relative stupidity of 100 per cent. As for workers in non-union shops, more than one has got the "word" when he awoke to the fact that all work and no pay was making him a poor boy. Indeed, when he discovered he was losing his pants, literally, his testimonial might well be phrased, "A hitch in time saved mine."

The right-to-work laws are often thought of as right-to-wreck laws. They might be construed as meaning that a man has the right to work as a free rider. Clarence Darrow once remarked that there can be no right to

work without a place to work. It is the right of management to go out into the labor marketplace and bid for workers on any terms they choose. A man's right to work is at all times contingent on his being able to find someone who will hire him. And even then he may well be refused this "inalienable" right on the slightest pretext.

Unions do not claim that there are not abuses of the union shop and closed union. However, most unions are against discrimination because of race or color or creed, and they try to prohibit this discrimination by others.¹⁴

Actually, some unions are not in favor of a closed union. Walter Reuther made the following statement:

... In the UAW-CIO we have never asked for a closed shop.

... We endorse the principle of the closed shop because in certain industries we think it is essential. In the maritime industry, for example, we think that the closed-shop and the hiring-hall arrangement is essential because of the nature of that industry. However, we think that the approach ought to be to meet the abuses rather than to outlaw the principle; I personally think that it is wrong for a union to have a closed membership in which they attempt to build a labor monopoly, in order to exploit the advantages of a nonopoly.

... I think if you had legislation which said, "We will give labor a certain period to clean its own house and to make these corrections itself," and it failed to do it you might then have to have corrective legislation; that is a better approach rather than outlawing the principle of the closed shop even in those industries where there are no abuses.¹⁵

There are those who would have the worker believe that he is "smothered" by his union, that he has no

¹⁴The Case Against "Right-to-Work" Laws, published by CIO, not dated.

¹⁵"Taft-Hartley Act Revisions," Hearings before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U. S. Senate, 83rd Congress, 1st Session, Pt. 1, pp. 410-12 (1953).

protection against union abuses. This has no basis in fact. Not only does the worker have a voice in his representative union, but he has available to him remedies in the courts and the National Labor Relations Board.¹⁶ Additionally, not only can the union member take part in the policy making of his union, but he has the opportunity to elect the men who negotiate with management. Moreover, under the Labor-Management Relations Act, employees can vote in a new bargaining agency if it does not reflect their interests.

A paradox of the Union Security and Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Law is that the states' rights are operative when a state wants to apply more harsh restrictions. But these states' rights are not operative when a state wants to apply more liberal standards of union security.¹⁷

When the Taft-Hartley Law was being debated in Congress, Senator Wayne Morris made the following statement:

Thus, we lay down in the bill a very full and complete national policy as to closed- and union-shop agreements. At the same time, the bill provides in Section 14(b) however, that the national policy may be entirely disregarded and superseded by the States if they desire to impose a more restrictive policy on the same subject matter. A more pointed instance of anti-labor bias could hardly be envisaged than this alleged minor change in the bill.¹⁸

To show further advantages of union membership, unions sometimes act in capacities other than collective bargaining. President of Auto Workers Walter Reuther asked Congress to plug a gap in the Social Security Act as follows:

Terming the failure to cover workers suffering from long-term disabilities "the

¹⁶The Case Against "Right-to-Work" Laws, op. cit., p. 89.

¹⁷The Case Against "Right-to-Work" Laws, published by CIO, not dated, p. 96.

¹⁸93 Congressional Record 6456 (1947).

Three-way handshake of George Meany, Walter Reuther and Adlai E. Stevenson in New York City, Dec. 8. Is this three-way 'shake prophetic?



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

¹²"Taft-Hartley Act Revisions" Hearings, U. S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 83rd Congress, 1st Session, Part I, pp. 504-5 (1953).

¹³Jerome L. Toner, *The Closed Shop*, p. 169 (1942).

Yes (Continued from Page 6)

The merging of AFL-CIO has brought tremendous power to the union politically. Some believe that Big Labor officials, many who think in terms of "Me, the people!" are geared for a big political coup in the forthcoming presidential election. Probably millions will be spent by Big Labor on propaganda alone in the 1956 election. And, needless to say, there are those who will succumb to a line of reasoning slanted skillfully for radio, newspapers and other media. Labor itself most likely will be a major campaign issue, and whoever wins the Democratic nomination — should he be elected to the presidency — doubtless will be indebted to Big Labor for being the dominating force responsible.

Perhaps the favorite philosophy of compulsory unionists is that such a



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
The late President Roosevelt at a broadcast from the White House. Said F.D.R., "The government would never force workers to join a union. That would be too much like the Hitler methods toward labor."

system has its basis in our system of government — rule of the majority. This comparison delights such proponents. A more incorrect analogy could hardly be drawn; rather, Americans have always championed the individual, the minority.¹⁸ Our civil liberties were blood-bought. Are we to let them be spirited away, one by one?

The logical place for Communists in this country is in labor unions. And labor leaders are being converted to democratic socialism.¹⁹ This appears to be watered-down communism — in effect, the semi-sugar-coating of a bitter pill.

Perhaps Abraham Lincoln said it best — "No man is good enough to govern another man without the other's consent."

¹⁸"The Case for Voluntary Unionism," a pamphlet issued by Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., not dated, p. 14.

¹⁹Congressional Digest, Feb., 1956, p. 64, Vol. 35, No. 2, Washington, D. C.

No (Continued from Page 7)

most serious omission" of the Social Security Act . . . Reuther told the Senate Finance Committee that the American people expect Congress "to plug up this most conspicuous gap" this year.²⁰

After all is said and done, if right-to-work laws gain a toe-hold, subsequently they will gain a stranglehold on unions. The result will be that the worker can't help but end up low man on the totem pole. It is time our citizenry availed themselves of pertinent facts, of the part unions have played and are continuing to play in the development of these, our United States of America.

And as for all the current misinformation regarding communism in

²⁰"Reuther Asks Congress Act on Disability," AFL-CIO News, February 25, 1956.

unions, especially in the larger unions, George Meany, president of AFL-CIO made the following statements at Seton Hall University:

We, of American labor, firmly oppose all forms of dictatorship.

We vigorously support our free system of government. We realize that, without a free system of government, there can be neither free labor nor free enterprise. Communism and every other totalitarian despotism is the deadly enemy of free labor unions. Free labor unionism and totalitarianism simply cannot coexist. They negate each other. . . .

Nor can I emphasize sufficiently that communism is likewise the mortal foe of private capital, private ownership, and the private management of industry.

. . . So far, communism has never gained a position anywhere except by fraud, force, and terror. In spite of all its loud propaganda to the contrary, communism has never given any people any-

thing free. So far, Moscow has done infinitely more taking from, than giving to, other peoples.²¹

So spoke George Meany, president of AFL-CIO, who has never taken part in a strike in his life. Also, as a union official, he has never ordered workers to strike or to organize picket lines.²¹

Does this sound like party line pamphulum or opiate for the masses, as some would have us believe? A union exists through its workers; truly, they are the reason for being. Unions of the workers, by the workers and for the workers . . .

Our very Government itself is based on such a democratic system.

²⁰Address by AFL-CIO president George Meany at Seton Hall University, Congressional Record, February 24, 1956, pp. 2878-79.

²¹"Meany at the Summit," by Harold Lord Vane, American Mercury, February, 1956.



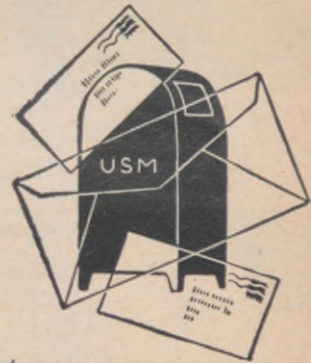
WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Red glow of the Bessemer lights the sky above the National Tube Company, McKeesport, Pa. Such plants, claim Big Labor, are representative of the progress made in industry with the help of organized labor.

Things have changed since you...

How do I go about...

Our club is interested in...

I wish you'd do something about...



"Dear Congressman:"

I am just a housewife, but...

There ought to be a law against...

Have you put off "writing Washington" because you don't have the "know-how"? Or because you think one letter won't do any good? Read these suggestions, refer to the list on the following pages, and then send your thoughts to Washington! Your congressmen are waiting to hear from you — the people!



The Author

YOU'RE wasting your time, writing Congress about legislation," Bill said to his neighbor. "An individual hasn't a chance. It takes a big organization to put over a letter campaign."

"I listened for the reply. 'Maybe so, maybe not,' John answered. 'To make sure, I'm going to put the facts as I see them in a letter to my congressman.'"

What happens to letters like John's? I decided to follow the mail into the offices of senators and representatives to learn for myself how effective letters are from individual men and women. The best way to gauge this is to listen to the persons who receive your letters.

Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Republican congresswoman from Ohio since 1940, talks about Mrs. Anna V. Coleman, "Cleveland's battling widow," who once wrote suggesting legislation to end taxes levied on pensions of widows of policemen and firemen.

"Widows receive such a pittance," Mrs. Coleman wrote, "that surely they should not be required to pay taxes on it."

"I was glad to introduce a bill at her request," says Mrs. Bolton. "Its provisions were incorporated in the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 — exempting up to \$1,200 of pensions and annuities from income taxes of all persons."

Senator John J. Sparkman, of Alabama, Democratic candidate for Vice President in 1952, tells of veterans in his state who wrote that they'd tried to buy GI housing in rural areas, but couldn't get mortgage lenders.

"Their letters," he says, "helped to bring about the direct loan on GI houses, which I sponsored and which has helped thousands to get homes who couldn't have otherwise." By this legislation certain areas of the country are designated as "direct-loan areas" for GI housing.

HOW TO GET ACTION

What kind of letters bring about such immediate action? The heart of what I learned is that your letters will get attention if they are legible, specific, clear, and brief, stating what you're for or against, and why.

While your idea won't go automatically into a law and may never inspire a separate law, many such ideas are incorporated into the big general laws, like housing, taxation, and social security.

A typewritten letter is preferable, but many handwritten letters com-

mand respect because of their constructive ideas. But be sure that the writing is easily read, and take extra pains to be brief. It's the 6- to 10-page illegibly handwritten letter that is a waste of effort.

Mimeographed letters are also discouraging. As one congressman put it, "We don't know whether John Smith intended to send the letter or merely signed it as a favor to his organization's legislative chairman, who passed out 200 copies at a meeting."

KEEP LETTERS BRIEF

Keep in mind the tremendous demand on a congressman's time. If he reaches his office at 9 a.m. (some come earlier, some later), he has only an hour till 10 a.m. committee meetings to read mail, see visitors, review pending legislation, and sign letters. So five or six rambling pages may destroy the value of your letter. Your representative may read his short letters and put yours aside for more time that may never come.

Being brief will also help you to be specific. If a person writes, "I wish you'd do something about my housing," the recipient doesn't know whether the writer is concerned with rental housing, house buying, or house building.

Whom do you write? Because the liaison between Senate and House is far from perfect, you're wise to write both to your own representative and

Appeared in *Family Circle* for January, 1956, under the title, "Your Congressman Wants A Piece of Your Mind." Used by permission.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Typical of the reaction to a highly controversial issue in Congress is this flood of mail stacked on tables and overflowing to the floor of the Senate post office. An average day, however, brings about 100 letters to each congressman. These letters influence their votes and help to "keep them on their toes."

to your two senators.

The advantages in doing so are that they have a personal interest in your vote and will probably refer your letter to the congressional committee concerned. They can give it added weight if, instead of sending it with a formal note, they write the committee, "We think this suggestion merits your attention." It's an extra asset if your senator or representative is on the committee concerned. He may himself introduce your idea into the legislation.

"Write each person a separate letter," one congressman warned. "It's only human, when a letter is marked 'copy,'" he said, "for each party to discount its importance, assuming the other recipient has given it full attention."

It's particularly effective to present your ideas for legislation directly to a chairman of a committee. That way they will certainly go to the committee staff, which culls the ideas from all letters, puts like ideas together, and works some into actual wording of legislation. It makes no difference to most committee staffs whether the writers are people of prominence or ordinary folk. The well-thought-out

letter is judged on its merit. As one committee staff member told me, "Little people can have big ideas."

Any library or government office has the blue-bound *Congressional Directory*, with the names of committee chairmen and all members of House and Senate. There's a separate listing of committee assignments of all members of Congress.

Sometimes it's a puzzler to find which committee has a bill. If you don't know, you can write first to find out, or write to the most probable committee, trusting that your letter will be forwarded, if necessary.

You can assume in writing that the Congress member or committee chairman is friendly. The crank letter or the vituperative letter may be answered formally but is unlikely to influence legislation. Also, the perennial letter writer may lose his effectiveness over the years unless he takes care that each letter presents a sound "what" and "why."

Citizens propose new laws on a wide variety of

topics. Some have such merit that a congressman goes into action on it at once.

A constituent of Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota, wrote to recommend that pensions be taken away from government workers found guilty of subversion. "I introduced such a bill," Senator Mundt relates, "and it became a law in 1954."

Representative Wright Patman, Democrat of Texas, recalls that one of his constituents, while John Dillinger was causing gangster terror through the Midwest, wrote: "Why don't you offer a bill by which the Attorney General could offer a reward for capture or information leading to capture of such criminals?"

Mr. Patman introduced such a bill, which became law on June 6, 1934. "The law," he says, "aided directly in stopping the criminal careers of Dillinger and others like him."

Representative Russell V. Mack, Republican of Washington, cites a couple of cases from the numerous ones where he found letters from home helpful.

"A lot of writers," he says, "protested to me about the junk mail crowding their mailboxes. As a result of com-

bined efforts, junk mail is apparently junked."

Congressman Mack also tells of veterans who wrote him about the injustice of not getting Social Security credit while in service. This could mean loss of a pension for lack of enough quarters of coverage. The law was changed to allow those who served between September, 1940, and June, 1953, to get Social Security credit if they were not getting other retirement credit during that period.

WORDS INTO PRINT

As a citizen you even have the power to be a legislative witness without ever going to Washington, D. C. You can write a committee asking that your statement be published in the collected hearings on a particular bill. These publications are widely and carefully studied. Probably less effective a method is to ask your congressman to incorporate your statement for or against legislation in the appendix of the daily *Congressional Record*.

You can also try to influence legislation through the executive branch of the government—such as the Post Office or Treasury Departments or the Veterans' Administration. But you may be spreading your effort a little thin by doing so. It's true that some legislation originates with a draft from the executive agencies, but your congressmen are elected to make your laws.

You can also take official stands on pending laws through various organizations with which you're allied. Such views may be communicated officially at committee meetings. This holds true for state, county, and local laws as well as national ones. You needn't be uneasy about breaking a law by writing your congressman. I nailed that fear with the official statement: "Laws applying only to those who are paid for attempting to influence legislation." As a private citizen you are unrestricted in decent expression of your opinion.

In fact, if you write a letter to Congress, you're exercising the oldest constitutional privilege in the Bill of Rights—guaranteeing your right of petition the government for a redress of grievances."

Even the simplest letter expressing a view on legislation is a petition. It may have only one signature, but as a petition it commands respect if it contains sound and clearly expressed ideas. Just be sure to take this capsule advice of Representative Clair Engle, Democrat of California: "Don't write in generalities. Say, 'I'm for (or against) this for these reasons—1, 2, 3, 4.'" Such a letter helps make democracy work.

Congressional Directory

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, *Second Session*

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WALTER F. GEORGE, *President pro Tempore*

• LYNDON B. JOHNSON, *Majority Leader*

• WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, *Minority Leader*

All correspondence to senators and Senate leaders may be addressed
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JOHN W. MCCORMACK, *Majority Leader*

• JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., *Minority Leader*

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Harry R. Sheppard (D), Yucaipa	27
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Antoni N. Sadlak (R), Rockville
Thomas J. Dodd (D), West Hartford
Horace Seely-Brown, Jr. (R), Pomfret Center
Albert W. Cretella (R), North Haven
Albert P. Morano (R), Greenwich
James T. Patterson (R), Watertown

DELAWARE

SENATORS

J. Allen Frear, Jr. (D), Dover
John J. Williams (R), Millsboro

REPRESENTATIVE

Harris B. McDowell, Jr. (D), Middletown At Large

FLORIDA

SENATORS

Spessard Holland (D), Bartow
George A. Smathers (D), Miami

REPRESENTATIVES

William C. Cramer (R), St. Petersburg
Charles E. Bennett (D), Jacksonville
Robert L. F. Sikes (D), Crestview
Dante B. Fascell (D), Miami
A. S. Herlong, Jr. (D), Leesburg
Paul G. Rogers (D), West Palm Beach
James A. Haley (D), Sarasota
D. R. (Billy) Matthews (D), Gainesville

GEORGIA

SENATORS

Walter F. George (D), Vienna
Richard B. Russell (D), Winder

REPRESENTATIVES

Prince H. Preston (D), Statesboro
John L. Pilcher (D), Meigs
E. L. Forrester (D), Leesburg
John James Flynt, Jr. (D), Griffin

IDAHO

SENATORS

Henry C. Dworshak (R), Burley
Herman Welker (R), Payette

REPRESENTATIVES

(Mrs.) Gracie Pfost (D), Nampa
Hamer H. Budge (R), Boise

ILLINOIS

SENATORS

Everett McKinley Dirksen (R), Pekin
Paul H. Douglas (D), Chicago

REPRESENTATIVES

William L. Dawson (D), Chicago
Barratt O'Hara (D), Chicago
James C. Murray (D), Chicago
William E. McVey (R), Harvey
John C. Kluczynski (D), Chicago
Thomas J. O'Brien (D), Chicago
James B. Bowler (D), Chicago
Thomas S. Gordon (D), Chicago
Sidney R. Yates (D), Chicago
Richard W. Hoffman (R), Riverside
Timothy P. Sheehan (R), Chicago
Charles A. Boyle (D), Chicago
(Mrs.) Marguerite Stitt Church (R), Evanston
Chauncey W. Reed (R), West Chicago
Noah M. Mason (R), Oglesby
Leo E. Allen (R), Galena
Leslie C. Arends (R), Melvin
Harold H. Velde (R), Pekin
Robert B. Chipfield (R), Canton
Sid Simpson (R), Carrollton
Peter F. Mack, Jr. (D), Carlinville
William L. Springer (R), Champaign
Charles W. Vursell (R), Salem
Melvin Price (D), East St. Louis
Kenneth J. Gray (D), West Frankfort

INDIANA

SENATORS

Homer E. Capehart (R), Washington
William E. Jenner (R), Bedford

REPRESENTATIVES

Ray J. Madden (D), Gary
Charles A. Halleck (R), Rensselaer
Shepard J. Crumpacker (R), South Bend
E. Ross Adair (R), Fort Wayne
John V. Beamer (R), Wabash
Cecil M. Harden (R), Covington
William G. Bray (R), Martinsville
Winfield K. Denton (D), Evansville
Earl Wilson (R), Bedford
Ralph Harvey (R), New Castle, Route 4
Charles B. Brownson (R), Indianapolis

IOWA**SENATORS**

Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R), Cedar Rapids
Thomas E. Martin (R), Iowa City

REPRESENTATIVES

Fred Schwengel (R), Davenport
Henry O. Talle (R), Decorah
H. R. Gross (R), Waterloo
Karl M. LeCompte (R), Corydon
Paul Cunningham (R), Des Moines
James I. Dolliver (R), Fort Dodge
Ben F. Jensen (R), Exira
Charles B. Hoeven (R), Alton

DISTRICT

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KANSAS**SENATORS**

Frank Carlson (R), Concordia
Andrew F. Schoepel (R), Wichita

REPRESENTATIVES

William H. Avery (R), Wakefield
Errett P. Scrivner (R), Kansas City
Myron V. George (R), Altamont
Edward H. Rees (R), Emporia
Clifford R. Hope (R), Garden City
Wint Smith (R), Mankato

DISTRICT

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KENTUCKY**SENATORS**

Alben W. Barkley (D), Paducah
Earle C. Clements (D), Morganfield

REPRESENTATIVES

Noble J. Gregory (D), Mayfield
William H. Natcher (D), Bowling Green
John M. Robsion, Jr. (R), Louisville
Frank Chelf (D), Lebanon
Brent Spence (D), Fort Thomas
John C. Watts (D), Nicholasville
Carl D. Perkins (D), Hindman
Eugene Siler (R), Williamsburg

DISTRICT

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LOUISIANA**SENATORS**

Allen J. Ellender, Sr. (D), Houma
Russell B. Long (D), Baton Rouge

REPRESENTATIVES

F. Edward Hébert (D), New Orleans
Hale Boggs (D), New Orleans
Edwin E. Willis (D), St. Martinville
Overton Brooks (D), Shreveport
Otto E. Passman (D), Monroe
James H. Morrison (D), Hammond
T. Ashton Thompson (D), Ville Platte
George S. Long (D), Pineville

DISTRICT

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MAINE**SENATORS**

Frederick G. Payne (R), Waldoboro
Margaret Chase Smith (R), Skowhegan

REPRESENTATIVES

Robert Hale (R), Portland
Charles P. Nelson (R), Augusta

DISTRICT

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Clifford G. McIntire (R), Perham

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MARYLAND**SENATORS**

J. Glenn Beall (R), Frostburg
John Marshall Butler (R), Baltimore

REPRESENTATIVES

Edward T. Miller (R), Easton
James P. S. Devereux (R), Stevenson
Edward A. Garmatz (D), Baltimore
George H. Fallon (D), Baltimore
Richard E. Lankford (D), Annapolis
DeWitt S. Hyde (R), Bethesda
Samuel N. Friedel (D), Baltimore

DISTRICT

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MASSACHUSETTS**SENATORS**

John F. Kennedy (D), Boston
Leverett Saltonstall (R), Dover

REPRESENTATIVES

John W. Heselton (R), Deerfield
Edward P. Boland (D), Springfield
Philip J. Philbin (D), Clinton
Harold D. Donohue (D), Worcester
(Mrs.) Edith Nourse Rogers (R), Lowell
William H. Bates (R), Salem
Thomas J. Lane (D), Lawrence
Torbert H. MacDonald (D), Malden
Donald W. Nicholson (R), Wareham
Laurence Curtis (R), Boston
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D), Cambridge
John W. McCormack (D), Dorchester
Richard B. Wigglesworth (R), Milton
Joseph W. Martin, Jr. (R), North Attleboro

DISTRICT

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MICHIGAN**SENATORS**

Pat McNamara (D), Detroit
Charles E. Potter (R), Cheboygan

REPRESENTATIVES

Thaddeus M. Machrowicz (D), Hamtramck
George Meader (R), Ann Arbor
August E. Johansen (R), Battle Creek
Clare E. Hoffman (R), Allegan
Gerald R. Ford, Jr. (R), Grand Rapids
Don Hayworth (D), East Lansing
Jesse P. Wolcott (R), Port Huron
Alvin M. Bentley (R), Owosso
Ruth Thompson (R), Whitehall
Elford A. Cederberg (R), Bay City
Victor A. Knox (R), Sault Ste. Marie
John B. Bennett (R), Ontonagon
Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D), Detroit
Louis C. Rabaut (D), Grosse Pointe Park
John D. Dingell (D), Detroit
John Lesinski (D), Dearborn
(Mrs.) Martha W. Griffiths (D), Detroit
George A. Dondero (R), Royal Oak

DISTRICT

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MINNESOTA**SENATORS**

Hubert H. Humphrey (D), Minneapolis
Edward J. Thye (R), Northfield

DISTRICT

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REPRESENTATIVES

August H. Andresen (R), Red Wing
 Joseph P. O'Hara (R), Glencoe
 Roy W. Wier (D), Minneapolis
 Eugene J. McCarthy (D), St. Paul
 Walter H. Judd (R), Minneapolis
 Fred Marshall (D), Grove City
 H. Carl Andersen (R), Tyler
 John A. Blatnik (D), Chisholm
 Coya Knutson (D), Oklee

DISTRICT

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REPRESENTATIVE

Clifton Young (R), Reno

DISTRICT

At Large

MISSISSIPPI**SENATORS**

James O. Eastland (D), Doddsville
 John Stennis (D), De Kalb

REPRESENTATIVES

Thomas G. Abernethy (D), Okolona
 Jamie L. Whitten (D), Charleston
 Frank E. Smith (D), Greenwood
 John Bell Williams (D), Raymond
 Arthur Winstead (D), Philadelphia
 William M. Colmer (D), Pascagoula

DISTRICT

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MISSOURI**SENATORS**

Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (D), St. Louis
 Stuart Symington (D), Creve Coeur

REPRESENTATIVES

Frank M. Karsten (D), St. Louis
 Thomas B. Curtis (R), Webster Groves
 (Mrs.) Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (D), St. Louis
 George H. Christopher (D), Butler
 Richard Bolling (D), Kansas City
 W. R. Hull, Jr. (D), Weston
 Dewey Short (R), Galena
 A. S. J. Carnahan (D), Ellsinore
 Clarence Cannon (D), Elsberry
 Paul C. Jones (D), Kennett
 Morgan M. Moulder (D), Camdenton

DISTRICT

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SENATORS

Clifford P. Case (R), Rahway
 H. Alexander Smith (R), Princeton

REPRESENTATIVES

Charles A. Wolverton (R), Merchantville
 T. Millet Hand (R), Cape May City
 James C. Auchincloss (R), Rumson
 Frank Thompson, Jr. (D), Trenton
 Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr. (R), Morristown
 Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D), Westfield
 William B. Widnall (R), Saddle River
 Gordon Canfield (R), Paterson
 Frank C. Osmer, Jr. (R), Tenafly
 Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (D), Newark
 Hugh J. Addonizio (D), Newark
 Robert W. Kean (R), Livingston
 Alfred D. Sieminski (D), Jersey City
 T. James Tumulty (D), Jersey City

DISTRICT

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NEW MEXICO**SENATORS**

Clinton P. Anderson (D), Albuquerque
 Dennis Chavez (D), Albuquerque

REPRESENTATIVES

Antonio M. Fernandez (D), Santa Fe
 John J. Dempsey (D), Santa Fe

DISTRICT

At Large
 At Large

MONTANA**SENATORS**

Mike Mansfield (D), Missoula
 James E. Murray (D), Butte

REPRESENTATIVES

Lee Metcalf (D), Helena
 Orvin B. Fjare (R), Big Timber

DISTRICT

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NEBRASKA**SENATORS**

Carl T. Curtis (R), Minden
 Roman L. Hruska (R), Omaha

REPRESENTATIVES

Phil Weaver (R), Falls City
 Jackson B. Chase (R), Omaha
 Robert D. Harrison (R), Norfolk
 A. L. Miller (R), Kimball

DISTRICT

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NEVADA**SENATORS**

Alan Bible (D), Reno
 George W. Malone (R), Reno

NEW YORK**SENATORS**

Irving M. Ives (R), Norwich
 Herbert H. Lehman (D), New York City

REPRESENTATIVES

Stuyvesant Wainwright (R), Wainscott
 Steven B. Derounian (R), Roslyn
 Frank J. Becker (R), Lynbrook
 Henry J. Latham (R), Queens Village
 Albert H. Bosch (R), Richmond Hill
 Lester Holtzman (D), Rego Park
 James J. Delaney (D), Long Island City
 Victor L. Anfuso (D), Brooklyn
 Eugene J. Keogh (D), Brooklyn
 (Mrs.) Edna F. Kelly (D), Brooklyn
 Emanuel Celler (D), Brooklyn
 Francis E. Dorn (R), Brooklyn
 Abraham J. Multer (D), Brooklyn
 John J. Rooney (D), Brooklyn
 John H. Ray (R), Staten Island
 Adam C. Powell, Jr. (D), New York City
 Frederic R. Coudert, Jr. (R), New York City
 James G. Donovan (D-R), New York City

DISTRICT

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Arthur G. Klein (D), New York City	19
Irwin D. Davidson (D-L), New York City	20
Herbert Zelenko (D), New York City	21
Sidney A. Fine (D), New York City	22
Isidore Dollinger (D), Bronx	23
Charles A. Buckley (D), New York City	24
Paul A. Fino (R), New York City	25
Ralph A. Gamble (R), Larchmont	26
Ralph W. Gwinn (R), Bronxville	27
(Mrs.) Katharine St. George (R) Tuxedo	28
J. Ernest Wharton (R), Richmondville	29
Leo W. O'Brien (D), Albany	30
Dean P. Taylor (R), Troy	31
Bernard W. (Pat) Kearney (R), Gloversville	32
Clarence E. Kilburn (R), Malone	33
William R. Williams (R), Cassville	34
R. Walter Riehlman (R), Tully	35
John Taber (R), Auburn	36
W. Sterling Cole (R), Bath	37
Kenneth B. Keating (R), Rochester	38
Harold C. Ostertag (R), Attica	39
William E. Miller (R), Lockport	40
Edmund P. Radwan (R), Buffalo	41
John R. Pillion (R), Lackawanna	42
Daniel A. Reed (R), Dunkirk	43

NORTH CAROLINA

SENATORS

Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D), Morganton
W. Kerr Scott (D), Haw River

REPRESENTATIVES

Herbert C. Bonner (D), Washington	1
L. H. Fountain (D), Tarboro	2
Graham A. Barden (D), New Bern	3
Harold D. Cooley (D), Nashville	4
Thurmond Chatham (D), Winston-Salem	5
Carl T. Durham (D), Chapel Hill	6
F. Ertel Carlyle (D), Lumberton	7
Charles B. Deane (D), Rockingham	8
Hugh Q. Alexander (D), Kannapolis	9
Charles Raper Jonas (R), Lincolnton	10
Woodrow W. Jones (D), Rutherfordton	11
George A. Shuford (D), Asheville	12

NORTH DAKOTA

SENATORS

William Langer (R), Wheatland
Milton R. Young (R), La Moure

REPRESENTATIVES

Usher L. Burdick (R), Williston	DISTRICT
Otto Krueger (R), Fessenden	At Large

OHIO

SENATORS

George H. Bender (R), Chagrin Falls
John W. Bricker (R), Columbus

REPRESENTATIVES

Gordon H. Scherer (R), Cincinnati	DISTRICT
William E. Hess (R), Cincinnati	1
Paul F. Schenck (R), Dayton	2
William M. McCulloch (R), Piqua	3
Cliff Clevenger (R), Bryan	4
James G. Polk (D), Highland, R.F.D. 1	5
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Clarence J. Brown (R), Blanchester	7
Jackson E. Betts (R), Findlay	8
Thomas L. Ashley (D), Waterville	9
Thomas A. Jenkins (R), Ironton	10
Oliver P. Bolton (R), Mentor	11
John M. Vorys (R), Columbus	12
A. D. Baumhart, Jr. (R), Vermilion	13
William H. Ayres (R), Akron	14
John E. Henderson (R), Cambridge	15
Frank T. Bow (R), Canton	16
J. Harry McGregor (R), West Lafayette	17
Wayne L. Hays (D), Flushing	18
Michael J. Kirwan (D), Youngstown	19
Michael A. Feighan (D), Cleveland	20
Charles A. Vanik (D), Cleveland	21
(Mrs.) Frances P. Bolton (R), Lyndhurst	22
William E. Minshall (R), Rocky River	23

OKLAHOMA

SENATORS

Robert S. Kerr (D), Oklahoma City
A. S. Mike Monroney (D), Oklahoma City

REPRESENTATIVES

Page Belcher (R), Enid	DISTRICT
Ed Edmondson (D), Muskogee	1
Carl Albert (D), McAlester	2
Tom Steed (D), Shawnee	3
John Jarman (D), Oklahoma City	4
Victor Wickersham (D), Mangum	5
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OREGON

SENATORS

Wayne Morse (D), Eugene
Richard L. Neuberger (D), Portland

REPRESENTATIVES

Walter Norblad (R), Stayton	DISTRICT
Sam Coon (R), Baker	1
(Mrs.) Edith Green (D), Portland	2
Harris Ellsworth (R), Roseburg	3
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PENNSYLVANIA

SENATORS

James H. Duff (R), Carnegie
Edward Martin (R), Washington

REPRESENTATIVES

William A. Barrett (D), Philadelphia	DISTRICT
William T. Granahan (D), Philadelphia	1
James A. Byrne (D), Philadelphia	2
Earl Chudoff (D), Philadelphia	3
William J. Green, Jr. (D), Philadelphia	4
Hugh Scott (R), Philadelphia	5
Benjamin F. James (R), Rosemont	6
Karl C. King (R), Morrisville	7
Paul B. Dague (R), Downingtown	8
Joseph L. Carrigg (R), Susquehanna	9
Daniel J. Flood (D), Wilkes-Barre	10
Ivor D. Fenton (R), Mahanoy City	11
Samuel K. McConnell, Jr. (R), Wynnewood	12
George M. Rhodes (D), Reading	13
Francis E. Walter (D), Easton	14
Walter M. Mumma (R), Harrisburg	15
Alvin R. Bush (R), Muncy, R.F.D. 2	16
Richard M. Simpson (R), Huntingdon	17
	18

James M. Quigley (D), Highland Park	19
James E. Van Zandt (R), Altoona	20
Augustine B. Kelley (D), Greensburg	21
John P. Saylor (R), Johnstown	22
Leon H. Gavin (R), Oil City	23
Carroll D. Kearns (R), Conneaut Lake	24
Frank M. Clark (D), Bessemer	25
Thomas E. Morgan (D), Fredericktown	26
James G. Fulton (R), Pittsburgh	27
Herman P. Eberharter (D), Pittsburgh	28
Robert J. Corbett (R), Pittsburgh	29

RHODE ISLAND

SENATORS

Theodore Francis Green (D), Providence
John O. Pastore (D), Providence

REPRESENTATIVES

Aime J. Forand (D), Valley Falls
John E. Fogarty (D), Harmony

DISTRICT

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SOUTH CAROLINA

SENATORS

Olin D. Johnston (D), Spartanburg
Strom Thurmond (D), Aiken

REPRESENTATIVES

L. Mendel Rivers (D), Charleston
John J. Riley (D), Sumter
W. J. Bryan Dorn (D), Greenwood
Robert T. Ashmore (D), Greenville
James P. Richards (D), Lancaster
John L. McMillan (D), Florence

DISTRICT

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SOUTH DAKOTA

SENATORS

Francis Case (R), Custer
Karl E. Mundt (R), Madison

REPRESENTATIVES

Harold O. Lovre (R), Watertown
E. Y. Berry (R), McLaughlin

DISTRICT

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2

TENNESSEE

SENATORS

Albert Gore (D), Carthage
Estes Kefauver (D), Chattanooga

REPRESENTATIVES

B. Carroll Reece (R), Johnson City
Howard H. Baker (R), Huntsville
James B. Frazier, Jr. (D), Chattanooga
Joe L. Evins (D), Smithville
J. Percy Priest (D), Nashville
Ross Bass (D), Pulaski
Tom Murray (D), Jackson
Jere Cooper (D), Dyersburg
Clifford Davis (D), Memphis

DISTRICT

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TEXAS

SENATORS

Price Daniel (D), Liberty
Lyndon B. Johnson (D), Johnson City

REPRESENTATIVES

Martin Dies (D), Lufkin
Wright Patman (D), Texarkana

DISTRICT

At Large
1

Jack B. Brooks (D), Beaumont	2
Brady Gentry (D), Tyler	3
Sam Rayburn (D), Bonham	4
Bruce Alger (R), Dallas	5
Olin E. Teague (D), College Station	6
John Dowdy (D), Athens	7
Albert Thomas (D), Houston	8
Clark W. Thompson (D), Galveston	9
Homer Thornberry (D), Austin	10
W. R. Poage (D), Waco	11
James C. Wright, Jr. (D), Weatherford	12
Frank Ikard (D), Wichita Falls	13
John J. Bell (D), Cuero	14
Joe M. Kilgore (D), McAllen	15
J. T. Rutherford (D), Odessa	16
Omar Burleson (D), Anson	17
Walter Rogers (D), Pampa	18
George H. Mahon (D), Lubbock	19
Paul J. Kilday (D), San Antonio	20
O. C. Fisher (D), San Angelo	21

UTAH

SENATORS

Wallace F. Bennett (R), Salt Lake City
Arthur V. Watkins (R), Orem

REPRESENTATIVES

Henry Aldous Dixon (R), Ogden
William A. Dawson (R), Salt Lake City

DISTRICT

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VERMONT

SENATORS

George D. Aiken (R), Putney
Ralph E. Flanders (R), Springfield

REPRESENTATIVE

Winston L. Prouty (R), Newport

DISTRICT
At Large

VIRGINIA

SENATORS

Harry Flood Byrd (D), Berryville
A. Willis Robertson (D), Lexington

REPRESENTATIVES

Edward J. Robeson, Jr. (D), Warwick
Porter Hardy, Jr. (D), Churchland
J. Vaughan Gary (D), Richmond
Watkins M. Abbitt (D), Appomattox
William M. Tuck (D), South Boston
Richard H. Poff (R), Radford
Burr P. Harrison (D), Winchester
Howard W. Smith (D), Broad Run
W. Pat Jennings (D), Marion
Joel T. Broyhill (R), Arlington

DISTRICT

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WASHINGTON

SENATORS

Henry M. Jackson (D), Everett
Warren G. Magnuson (D), Seattle

REPRESENTATIVES

Don Magnuson (D), Seattle
Thomas M. Pelly (R), Seattle
Jack Westland (R), Everett
Russell V. Mack (R), Hoquiam
Hal Holmes (R), Ellensburg

DISTRICT
At Large

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Walt Horan (R), Wenatchee
Thor C. Tollefson (R), Tacoma

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WEST VIRGINIA

SENATORS

William R. Laird, III (D)
Matthew M. Neely (D), Fairmont

REPRESENTATIVES

Robert H. Mollohan (D), Fairmont
Harley O. Staggers (D), Keyser
Cleveland M. Bailey (D), Clarksburg
M. G. Burnside (D), Huntington
(Mrs.) Elizabeth Kee (D), Bluefield
Robert C. Byrd (D), Sophia

DISTRICT
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WISCONSIN

SENATORS

Joseph R. McCarthy (R), Appleton
Alexander Wiley (R), Chippewa Falls

REPRESENTATIVES

Lawrence H. Smith (R), Racine
Glenn R. Davis (R), Waukesha
Gardner R. Withrow (R), La Crosse
Clement J. Zablocki (D), Milwaukee
Henry S. Reuss (D), Milwaukee

DISTRICT
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William K. Van Pelt (R), Fond du Lac
Melvin R. Laird (R), Marshfield
John W. Byrnes (R), Green Bay
Lester R. Johnson (D), Black River Falls
Alvin E. O'Konski (R), Mercer

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WYOMING

SENATORS

Frank A. Barrett (R), Lusk
Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D), Cheyenne

REPRESENTATIVE

E. Keith Thomson (R), Cheyenne

DISTRICT
At Large

ALASKA

DELEGATE

E. L. (Bob) Bartlett (D), Juneau

HAWAII

DELEGATE

Mrs. Joseph R. Farrington (R), Honolulu

COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

Antonio Fernós-Isern (Pop.-D), Santurce

Committee Appointments

Standing Committees of the Senate

AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY, Allen J. Ellender, chairman
APPROPRIATIONS, Carl Hayden, chairman
ARMED SERVICES, Richard B. Russell, chairman
BANKING AND CURRENCY, J. W. Fulbright, chairman
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, Matthew M. Neely, chairman
FINANCE, Harry F. Byrd, chairman
FOREIGN RELATIONS, Walter F. George, chairman
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, John L. McClellan, chairman
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, James E. Murray, chairman
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, Warren G. Magnuson, chairman
JUDICIARY, James O. Eastland, chairman
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, Lister Hill, chairman
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, Olin D. Johnston, chairman
PUBLIC WORKS, Dennis Chavez, chairman
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION, Theodore Francis Green, chairman

Select and Special Committees of the Senate

DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE, Lyndon B. Johnson, chairman
MINORITY POLICY COMMITTEE, Styles Bridges, chairman
SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS, John J. Sparkman, chairman

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SENATE RECEPTION ROOM,
Lyndon B. Johnson, chairman

Standing Committees of the House

AGRICULTURE, Harold D. Cooley, chairman
APPROPRIATIONS, Clarence Cannon, chairman
ARMED SERVICES, Carl Vinson, chairman
BANKING AND CURRENCY, Brent Spence, chairman
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, John L. McMillan, chairman
EDUCATION AND LABOR, Graham A. Barden, chairman
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, James P. Richards, chairman
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, William L. Dawson, chairman
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION, Omar Burleson, chairman
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, Clair Engle, chairman
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, J. Percy Priest, chairman
JUDICIARY, Emanuel Celler, chairman
MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES, Herbert C. Bonner, chairman
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, Tom Murray, chairman
PUBLIC WORKS, Charles A. Buckley, chairman
RULES, Howard W. Smith, chairman
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, Francis E. Walter, chairman
VETERANS' AFFAIRS, Olin E. Teague, chairman
WAYS AND MEANS, Jere Cooper, chairman

Select and Special Committees of the House

SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT A STUDY AND INVESTIGATION

TION OF THE PROBLEMS OF SMALL BUSINESS, Wright Patman, chairman

SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT INVESTIGATION AND STUDY OF BENEFITS FOR SURVIVORS OF DECEASED MEMBERS AND FORMER MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES, Porter Hardy, Jr., chairman

SELECT COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION AND STUDY OF THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE WHITE COUNTY BRIDGE COMMISSION, Winfield K. Denton, chairman

Congressional Joint Committees, Commissions, and Boards

Note: Where no chairman, or a chairman other than a congressman, is listed, two congressional committeemen are named.

COMMISSION FOR EXTENSION OF THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL, no chairman listed, Sam Rayburn, William F. Knowland

SENATE OFFICE BUILDING COMMISSION, William A. Purtell, chairman

HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING COMMISSION, Sam Rayburn, chairman

JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING, Carl Hayden, chairman

JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY, Clinton P. Anderson, chairman

JOINT COMMITTEE ON CONSTRUCTION OF A BUILDING FOR MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY FOR THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, no chairman listed, Clinton P. Anderson, Clarence Cannon

JOINT COMMITTEE ON DEFENSE PRODUCTION, Paul Brown, chairman

JOINT COMMITTEE ON DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS, no chairman listed, Olin D. Johnston, George S. Long

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT, Paul H. Douglas, chairman

JOINT COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY POLICY, no chairman at present, James O. Eastland, Emanuel Celler

JOINT COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL REVENUE TAXATION, Harry F. Byrd, chairman

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY, Theodore Francis Green, chairman

JOINT COMMITTEE ON NAVAJO-HOPI INDIAN ADMINISTRATION, no chairman listed, Clinton P. Anderson, Clair Engle

JOINT COMMITTEE ON REDUCTION OF NONESSENTIAL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES, Harry F. Byrd, chairman

BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE MILITARY ACADEMY, no chairman listed, Lister Hill, Olin E. Teague

BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE NAVAL ACADEMY, no chairman listed, Dennis Chavez, William H. Natcher

BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE COAST GUARD ACADEMY, no chairman listed, John O. Pastore, Edward A. Garmatz

BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY, no chairman listed, Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Frank W. Boykin

ALEXANDER HAMILTON BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION, Karl E. Mundt, chairman

BOSTON NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES COMMISSION, Mark Bortman of Massachusetts, chairman, Leverett Saltonstall, Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.

CORREGIDOR-BATAAN MEMORIAL COMMISSION, no chairman listed, Alexander Wiley, James E. Van Zandt

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AUDITORIUM COMMISSION, Mrs. Eugene Meyer of Washington, D. C., chairman, Matthew M. Neely, James H. Morrison

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL COMMISSION, no chairman listed, Irving M. Ives, John W. McCormack

JAMESTOWN-WILLIAMSBURG-YORKTOWN CELEBRATION COMMISSION, Robert V. Hatcher of Richmond, Va., chairman, Harry F. Byrd, Edward J. Robeson, Jr.

MARINE CORPS MEMORIAL COMMISSION, Joseph Dale Probst of 3502 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 13, Ill., chairman, no congressmen

MIGRATORY BIRD CONSERVATION COMMISSION, Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior, chairman, A. Willis Robertson, August H. Andresen

NATIONAL MONUMENT COMMISSION, Spencer T. Olin of Illinois, chairman, W. Kerr Scott, Howard W. Smith

NATIONAL FOREST RESERVATION COMMISSION, Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, president, Styles Bridges, William M. Colmer

PERMANENT COMMITTEE FOR THE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES DEVISE FUND, L. Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress, chairman, no congressmen listed at present

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION, Daniel A. Reed, president

THEODORE ROOSEVELT CENTENNIAL COMMISSION, no chairman listed, Karl E. Mundt, Leo W. O'Brien

UNITED STATES TERRITORIAL EXPANSION MEMORIAL COMMISSION, Alben W. Barkley, chairman

WOODROW WILSON CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION COMMISSION, Maj. Gen. E. Walton Opie of P. O. Box 59, Staunton, Va., chairman, A. William Robertson, Burr P. Harrison

COMMISSION ON GOVERNMENT SECURITY, no chairman listed, John Stennis, Francis E. Walter

Note: Additional information is given below to facilitate your letter-writing to Washington. Letters to members of the Cabinet and Supreme Court may be addressed to them, Washington 25, D. C.

THE CABINET

Secretary of State.....John Foster Dulles
Secretary of the Treasury.....George M. Humphrey
Secretary of Defense.....Charles E. Wilson
Attorney General.....Herbert Brownell, Jr.
Postmaster General.....Arthur E. Summerfield
Secretary of the Interior.....Douglas McKay
Secretary of Agriculture.....Ezra Taft Benson
Secretary of Commerce.....Sinclair Weeks
Secretary of Labor.....James P. Mitchell
Secretary of Health, Education,
and Welfare.....Marion B. Folsom

SUPREME COURT

Chief Justice.....Earl Warren

Associates Justices:

Hugo L. Black	Harold H. Burton
Stanley F. Reed	Tom C. Clark
Felix Frankfurter	Sherman Minton
William O. Douglas	John M. Harlan

Does Radio Free Europe Promote the Cause of Freedom?



Both affirmative and negative viewpoints on this question were presented in a series of articles on Radio Free Europe appearing in the January, February, and March issues of *Facts Forum News*.

With "Truth Dollars" being collected at post office windows throughout the United States toward financing these broadcasts, it behooves every thinking American to determine whether this question can be answered by a resounding YES!

Upon publication of Jiri (George) Brada's critical view of Radio Free Europe, and "Melting the Iron Curtain" (Radio Free Europe's own story), letters of both approval and protest ensued which are here presented for our readers' evaluation.

President of Free Europe Committee Protests RFE Criticism

To *Facts Forum News*:

... Perhaps I can best comment on Mr. Brada's article by first mentioning a few facts about the author who, according to your introductory notes, "never joined the Nazi party nor any of [its] organizations," and who "refused to become an informer for the Communist government [of Czechoslovakia]."

Brada was hired by Radio Free Europe, Munich, in May, 1951, when a staff for the new operation was being rapidly assembled. He was given a job in a minor capacity in the library, on the usual three-month probationary period. He was discharged in July, 1951, because his superiors considered him to be grossly inefficient.

A full check of Brada's record re-

vealed that he had been a leader of a Nazi youth organization in Czechoslovakia, and had attended a university which our information indicated was restricted to Nazi collaborators.

For eight months following the Communist seizure of Czechoslovakia in February, 1948, Brada had remained in that country. By his own admission, he twice signed a contract to be an agent for the Communist secret police. After leaving Czechoslovakia for Austria, in October, 1948, he joined "The Central Union of Czechoslovak Students in Exile." Brada was expelled from this organization of patriotic, anti-Communist students after a trial, at which he admitted his Nazi and Communist affiliations cited above. Brada later became a paid

worker for the "Prchala Youth Movement," which advocates the dissolution of the national Czechoslovak state.

I have gone briefly into Brada's background because the credibility of a writer usually has a definite bearing on the credibility of his work. In this connection, look again at the statement, in your published notes about Brada, that he delivered "sworn testimony" for the Kersten Committee on June 28, 1954. In this testimony, you state, Brada charged that Radio Free Europe is part of "the center of the Communist world conspiracy."

The fact is that there is no record of any "sworn testimony" having been delivered by Brada in June, 1954, or at any other time before the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, headed by former Congressman Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin. The official reports of the Kersten Committee list the forty-five witnesses who testified publicly at the Munich hearings of the Committee in June, 1954.

READERS' VIEWS

As a former Czech journalist I wish to add a few words to the just concluded series about Radio Free Europe written for *Facts Forum News* by George Brada from Germany. In the last of the three articles Mr. Brada mentions my name as one of those who represent the young Czech anti-Communist generation in exile.

I want to go on record right here and now to say that Radio Free Europe's Czechoslovak desk (I am not familiar with the other sections) is a complete disgrace, for the people who are in it . . . represent nothing else but a Socialist front. They were the men who together with the Communists enslaved once-free Czechoslovakia. They are the ones who hope to replace one day the Communist terror with one of their own make, that of peoples' democratic Socialist terror.

It is a disgrace that this kind of propaganda is presented to the unfortunate victims of the Socialist-Communist conspiracy in the name of the free United States of America. . . .

RFE is an excellent idea by itself. But right now, the only ones profiting from its programs are the Communists themselves. . . .

JIRI HAVELKA
Berwyn, Illinois

. . . . May I say that we in Germany claim to have some experience in this matter, having followed the development of Radio Free Europe since its inception in 1950. I do not agree with all Mr. Brada has said concerning this radio station, especially that Radio Free Europe and some of the affiliated services are part of the Communist world conspiracy. The truth is perhaps a little bit more simple or complicated, however you may take it. I would like to present . . . a few brief statements which Radio Free Europe cannot deny:

- (1) RFE believes in fighting Communist theories with very similar Socialist doctrines.
- (2) RFE believes in tackling Soviet Russian imperialism by supporting Titoist National-Bolsheviks in the satellite countries.
- (3) RFE believes that in this way the satellite countries will one day form a new Titoist bloc and from there the development of a new peoples' front, and ultimately free elections will result.

This is the policy of RFE, and I would never say that the [Free Europe Committee] therefore knowingly and willingly gives support to world communism. But the truth is that such a policy is absolutely in line with coexistence as Moscow and Belgrade have planned it to lull the western powers into a false feeling of security. Leftist intellectuals everywhere believe earnestly in this coexistence and in a new socialized world of peace and mutual understanding. . . . This earnest belief exists in RFE, too. . . .

I would venture to say that the millions of dollars being poured into Radio Free Europe are wasted as long as that organization continues on this leftist course. Coexistence will never achieve the goal the West desires. Today the only alternative can be to prepare the truly anti-leftist

Brada's name does not appear on the list.

Furthermore, contrary to Brada's statement that the Kersten Committee "put this sham psychological warfare of RFE in the proper light" (note your page 16), the Kersten Committee reached the following conclusions in its official findings (House Report 2684) dated December 31, 1954:

"That the United States Information Agency (Voice of America) and the Committee for Free Europe (Radio Free Europe) are effective in the fight against communism. They reach the peoples behind the Iron Curtain with the truth concerning the policies and actions of the free world, and also reveal the lies, distortions, and treachery put forth by the Communists.

"That in the struggle of freedom versus slavery our broadcasting media and information programs, including the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe and such others as may originate in the United States, are deserving of much wider support from the public, the foundations, and from Congress."

Because Radio Free Europe recognizes the elements of East European countries on the same basis as does the U. S. government, and refuses to become involved in the ideological and territorial disputes of certain refugee groups, it has been subject to constant vitriolic attacks by dissident political factions, principally the Sudeten Deutsch and Slovak Separatists. (Mr. Brada has been affiliated with elements of both these groups.) Nothing would serve the Communists better than to have Radio Free Europe become involved in the disputes of minority ethnic groups and thus dissipate energies needed in working toward the goal of freedom for the captive peoples.

It is not my intention to reply to Brada's charges point by point. I will, instead, state some of the basic facts and policies of Radio Free Europe as they relate to the article. They will, I trust, together with what I have already written, place Mr. Brada's allegations in perspective.

The policy of Radio Free Europe is, and has always been, to support the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their efforts to regain their freedom. In pursuing this policy—which is a positive expression of the official policy of the United States government—Radio Free Europe advocates that the captive peoples have the right to choose their own form of

government under free and democratic elections.

In addressing the captive peoples, RFE must speak in terms they will understand. The countries of Eastern Europe have never known capitalism as it exists in the U. S. What they call "capitalism" is not what we know as capitalism. Millions of former Social Democrats still live in these countries, especially in Czechoslovakia. In its endeavor to weaken and disrupt Communist control in these countries, Radio Free Europe talks to all the people. Indeed, Radio Free Europe addresses many of its programs to the Communists—programs designed to weaken the Communist regimes, not help them.

Excerpts of RFE scripts are of course misleading when they are misquoted and taken out of context, as Mr. Brada has done in *Facts Forum News*. An example of misrepresentation by the use of this device is Brada's excerpt from Ferdinand Peroutka's May 3, 1953, script. The actual wording of this same script is attached hereto. A full reading of Peroutka's words makes clear, I believe, what he was trying to get across to his listeners: the contrast between the genuine sense of social responsibility of the United States, and the Communists' disregard of human welfare.

A few sentences on Ferdinand Peroutka, head of Radio Free Europe's Czechoslovak desk, who is singled out by Mr. Brada for special attack, will perhaps suffice:

Peroutka, a Catholic and political independent, was never a Communist or a pro-Communist. He was an outstanding political writer and journalist who lived through six years of imprisonment by the Nazis in Buchenwald. He fled from Czechoslovakia for his life immediately after the Communist coup in February, 1948.

No exile from behind the Iron Curtain is attacked more intensely by the Communists than Peroutka; hardly a day passes without the Communist radio and press pouring out invective against him. Recently the Czechoslovak newspaper, *Mlada Fronta*, in a typical attack on him, stated: "You cannot return to Czechoslovakia, for you will be tried and executed for high treason!"

The primary source of opposition to Radio Free Europe is in the Kremlin. Last October, at the Foreign Ministers' conference in Geneva, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov singled out Radio Free Europe for his most violent invective. "The scum of society, cast out by the Peoples' Democracies

—that was Molotov's phrase to describe the anti-Communist exiles who work for Radio Free Europe.

On December 31, 1955, another top Soviet leader, Khrushchev, made a personal attack on President Eisenhower for his Christmas Day message broadcast by Radio Free Europe behind the Iron Curtain. The attack was immediately echoed by the Communist press and radio around the world.

In the nineteen months ending December 31, 1955, the Soviet Union made or inspired a total of 1,826 Communist attacks on Radio Free Europe.

There can be only one reason for this violent Communist campaign of denunciation: to try to destroy Radio Free Europe.

WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON
President
Free Europe Committee, Inc.

• • •

Following is the enclosure included with Mr. Shepardson's letter:

Excerpt appearing in *Facts Forum News*, January, 1956:

May 3, 1953, 12:15 p.m.: Ferdinand Peroutka, chief of RFE's Czechoslovak desk in New York, a well-known Socialist and one-time prominent member of the pro-Communist National Front, in his "Sunday Comments of Ferdinand Peroutka": "Eisenhower's program, on the other hand, even though America's factories have not been nationalized, stands for the concept of world socialism. There is no better way to describe it. This is socialism. . . . The aim of the program outlined by the President of the United States is to socialize life."

The Czech language, like English, includes many words that have two or more meanings. The Czech word *socialism* (same spelling as the English word) can refer to: (1) social justice (based on the Czech adjective *socialni*), which Peroutka advocates in this and other scripts; (2) Marxist socialism (based on the Czech adjective *socialisticky*), which Peroutka explicitly attacks in this and other scripts. If Brada had not eliminated vital passages, Peroutka's meaning of the Czech word *socialism* would have made clear what he was talking about in his broadcast to the people of Czechoslovakia.

Here is the full passage from Radio Free Europe script #9969, May 3, 1953, 12:15 p.m.:

The Communists never cease speaking of socialism, of socialism in one country, of socialism in several countries, and amidst all these speeches the peoples' lives get ever more miserable. Eisenhower proposed: Instead of the divided world which we know and which is living in a state of fear, let us create a unified world; it can

be done and that world could then live securely.

The better endowed nations should devote the better part of their savings to the assistance of those worse off; let us expand the production possibilities of nations that cannot keep abreast of us; let us declare war, not upon one another, but rather on poverty, ignorance, and backwardness; let us develop a system of mutual assistance.

All right, then, since "socialism" is the topic, let us speak of "socialism." Although the factories in Russia have been nationalized, the Russian policy stands for consummate egotism of one country and of one caste. Eisenhower's program, on the other hand, although the factories in America have not been nationalized, stands for the concept of "world socialism." It cannot be formulated otherwise or better.

This is "socialism," insofar as "socialism" means something more than a fight, insofar as it means the awareness of a mutual fate, the awareness of the fact that all nations are interdependent, that one is responsible for the other, that it is indecent not to help, that it is insidious to oppress—in the interest of the fight for power—and to deny people the gifts of life.

The Russians socialize their factories; the President of the United States presented a program, the aim of which is to "socialize" life. It is possible to follow either one or the other program. Don't help forge the manacles which will clasp shut around your own wrists. Nights, write on the wall: *Go home, Russians*. Do for yourselves what the President of the United States did for you.

• • •

Mr. Shepardson had these further remarks to make:

. . . . We have now read Mr. Brada's second and third installments. There is nothing in these new articles which changes the unfavorable opinion we previously expressed concerning his motives, his credibility, and his misuse of material.

At this moment, in February, 1956, when the work of this organization is being violently attacked daily by the Communist press and over the Communist radio in Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Bucharest, Sofia, and Tirana, it is ironical to read again the wild assertion attributed to Brada on the first page of the first (January) article: "The center of the Communist world conspiracy seems thus to be situated now in the West in . . . Radio Free Europe . . . the Crusade for Freedom, and Free Europe, Inc."

The center of the Communist world conspiracy is in *Moscow*. The Communist governments of the satellite states are in this conspiracy. It is against them that the whole work of Radio Free Europe, the Crusade for Freedom, and Free Europe, Inc., is directed. It is effective, and we shall continue it.

WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON
(Continued on next page)

READERS' VIEWS

forces for the time when the coexistence policy fails and the West has to make the decisions so long evaded. Let us hope that this time it will not be too late.

DR. RUDOLF HILF, Gen. Secy.
Czech-Sudeten German Federal Committee
Munich, Germany

As a refugee from Czechoslovakia, who came to the United States nearly seven years ago under the Displaced Persons Act, I have been very much thrilled by the Radio Free Europe [articles] by Jiri Brada. . . . I wish to congratulate you on the fact that you are the first American periodical with enough courage to publish this kind of story. Scores of individuals and refugee organizations of Czechs and Slovaks for years have tried in vain to warn and inform the American public about the true face of RFE. . . .

I am not saying that Mr. Shepardson and some of his colleagues in the RFE are knowingly committing a crime against Americanism, but I am saying that by being misinformed and misled, they are NOT fighting communism at all, but are stooges of the Socialists, indirect collaborators of communism, enemies of the millions behind the Iron Curtain, and thus enemies of freedom. . . .

SONIA RYSAVA
Berwyn, Illinois

. . . . I sat with the people employed now by RFE in the parliament in Prague, and am fully informed of their allegiance to the Communist cause. . . .

Though I agree in general with the criticism by Mr. Brada, I still think him to be too lenient in this respect. The so-called proved links between RFE on one side and the Communist espionage on the other are somehow missing out of Mr. Brada's article.

DR. MICHAEL ZIBRIN
Former Member of Czechoslovak Parliament
Chicago, Illinois

. . . . My personal congratulations and my thanks for your meritorious and objective action: for the revelation of the true face of Radio Free Europe and the so-called Crusade for Freedom. You have done a great service not only to the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain, but above all also to your heroic American people, who carry in the free West the main burden of the anti-Communist fight.

[I write] not only in my own name, as Vice President of The National Committee for Liberation of Slovakia, . . . but also in the name of many democratic, anti-Communist Slovak refugees. Your articles by Jiri Brada fully hit the true, unfalsified substance of RFE. We, who are following the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe for our enslaved Slovak nation every day, were until now able only to watch helplessly how, under the American Crusade for Freedom, our people have been taught systematically pro-Communist tendencies. We have been watching how, sponsored by a small circle of American citizens, the former Communist collaborators, agents, and pro-Communist

READERS' VIEWS

nists are daily poisoning spiritually our enslaved nation.

... Brada has pointed out the Red shadows in RFE openly and he has informed the American public on the basis of clear proofs about the fact that under the formally anti-Communist theater of Radio Free Europe are being nurtured Red outfits. We are ready to supply you with tens and tens of evidence-documents.

DR. STEFAN G. LUKATS, Vice Pres.
National Committee for Liberation
of Slovakia, Washington, D. C.

In the biographical sketch of Mr. Jiri Brada in the January, 1956, issue of *Facts Forum News* on page 10 there appears the following information: "Unlike many other Czechoslovaks of his age, he never joined the Nazi party."

This is rather a serious indictment of the Czechoslovak youth, isn't it?

When the Nazis invaded Czechoslovakia, Mr. Brada was some sixteen years old, and at their defeat a little over twenty-two. Just what reliable proof do we have to justify the insinuation that young Czechoslovaks apparently indulged in joining the Nazi party? Don't we owe the Czechoslovak people an apology for such a statement?

GRACE W. FOX (MRS. JOHN P.)
Maplewood, New Jersey

... While I was a member of Congress from the Sixth Michigan District and a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I visited Germany and most of the other European countries. I became acquainted with Mr. Brada prior to my visit through correspondence, and met with him while in Germany. My intense interest in the fight against communism quite naturally led me to an investigation of all the activities of the several groups claiming to be helping in that fight.

I have read many of Radio Free Europe's scripts. I have checked on the background of many of those employed by that group. I have talked with many people in Europe about Radio Free Europe and Voice of America.

It is my considered judgment that Mr. Brada's presentation is sound and accurate. I am convinced that Radio Free Europe, while professing to fight communism, is doing it in a most peculiar fashion. Of course they have said a great many harsh things about Communist leaders, but they do not really operate on a militant, completely anti-Communist line. ...

KIT CLARDY
East Lansing, Michigan

The Czechoslovak Foreign Institute [referred to in the Radio Free Europe articles] is important because (1) a large number of the principal characters in RFE are members, and (2) it is an infiltration center which serves the purpose of sapping and undermining the morale of Czechoslovak refugees and preventing any true anti-Communist movement from taking hold. ...

KURT GLASER
Washington, D. C.

*Documentary material, including copies of the Directives of the Institute, are on file with *Facts Forum News*.

Professors Disagree With Brada

To *Facts Forum News*:

[Re] your article, "A Close-up View of Radio Free Europe," we are not going to deal with [the author's] utterances about Radio Free Europe or his fantastic incriminations of the U. S. intelligence and counter-intelligence. These organizations may be supposed to be resourceful enough to find answers of their own. What we, however, are strongly concerned about is the author's offending general statements — or rather misstatements — about the Czechoslovak people who are defenseless against calumnies being fed to a too credulous American public. We feel really ashamed that such an attack is being made by the son of a Czech mother.

We will just pick out some of the most outrageous points of the article that can be answered without awaiting the further installments of dirt to be poured out by the author on his own people.

(1) The box on page 10 [January issue] contains the following statement:

"Unlike many other Czechoslovaks of his age, he never joined the Nazi party nor any of the organizations which, upon the defeat of Nazi Germany, were declared to be Fascist. ..."

This, of course, seems to be *your* statement based on information supplied by the author. This statement is — we are proud to be able to bear witness against it — diametrically opposed to the facts. It was the young Czech generation, and among it particularly the students, who offered the toughest resistance to Hitler's barbarity. Have you ever heard of the bloody students' demonstrations on November 17, 1939, which led to the abolition by the Nazis of all Czech universities? Have you ever heard of the thousands of young Czechs that were shot to death or confined to concentration camps for non-conformism? Have you perhaps ever heard of a whole age class (that of 1924) being "donated" to Hitler to be assigned to slave labor in the Reich because of their failure to conform? Mr. Jiri Brada is soiling the memory of the thousands of victims from among his own age group who gave their lives for freedom and democracy in German jails and concentration camps if he says that many young Czechoslovaks joined Fascist organizations or even the Nazi party! ...

(2) Mr. Brada — like many other people, particularly from Sudeten

German circles — would like to make the American public believe that every one who held a leading function in the non-Communist parties of the "National Front" was a collaborator, that "so many of the Socialist-minded collaborators were in due time permitted by the Communist authorities to leave their country," and that the true purpose of their going abroad was "to confuse and adulterate the crusade of the free world." The undistorted facts are as follows:

(a) Our people had the misfortune of being exposed to slavery twice within a single decade: once, at Munich (Munich) in 1938, by Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier, and for the second time, at Tehran in 1943, and Yalta in 1945, by — we are sorry to have to say it — your President F. D. Roosevelt. We were sold by our friends and allies without having been asked; we had no say in the dirty deal. But the men who loved their people had only two alternatives in both cases: to resign and leave the field without a struggle to the domestic traitors, or to keep on fighting and try to save what *they thought* could still be saved. This is the reason why, after 1939, Dr. Hacha and many other people (not all of them were evil-minded traitors) held on with their offices under the so-called Protectorate, and why Dr. Benes and the London group of the Czechoslovak emigration went home in 1945. After the Tehran-Yalta deal, the Soviets and the domestic Communists had in fact become our masters but there seemed a hope still to be left: that the Czech democrats, backed by the tremendous authority of President Benes, would succeed in gradually eliminating Communist domination by democratic methods. We today, having the benefit of the hindsight, know that all these attempts were foolish and doomed to failure. But in 1945, very few of the leading democrats had at least a tiny amount of this knowledge, and those who organized in the non-Communist parties in order to fight communism did not know anything at all. No one would have dared to imagine at that time how completely our country had been traded to the Soviets by our Western friends.

It shall not be denied that all non-Communist parties, but particularly the Social Democrats, were infiltrated by Communist agents. This became apparent after the coup d'etat of 1948. It is also true that the non-Communist parties had to join the National Front

and to agree to various Communist measures. This was the price that these parties had to pay for their permission to exist and to have an opportunity to form the nuclei of legal anti-Communist resistance. Whether it was really wise to pay that price is hardly a question that Mr. Jiri Brada is able to answer. He was too young and immature at that time to have the necessary political insight. We may leave the judgment to history. . . .

(b) We do not know how difficult or easy it was for Mr. Brada to escape from his country. But we do know how difficult it has been since 1948 for tens of thousands of other citizens. Many of them lost their lives in that attempt. You will probably know that the "Iron Curtain" is not just a figure of speech, it is really iron, made up of barbed wire, mines, and the bullets of the border guards. In spite of the fact that the Communists did send a certain amount of agents to the West, the wholesale assertion of Mr. Brada that practically every man having been active in a Czechoslovak political party before 1948 is a collaborator and was let go to the West intentionally, is so grotesque that it sounds like a bad joke.

(c) One may be of various opinions about the political efficiency that the escaped Czechoslovak partymen have developed in the West since their escape. But the insinuation that they are here to confuse and adulterate the crusade of the free world is likewise grotesque. . . .

(3) People who have a vested interest in doing so are constantly trying to confuse the American public about the Czech people's attitude toward capitalism, socialism and communism. The average American is uninformed about the fact that American capitalism and European capitalism are two quite different things, and that consequently also American socialism and European socialism are pretty much different. It is foolish to try to judge an economic system by its moral merits. An economic system is good if it is efficient, i.e., if it amply satisfies the material and immaterial needs of a nation. An economic system is bad if it fails to do so. The American variant of capitalism is efficient and therefore good, and actually, there are few people who wish to change it. Socialism has, therefore, never grown in American soil. Things are different in Europe. The European variant of capitalism has failed to satisfy the needs of the nations and this is the reason why Socialist parties of Marxist, non-Marxist, and even Christian denomination have such huge masses of followers. A

party may be founded (like the Communists and Socialists in the U.S.A.) but it will never appeal to people and become a mass movement if it does not foster, or (as in the Communist case) pretend to foster, a real interest of the masses. Instigating the American public against European socialism makes no sense. Not the Americans but the Europeans must be judges of the economic systems the European peoples see fit to adopt. The U.S.A. has many good and trusted friends among European Socialist parties and governments, and as a matter of fact, in some countries (see the case of Austria!) the Socialists are the toughest fighters against communism. One need not be a Socialist or favor socialism in order to be fair to Socialist parties where they deserve it. Throwing them into one bag with the Communists is excusable only by lack of information. A European can hardly plead it.

The future economic system of Czechoslovakia after an eventual liberation is neither the business of other countries nor even the business of Czechoslovak emigres. It must be decided by the Czechoslovak people in a free act of will. It is quite possible that after their experience with a government-operated economy they will just have had enough of it. But if they decide otherwise it must be all right, too. The American public should not be driven into an attitude of "I won't give my dollars if you don't conform with my system." The American people cannot be absolved from a moral obligation to contribute to the liberation of the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe because it was an American president who greatly helped to enslave them.

(4) Mr. Brada's intention to make the American public believe that all Czechoslovak parties after 1945 were Socialist or even Marxist cannot remain undisputed either. Of the four parties then in existence (Communists, Social Democrats, Benes' National Socialists, and the [Catholic] People's Party) only the first two were Marxist. The National Socialists (they have never had anything to do with the Nazis except for a pure coincidence of names) have during the fifty years of their existence always been anti-Marxist, and their socialism was not actually an economic doctrine but rather a program of social justice and the betterment of human relations. They have never adhered to the doctrine of class warfare, but always advocated the idea of brotherhood within the nation and among nations. They

READERS' VIEWS

EDITOR'S NOTE: According to information made available to *Facts Forum News*, Dr. Bata, who wrote the following letter, is co-founder of the world's largest shoe factory, with property holdings in Czechoslovakia amounting to some \$200 million, with further large holdings and industrial enterprises in Brazil and Europe. In 1947, although absolved, for lack of proof, of some sixty-four crimes against the Communist government, his property was confiscated and he was sentenced to fifteen years of hard labor by the National Court. Recently, by decision of an international court in Holland, he was given back his possessions and shoe factories in Holland, Switzerland, and Great Britain.

. . . . In my own meager experience I can agree with Mr. Brada that the activity of the personnel in RFE, especially the Czechoslovakian desk, is more than one-sided on the pinky-leftist side, if not exactly red. But my criticism of that group is aimed even higher. On one of my visits to the Czech desk, one of the first bosses of the organization asked me to furnish material, if I could, that could be used in broadcasting criticism of the Czechoslovak Communist government in Prague.

During that conversation we discussed the possibilities of liberation, about which so much had been made in broadcasts to which I had previously listened. In order to test the inner conviction of the chief of RFE Blank-knights as to the usefulness of his own and all their work, I said good-naturedly: "Well, we will hold out, for inside of five years we will be back in Prague and working hard for our free country."

The trap worked. I said it with full conviction, and the head man understood the sincerity of it. It struck him. He stood for a moment motionless, and then, all embarrassed, said in a voice completely void of any firmness: "Do you really think we ever will?"

That was my last visit to that institution, for I felt betrayed. I could see that RFE, even for the head of that desk, did not offer an opportunity to put intellect, ability, and enthusiasm into the service of liberating the oppressed nations. It was only another well-paid job, without the necessary inner conviction.

No matter how much money the well-meaning Americans have put into that organization, it is wasted money. What they have there are not soldiers of truth, enthusiasts of justice, and Blank-knights of the enslaved nations, but merely well-paid pretenders without inner conviction.

Can such a man fire the minds of the listeners, who listen in danger of their lives somewhere in a hidden place behind the Iron Curtain? No. Minds cannot be set afire by someone who does not himself burn with the white flame of righteousness and conviction. . . .

The revelation that the personnel of the Czech RFE stands upon the basis of the Kosice Program of theft of all privately owned, once formidably efficient and strong Czechoslovak industry could in itself be enough to make their broadcasts absolutely useless for the West's purposes, for immediately RFE would become the mouthpiece for the Communists and for some of the thieves of the legal

READERS' VIEWS

owners' property there. It would be unable to penetrate to 85 per cent of Czechs, who disagree with the Kosice thefts and the terroristic National Courts, whereby some 8,200 economic leaders of the nation have been condemned to hard labor sentences of from five years to life imprisonment.

It is clear . . . that the RFE, paid for by American money, is propagating Socialist poison in Europe instead of the liberating ideas of free mind and the Western way of life.

Is that being done knowingly? On purpose?

Do the people that form the leading group in the Crusade of Freedom deliberately try to plant the spirit of Socialist submission to Communist rule behind the Iron Curtain, or is the Crusade for Freedom honestly what it says in its firm's shield? . . .

The American-paid propagators of liberty may not know better, but at any rate they do propagate communism under the guise of socialism, social democracy, democratic socialism, radicalism, Christianity, and whatnot. . . .

The head of the Czechoslovak desk does not profess any intellectual recognition and allegiance to the spirit of freedom, for which the Crusade of Freedom has been formed, but he does directly offer publicly his allegiance to the pinkish — no, red — system of the Bolsheviks.

To a simple person like myself and like 95 per cent of the American nation and the free people of the world, such a confession should be enough to start putting our house in order. . . .

That the USA citizens would tolerate the propagation of slavery from the RFE "Crusade for Freedom" action is unimaginable. . . .

DR. JAN A. BATA
Amsterdam, Holland

With great jubilation one of my Czechoslovak refugee friends called last night to say, "I've just read the past four issues of *Facts Forum News* and finally, thank goodness, some American publisher has dared to present facts against Radio Free Europe. Now perhaps the American people will see what an undemocratic thing they are supporting by giving 'Truth Dollars' to RFE."

. . . . As a journalist, it had long been a very serious concern of mine that I could not find any information about the content of RFE broadcasts. The American press seemed to steer clear, except to toss an occasional generalized bouquet, and I was relying on Czech exile newspapers from Europe for my information. . . .

(MRS.) ANITA DASBACH
St. Louis, Missouri

. . . . During the past year, Mr. Shepardson has been informed about Communist infiltration of Radio Free Europe in Munich several times. I have sent some material concerning this matter to Mr. Shepardson, and he always confirmed its acceptance by a personal letter. He thanked me for the information, but nothing more happened afterward. . . .

JOSEF KALVODA, Acting Chairman
Czech Christian Democratic Movement
New York, N. Y.

did not change their ideology even after 1945, and after 1948, they were the party to be persecuted first and most cruelly. The People's party was neither Marxist nor Socialist but had an entirely Catholic ideology. As already stated, if both parties had to accept certain Communist measures, it was only under pressure and it was the price for the permission to exist. This does not involve *voluntary* agreement.

It was a hard and perilous fight that many of us who have now found an asylum in the West waged within the framework of the permitted anti-Communist parties. Many of us took a great risk in that fight. Does anybody believe that it would have been easier to fight without the cover of a permitted organization, the only sort of organization that had some influence on public affairs?

It is your policy to hear both sides.

Jiri Brada's Reply to Letters of Protest

THE President of the Free Europe Committee obviously saw that the only possible way to defend and to explain the policies of Radio Free Europe was to attack my character. However, before speaking of personal matters, I shall discuss, point by point, the few defense attempts on behalf of the Radio Free Europe programs which Mr. Shepardson made.

First, in connection with Mr. Shepardson's explanation that "the Czech word socialism" also means "social justice," I believe he has been badly misinformed by Socialist employees. It is quite obvious that the Socialists, like the Communists, try to give to the term applied to their world philosophy the best possible meaning. However, the official Czech Otto Lexicon, Part 23, Prague 1905, p. 571, defines socialism as "the teaching about social institutions based on collective ownership." In every case in the official Czech Lexica, socialism and communism are mentioned together. However, as Mr. Shepardson undoubtedly knows, the word socialism is not a Czech word, but an international word. Simple reflection might have indicated to him that the word socialism means exactly the same in Czech as in English.

In regard to Mr. Shepardson's accusations that I have misquoted and taken the words of Radio Free Europe programs out of context, he has himself misquoted a part of the RFE script by Ferdinand Peroutka of May 3, 1953. This consists of a falsification

. . . Not only Free Europe has been attacked; also the Czech nation and virtually each of us emigres has been slandered. We appeal to your American fairness in asking you to bring in your paper our point of view, too. We do not mean to insist on your printing this letter if you are able to secure better and more detailed information from any other source of the same kind. But only by hearing our side, too, can you convince us that by printing the article involved there was no intention of slander and offense on your part.

DR. A. M. GESSMANN,
Prof. of Modern Languages
DR. X.Y.*
Assoc. Prof. of Sociology
Talladega College,
Talladega, Alabama

*Name withheld on request.

in showing the word socialism in quotation marks. A photocopy of the original English text proves clearly that Radio Free Europe did not put this word in quotation marks. The word therefore carries its full meaning.

Peroutka and other Socialists on the Radio Free Europe staff seek systematically to present examples and proofs that socialism is not dead, explaining many deeds of the West as Socialist measures. For instance, Peroutka teaches that America is going Socialist, and even that her president is a socialist, in order to keep socialism alive in the East.

There are other RFE programs which clarify Peroutka's meaning in the use of the word "socialism." Familiarity with other programs of Radio Free Europe would show even Mr. Shepardson that over the microphones and air waves used by this organization, socialism is taught in its full Communist meaning. While certain examples were furnished in the first installment of my article [*Facts Forum News*, January, 1956] other instances substantiating this claim are —

On January 29, 1955, Ferdinand Peroutka, on the program "Sunday Comments," said:

We, the political exiles, who had no factories, no mines, no shares and no capital, have not started a political action abroad in order to acquire again what we never had. We are no society of Capitalists. . . .

Humankind stands on the threshold of a new era, and he who would counsel creeping back into some year of the past, into any past year, even though personal

recollections of it are sweet, is no more than a dry leaf.

We shall return from America, where the sojourn rather helped than hampered us to embrace these ideas. . . . Before coming here we spent some time in England and there saw the Labor Government. The houses of the rich on the crescents in London were deserted, but the workers had shifted nearer to the center of society. Neither England nor America tended in us the idea that it was possible or advisable to return to the year 1930 or 1938. . . . Following the Democratic administration in America came that of Republicans, but did not eliminate the social measures of the preceding government. This means, in the words of an old socialist, that human society as a whole — not a single party only — moves toward social progress. [Mr. Brada's italics]

On January 7, 1956, on the program, "After Work Discussion":

The idea of nationalization was not invented by the Communists. And we do not give it up. . . .

On "Local Commentary," December 30, 1955, it was stated:

Socialism is a Western word and it is also a Western invention. And what is more important: it is also a Western practice, and it is today's Western practice.

Anyone who has the original texts of these broadcasts can only be astonished at Mr. Shepardson's misinterpretations and misquotations. Mr. Shepardson could, if he feels he is so much in the right, request the Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate my charges.

When on August 6, 1953, the Chairman of the Czechoslovak Marxist Social Democratic Party, Vaclav Majer, Minister of the National Front (who nationalized Czechoslovak industry after 1945), said: "Stronger and more powerful are the traditions of . . . democratic socialism," what kind of socialism does Mr. Shepardson think this Marxist means?

The entire pasts of Ferdinand Peroutka and of the other employees of Radio Free Europe clearly indicate that they are socialistic. Their actions show what they understand under the word socialism — and it is not "social justice." They collectivized property, industry, trade, and land, suppressed all non-Socialists, abolished freedom of speech and election and praised the Soviet Union as their great example, all of which I shall prove by example before I close my reply.

Mr. Shepardson undoubtedly knows that the Communists in the East label themselves Socialists (i.e., the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), and that any preaching of socialism from the West helps the Communist cause by indicating to the enslaved people in the East that perhaps the only fault of the Communists is that they have tried to realize socialism too quickly,

and by causing them to think that in the final analysis the Communists are right.

The program "Local Commentary," on December 23, 1955, spoke of the "manly stand of the Polish Communists" and how "the Hungarian Communist authors . . . intrepidly ask for a (like) cultural policy."

While Mr. Shepardson admitted in his letter that RFE speaks to the Socialists and the Communists in the East, he failed to mention that it speaks only to them. RFE has its special socialist programs, programs for the Communist Party, but it has no programs for the old non-Socialist parties abolished by the National Front. Besides the dissolution of kolkhozes and re-establishment of small farmers (never, however, addressed in the terms of the once-proud agrarians), RFE absolutely never speaks of the necessity to restore free enterprise, private property in industry and trade, or order and justice as it was before the Communists took over. Although RFE constantly pictures that before World War II the living standard in Czechoslovakia was better than at present, it nevertheless constantly asserts that there is no return possible to the year 1938, or to any other year.

The internationalist, Karol Belak-Berger, declared on January 19, 1956, on the RFE program, "Voice of Opposition":

To nobody occurs the idea — not even in the dream — that it would be possible or good to return tomorrow to the year 1918, 1938 or 1945. The integral renewal of the old order in our country . . . is a pure nonsense.

They never offer, of course, any non-integral return.

The same thing was declared on January 11, 1956, and on January 14, 1956. This goes on without interruption in the "progressive" Radio Free Europe.

Although Mr. Shepardson says in his letter that RFE advocates the right of every nation to choose its own form of government, the truth is quite different. The "free elections" by which RFE states now and then that the people in the East will have the right to choose their form of government is understood to mean solely the freedom of the National Front elections, where only leftist parties have been admitted, many voters have been disfranchised, and only pro-Communist leaders have campaigned. For example, Dr. Ivo Duchacek declared on January 8, "International Commentary," that the last free elections were nine years ago.

But what RFE advocates is Socialism and the National Front. RFE says,

in effect: "You are free to choose; but we, who speak for you in the free world, say: 'Socialism is the only right thing, and the old order will and may never return'."

The natural reactions to such policies are pernicious: anti-Communists and anti-Socialists remain in apathy, and only the leftists rejoice—precisely what the Communists want.

Mr. Shepardson misquoted completely what I said about the findings of the Kersten Committee, which was that this Committee declared that the Kosice Government Program of the National Front opened the door to the full communization of Czechoslovakia and that, on the other hand, Radio Free Europe defends this Red program even today.

The Kersten Committee investigated the Kosice Program. It did not investigate Radio Free Europe. It coexisted with it. The Kersten Report gave, not to RFE, but to all media of American information considered collectively, two paragraphs of general praise which stressed the general importance of media broadcasting to the East, and was based on absolutely no knowledge or study of the RFE broadcasts. Because of this praise, Mr. Kersten, in coexistence with Radio Free Europe, was able to speak to the East. The fact that the East heard of and from one of the great living Americans was worth this price.

Of course, had the Kersten Committee in its two weeks stay in Munich investigated RFE — which I urged, but which it had no mandate to investigate — it would have found that the same fellow-travelers which it condemned in its report are clinging to positions in RFE, and, still worse, continuing their National Front activities there. They would have found, too, that RFE suppressed all important findings of the Kersten Committee.

Fortunately, Mr. Kersten was able to speak at least a few words to the East.

Mr. Shepardson declared that Radio Free Europe refuses to become involved in the ideological disputes of "certain refugee groups," and that I want to dissolve the national Czechoslovak State. Actually, Radio Free Europe utterly disregards the principle of self-determination for all anti-Communist nations. Many voices from the U. S. Congress declared themselves for Slovak self-determination, among which I recall those of Congressmen Kersten, Bentley, Flood, and Madden.

Mr. Shepardson, referring to Peroutka as a Catholic and independent, stated: "No exile from behind the

Iron Curtain is attacked more intensely by the Communists than Peroutka; hardly a day passes without the Communist radio and press pouring out invective against him." He stated that in the nineteen months ending December 31, 1955, the Soviet Union made or inspired a total of 1,826 Communist attacks on Radio Free Europe, and that there could be only one reason for this Communist campaign of denunciation—to try to destroy Radio Free Europe.

Peroutka, whose commentaries are repeated every week about three or four times, is the symbol of Radio Free Europe. It would be helpful, I am sure, to show you just what these Communist attacks against Radio Free Europe amount to, how the Communists see RFE and Peroutka. Peroutka himself boasts of being attacked by the Eastern Communists. To quote Peroutka's own words—

October 10, 1953, 12:15, "Sunday Comments of Ferdinand Peroutka":

Radio Prague calls me a "dog whose barking does not reach the heavens," or "the idiot, blowing a trumpet." . . . The "dog, whose barking does not reach the heavens" makes me wonder. Perhaps it is so. There was once a delightful and appealing house, filled with sundry valuables; bad people crept up to it during the night; the faithful dog barked, but the inmates slept and heard nothing, and the bad people penetrated into the house and seized everything. The Communists were preparing the dictatorship and, true enough, my voice did not reach the heavens. Yet I know that the number of people who now promise themselves to be more vigilant should the dog bark again has immensely grown.

The kind of barking for which the "faithful dog" Ferdinand is today responsible is the same as it was in Czechoslovakia. Once harmless towards communism, today the same—and this barking was helping communism then exactly as it is today. The Communists needed such dogs then, and they need them now.

The Communists have had no better ally in the West than Radio Free Europe, and they like nothing more than bandying words with the faithful Ferdinand. While they would like to destroy all broadcasts from the West across the Iron Curtain, they would be most unhappy if Radio Free Europe and its barking dogs were destroyed.

ANSWERING THE PROFESSORS

Before coming to strictly personal matters, I feel it proper to mention the letter of the professors of Talladega College, Alabama. I most decidedly made no statement in my article about the Czechoslovak people, for in reality there are Czech people and there are Slovak people, nor did I supply any

information about or against the Czech people. I feel that the Czechs are slandered by those who maintain that the majority of Czechs are Socialists, and who try in this way to uphold RFE's preaching of socialism. This is exactly what the professors did.

In my opinion the Czechs are a very fine and able people, in the majority anti-Socialist, of Western and Christian orientation. Although Shepardson and the professors might like to keep the Czechs forever loyal to the National Front, it was merely an exception that the 1946 elections showed a predominance of votes for Communists, Marxists and Socialists, due to the fact that hundreds of thousands of voters were kept away from the polls. In Slovakia, nearly 20 per cent of the adult voters were so denied voting privileges, because the non-Socialist parties were forbidden to vote, and were persecuted, and also because the votes of many were bought by the Communists, who distributed stolen Czech and Sudeten German property in payment for voting privileges. Also chargeable to the National Front leaders now employed by RFE are actions for which the Czech people are not responsible, including the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, and of the Hungarians, who were robbed of all property, tortured, beaten, and worse. Of these about 300,000 perished during the expulsion. Although Shepardson, the professors and Peroutka apparently wish it otherwise, most of the Czech people and the Slovak people are anti-Socialist. In the last free elections, in 1935, the non-Socialists and anti-Socialists among the Czechs and Slovaks were in a nearly two to one majority over the Socialists. It must be mentioned that the Agrarian Party (liquidated by the National Front) was the strongest party among the Czechs and Slovaks.

Contrary to the professors' statement, everyone holding a position in the National Front in 1945-48 had to be a Communist collaborator. However, some of these former leaders of the National Front rejected their past and denounced the National Front when coming to the free West. Others have stuck to their former activities, the National Front and the Kosice Program, to the present time. They uphold their actions of the past under the National Front, and preach the same things today.

Radio Free Europe has made a strict and crystal-clear distinction between these groups—it has employed only and exclusively the non-repenting National Fronters.

The professors' opposition to the

Yalta agreement would seem sound. However, RFE does uphold the Yalta agreement. The professors are not informed about RFE programs—and yet defend them. Why?

Since Mr. Whitney Shepardson has seen fit to inject personal comment, let me say that Dr. X.Y.* is not an independent intellectual writing spontaneously from his patriotic heart in protest against my article. He is a left-wing Socialist, collaborator of the magazine *Tribuna*, and a member of the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile. He is connected by personal and political friendship closely with those who are entrenched in Radio Free Europe and the "Council of Free Czechoslovakia" (called also National Front in Exile).

I enclose photocopy of an article by Dr. X.Y. in *Tribuna*,** the official organ of the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile. In the same issue Mojmir Povolny advocates nationalization of production means, and there is also an article by Jaroslav Dresler, an important RFE editor in Munich.

One of the associates of the Czechoslovak Institute in Exile was Kubal, who was also connected with Dr. Hubert Ripka's secretary. Kubal was arrested by the French police as a Communist agent in 1952.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile has its parallel in the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Prague, which publishes *Ceskoslovensky Svecet*. The Prague Institute supports all Czech and Slovak Communists living in the West. The Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile, of which Dr. X.Y. is a member, supports Czech and Slovak left-wing Socialist intellectuals in the free world.

A directive summarizing the political aims of the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile, which is led by Dr. X.Y. and his cohorts, states:

The transfer of the means of production into the hands of the workers is the only way leading to the increase of well-being and prosperity among the largest classes.

The organizational directive of the Institute covering operating groups states that certain members must remain unknown:

The Czechoslovak Foreign Institute is to create a group within groups. The anonymity of its members is to constitute its greatest strength, because it is not possible to defeat an invisible power.

Dr. Hubert Ripka is often mentioned as the founder of this Institute.

Dr. X.Y. is in any case a full-blooded Socialist. He probably owes his ex-

*Dr. X.Y.'s identity was revealed to Mr. Ripka prior to receipt of his request that initials be substituted for his name.

**This documentation is on file with Facts Forum News.

reer to the Free Europe Committee, which has a virtual monopoly on placing emigres on American university staffs. As a professor of Sociology at an American university, he teaches American students that socialism, at least in Europe, is a fine thing, and that the Socialists have been the toughest fighters against communism in the East.

The program of Benes' National Socialists, which the professors call poetically "a program of social justice and the betterment of human relations" includes nationalization of industry and other non-poetical and ugly Socialist measures.

I agree with the professors that the Socialists, the minority of the Czech people, should be liberated from the Communists, but I see a basic difference between liberating Socialists as compared to preaching socialism, and forcing non-Socialist nations to accept socialism in the future through the means of American money spent on RFE.

The Socialists of the National Front came to the West in order to keep power. They conspire to suppress all non-Socialists, and, if their plans succeed, to take over the leadership of the collectivized property in Czechoslovakia from the Communists—or, to be more exact, to share it with them. By their egotistic aim and their general lack of intelligence and understanding of the international conspiracy they, who constitute a minority of the Czech people and of the exiles, confuse and adulterate the crusade of the free world. It is interesting that these men represent the kind of anti-Communists Shepardson and his Committee seek and support.

PERSONAL HISTORY

Although the President of the Free Europe Committee has accused me of having been a leader of a Nazi youth organization in Czechoslovakia, the truth is somewhat different.

The population of the Bohemian countries (Western Czechoslovakia) consisted of about 7 million Czechs and 3 million Sudeten Germans. Although the Sudeten Germans lived in recognizable border regions, the Czech population is nevertheless considerably mixed with the Germans. I have never hated the Germans—as have the Czech Communists and Socialists—and have always been anti-Communist. In 1943, at the age of 20 years, I joined the Kuratorium for Youth Education, which was a mixed German-Czech organization. I was never a functionary of that organization, and left it after several months, in the

same year of 1943, after becoming dissatisfied with its activities. This organization was never declared to be Nazi or Nazi-affiliated by the Allies, and even the Red Government of the National Front did not declare it to be Nazi and did not persecute its members. It was only the "Kosice Government Program," which, according to the Kersten Report caused the communization of Czechoslovakia, which declared:

Persecuted will be the *functionaries* of the "Kuratorium for Youth Education," *members* of the "Vlajka" Committee, *members* and *functionaries* of the "Central Trade Union of Employees" and of the "Union of Agriculture and Forestry." . . . [Mr. Brada's italics]

In fact the Kosice Program persecuted everyone who was not pro-Communist and who had some property.

According to the Kersten Committee:

A charge of collaboration with Germany served the Communists as a pretext for imprisoning and condemning all potential opposition. Everybody's political past was to be checked by verification commissions. By procedures before courts and commissions, which were without basis in the penal laws . . . tens of thousands of persons lost their jobs, civil rights, property and liberty itself.

The Kosice Program of April 4, 1945, was a Red paper, prepared in Moscow. It established the National Front Government, involving only Communist and pro-Communist parties and was led by the Communists Fierlinger and Gottwald, as Prime Ministers, and the Socialist Dr. Benes as President of the State. All Czech parties of the center and the right (the Agrarian Party, the National Democratic Party, the Artisan Party, etc.), as well as all Slovak parties which before World War II had constituted a majority of Czech and Slovak deputies in the Prague Parliament, were dissolved and prohibited, and even the pro-Communist parties of the National Front in many cases were given new, Communist-chosen leaders. Freedom of election, of speech and of the press were abolished. Only the press of the National Front was permitted. People's courts were established in order to persecute all reactionaries and traitors; the industry and trade were forcefully nationalized and collectivized; local Soviets, called National Committees, were established; and 3½ million Sudeten Germans were expropriated and expelled, hundreds of thousands of them had to die. It was a bloody Red regime, led by the men who are now in the top positions of Whitney Shepardson's Radio Free Europe.

The President of the Free Europe Committee, as an "effort to defend Radio Free Europe," accused that I

had studied at a university which was restricted to Nazi collaborators. This is false. I studied one semester in 1944 at the University of Rostock in Northern Germany. In autumn, 1944, I became ill, and remained at home in Brno until the end of the war. This university was founded in the year 1419 as the first university in Northern Germany, and, as in other German universities, many foreigners studied there during its existence. Every Czech student—except the Communists—could study there even during the war. Requirements for admission were scholastic standing, knowledge of the language, and general intelligence. The Germans, as I remember, made only racial investigations—but no collaboration with the Nazis was necessary.

The fact is that after the war I was not persecuted because of the Kuratorium or the studies. I was fined about two or three thousand Czech crowns (a few dollars in the currency of that time) by the Local National Committee in Brno (the local Soviet) and was kept away from the 1946 elections, not because of any "Nazi affiliations," but because of a private anti-Communist letter which got into the hands of the Reds in 1945.

The best proof of these facts is that I was admitted immediately upon application in 1945 to studies at the Czech University of Brno by a commission of three university professors and one student. The student, a Communist, refused to sign my admission papers, but was overruled by the three professors. I regained my voting right in 1948, but then in February of the same year came the Communist coup.

I do not believe it is Mr. Shepardson's duty to persecute me through such personal accusations at this time when even the National Front did not do so earlier. Although Radio Free Europe follows many a Communist line, I refuse to accept such a "smear" from Mr. Shepardson for the sole reason that he has no better defense for his pro-Communist Radio Free Europe. It will probably happen again and again that the Communists, and those who follow their line, will call all anti-Communists Nazis or Fascists.

In February, 1948, Czechoslovakia was taken over by the Communists, assisted by the present Radio Free Europe men, who, according to the professors, tried "to eliminate Communist domination by democratic methods." Before this, however, they had eliminated all non-Communists by *undemocratic* methods. The Kersten Committee describes their elimination of the Communists by democratic methods

as follows:

It should be pointed out that the Communist advance in Czechoslovakia was greatly facilitated by the behaviour of the the non-Communist parties and their leaders.

This "democratic elimination" of the Communists by the "Czechoslovak Democrats" ended successfully when the Socialist President Dr. Benes (even today praised by RFE) signed the papers of the new Communist Government and continued on as President, Czechoslovakia already being 100 per cent Communist.

In the days of the Communist coup, I spoke to a fellow-student at Brno University, Miroslav Karkan, who was a member of the Benes Socialist Party, and who had behaved before as an anti-Communist. Trusting Karkan, I spoke openly against the new government, and also declared that this was the fault of President Benes.

Several days later I reported at the university to take my final examinations. The examining professor said that he could not examine me, because the Communist Action Committee of the University forbade me to take the exams. About two days later I was visited by a plain-clothes policeman who took me to police headquarters, and then to the apartment of a student of my faculty, Paul Thaler, Masa Street 18. Thaler and the policeman declared that they knew me as an enemy of the people's democracy and of communism. Then Thaler read, verbatim, my words spoken to the Socialist informer, Karkan, the words I had spoken against communism and against the National Front President Benes. In addition, a false accusation was made that I had sent a reactionary person, who could not get an exit visa, to Great Britain in 1947 on false papers. They indicated knowledge of my studies in Germany and at the Kuratorium, and said that they were going to prosecute me in the Courts.

Thaler told me they were going to destroy me because I was an enemy of the people. He declared further that even a flight abroad would not be of any help to me, because they have their people everywhere, even in the West. Thaler also declared that he was the head of the Communist secret service at all universities and polytechnic in Brno, and in charge of the purge of the universities.

He then read to me Minister Jan Masaryk's declaration that he would cooperate with the new Communist government, and the declaration of the university president, who said the same. He told me that President Benes recognized the new government, and had accepted it; that it was a legal

government, and it was my duty to work for it.

Then Thaler asked me to report to him on the opinions of the other students of my faculty. He instructed me to continue to speak against communism, listen to what other students said, and to write everything down and submit reports to him. He assured me that they merely wanted to know the opinions of the students about the new government in order to be able to act accordingly, and that they would not do anything to those students—that they would be treated in the same way as I was treated. I could only pass my examination if I would do this for three months. Upon satisfactory completion of that time, I would not be required to report further. On the contrary, Thaler declared to me that he knew my abilities in science, and that they would support me in my career and secure a very good position for me.

On the other hand, he said that if I did not do so, they would destroy me, expel me from the university, and put me into a labor camp; that I would never in my life be able to finish my studies and work in a profession of my own choosing.

Thaler asked me then to sign two forms for him (this is the basis of Mr. Whitney Shepardson's statement that I had "twice signed a contract to be an agent for the Communist police"!) Partly under the influence of his sweet, sly talk, partly in anger against the Benes men of the National Front who had caused this situation, who had kept me without political rights before, and then even denounced me to this Communist, I signed these two forms. Had I not signed them, I would have been arrested immediately, for they had taken me into their confidence too completely. I could not feel any friendship toward them, for they had expelled and killed the Sudeten Germans, suppressed all decent Czechs or jailed them, and there was nobody whom I thought it necessary to protect. The semi-Communists of the National Front seemed to me to be still worse than the open Communists themselves. Why should I protect one against the other?

My signature to these two forms satisfied them for the time being, and they released me in a most friendly manner and told me to come back one week later to bring my first reports.

I stayed at home during that week. It was a very hard week, and I became actually ill. For the first time I realized that there are situations in life when one can think of suicide. When I went into the city, I met several stu-

dent friends on the streets who attempted to speak to me, but I avoided them, and did not answer their questions. They trusted me, and perhaps, if they knew of my misfortunes, would want to sympathize with me—however, I felt a friendship for them that would not allow me to implicate them.

One week later, on the day the suicide of Minister Jan Masaryk was announced, I went again to Thaler. This time he was alone at home, and I told him in a friendly manner that I simply could not do what he had asked me. He told me that I should think it over some more, and report to him again—that in the meantime I would not be able to take my examinations, and that if I did not do what he had asked me, I should regret it.

They let two months pass, and when I did not report at Thaler's apartment again, they excluded me from the university. I was among the first students, approximately fifteen in number, who were excluded from the Philosophical Faculty. They excluded me from all universities in Czechoslovakia, turned me over to the Labor Office for forced employment as a laborer, and renewed against me the proceedings before the local Soviet of Brno, introducing court proceedings against me in the case of the reactionary person I had allegedly sent illegally to England in 1947.

I succeeded in postponing the forced labor employment by pretending to work as laborer at my uncle's farm, and the proceedings at the courts and the local National Committee were moving slowly. Finally, shortly before my escape, they were stopped by the general amnesty of the new President Gottwald. However, my only thought at that time was to escape abroad from the terrible milieu which had caused such unbearable turmoil in my life.

In the meantime I went to the Dean (Chairman) of the Philosophical Faculty, and told him everything that the Communists had asked me to do, and of Thaler's connection with them. The Dean was then able to inform and to warn other professors and officers of the faculty. Also, two days after my first discussion with Thaler, I had told Mr. Miroslav Pechan, my best friend in Brno (student of the law faculty in Brno, who now lives in Canada) about the entire situation. He was a member of an underground organization, to which he was able to give the information about Thaler and Karkan. He promised to help me escape to the West. It had already been planned that I was to go in May by way of

(Continued on Page 54)



A FACTS FORUM NEWS CONDENSATION OF THE BOOK

How to Save \$7.5 Billion a Year

(Condensation of the Reports
of the Hoover Commission
on Organization of the Execu-
tive Branch of the Government)

Edited by
FRANK C. HANIGHEN

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INTRODUCTION

THE monumental *Report of the Hoover Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government* has been condensed to a 70,000-word volume by Frank C. Henighen, editor of the periodical, *Human Events*.

Mr. Henighen's condensation describes the findings and recommendations of the Commission with sufficient fullness to give the reader an excellent, general idea of that vast undertaking.

FACTS FORUM NEWS now pinpoints his condensation, so that the reader with limited time to devote to this subject may find a yet more condensed presentation both stimulating and informing.

Of course, for deeper understanding it would be well for the student to consult either the original work or the condensation from which this miniature version was distilled.

HISTORY OF THE COMMISSION

The first Hoover Commission studied primarily organizational and administrative matters. Its objective was in part alignment of appropriate agencies.

The second Commission, created by unanimous vote of Congress on July 10, 1954, and expiring May 31, 1955, could consider administrative techniques and organizational problems as did the 1949 Commission, but it was also specifically authorized to examine government policy. In creating this Commission, the stated objective of Congress was "to promote economy, efficiency, and improved service in the transaction of the public business" throughout the Executive Branch. The Commission could propose the extensive abolition of specific functions with which the federal establishment has become encumbered.

The Executive Branch of the Government comprises more than 2,100 different organizational entities grouped either in Departments, Agencies, Independent Commissions, or acting directly under the President. It expends over \$65 billion annually. The Executive Branch currently includes 2,300,000 civilian employees and an additional 3,300,000 members of the Armed Forces.

The Report reflects a broad area of agreement among the twelve members. Mr. Hoover has stated that the members did not divide on party lines. The Commissioners were:

Herbert Hoover, Chairman	Chet Holifield
Clarence J. Brown	Solomon C. Hollister
Herbert Brownell, Jr.	Joseph P. Kennedy
James A. Farley	John L. McClellan
Homer Ferguson	Sidney A. Mitchell
Arthur S. Flemming	Robert G. Storey

The Commission utilized the "task force" approach to meet its problems. For each area to be examined, eminent citizens in the field were appointed. In all investigations, the task forces utilized studies made by the first Commission and by Congressional Committees.

Chairmen of task forces and subcommittees were:

1. Budget and Accounting: J. Harold Stewart

2. Intelligence Activities: General Mark W. Clark
3. Legal Services and Procedures: James Marsh Douglas
4. Lending Agencies: Paul Grady
5. Medical Services: Chauncey McCormick — deceased Sept. 8, 1954; succeeded by Dr. Theodore George Klumpp
 - a. Subcommittee on Health Insurance: Msgr. Donald A. McGowan
 - b. Subcommittee on Dentistry: Dr. Otto W. Brandhorst
6. Overseas Economic Operations: Henning W. Prentis, Jr.
7. Paper Work Management: Emmett J. Leahy
8. Personnel and Civil Service: Harold W. Dodds
9. Procurement: Robert Wilson Wolcott
10. Real Property: John R. Lotz
11. Subsistence Services: Joseph P. Binns
 - a. Subcommittee on Depot Utilization: Clifford E. Hicks
12. Use and Disposal of Surplus Property: General Robert E. Wood
13. Water Resources and Power: Admiral Ben Moreell
14. Committee on Business Organization of the Department of Defense*: Charles R. Hook
 - a. Subcommittee on Business Enterprises: Joseph B. Hall
 - b. Subcommittee on Research Activities: Mervin J. Kelly
 - c. Subcommittee on Special Personnel Problems: Thomas R. Reid
 - d. Subcommittee on Transportation Activities: Perry M. Shoemaker

The Commission had the final responsibility of making recommendations to Congress.

Some recommendations were not unanimous. The Reports on Personnel and Civil Service (concerning proposals for tightening up the Administrative Procedures Act), on Water Resources and Power, and on Overseas Economic Activities were the only reports on which the dissents were vigorous and divisive.

*This committee coordinated the work of several task forces.

How to Save \$7.5 Billion a Year

A CONDENSATION

AMERICANS present a curious paradox toward the service of government. It is the biggest single class of service they "buy." Its magnitude exceeds the output of several major industries combined.

Yet government appears to be about the only service for which the American people seem willing to pay two or three times the fair price.

Just how "over-priced" is the federal government in particular, has been indicated by the voluminous studies of the Hoover Commission, officially styled "Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government." The waste that could be eliminated amounts to a minimum of seven and one-half billions of dollars a year!

The Report, the result of a collection of one million facts, exposes the never-ending, power-grabbing, empire-building expansion of the executive branch of government — far beyond the intent of Congress.

The waste and duplication described will baffle your imagination — unless you have been an on-the-scene observer of the bureaucratic octopus. The official Commission and Task Force Reports — thirty-eight volumes containing three million words — are jam-packed with examples of reckless expenditure. Just a few:

The Army has a 10.6-year supply of women's wool serge taupe uniforms. The Navy has an 8.1-year supply of blue trousers and enough blue (not dress) jumpers to last for 9.3 years.

The Navy has enough canned beef and gravy and canned ham chunks to last six years and seven months, some of it bought in 1948; enough canned hamburger — some bought in 1950 — to last sixty years.

Random checks of "supply items in common use and easily obtainable from manufacturers" showed that military depots stock many such items sufficient for a twenty and thirty-year supply and even in one case a 128-year supply.

The total inventory of ten "standard items with multiple uses and easy to manufacture," selected for study at Raritan Army Stock Control Point in New Jersey, represented an average 32.6-year supply.

Warehouseland: The warehouse problem is so stupendous and the inefficiency so great, that the government doesn't know what it has in storage or where. Often one agency is selling at a few cents on the dollar something which another agency is buying — perhaps at a premium to obtain instant delivery.

The government owns or rents warehousing and storage space equal to 31,000 acres. The operational cost amounts to \$3.5 billion a year. Office space owned equals the space in 1,250 Empire State buildings.

The task force discovered more than 100 million square feet of space not even listed in the operating records.

The government owns 838 million acres of land of which 472 million acres are in continental United States. The

latter portion equals one-fourth the area of the 48 states. Real estate holdings exclusive of the public domain cost more than \$40 billion.

Surplus Sales: For years to come, the government will be selling some two billion dollars' worth of surpluses annually for five to seven cents on the dollar, unless business-like selling methods are adopted. These sales go on all the time because material is continually becoming obsolete or the supply periodically exceeds the demand. The pool of material, estimated to be worth \$155 billion, is scattered all over the world.

The Task Force on Paperwork Management found that government red tape is forcing private business to produce more than a trillion words and figures annually and is costing executive agencies as well as industry hundreds of millions of dollars in expense that would be unnecessary under an efficient and simplified paperwork system.

Heavy as is the cost of paperwork to big business, it is well nigh unbearable to little business. Four million small businessmen must spend from 5 to 29 per cent of their time compiling reports for the government.

A sample of bureaucratic stupidity is a questionnaire asking for the answers to 106 highly detailed questions from firms making but one product in the apparel field.

A larger number of the 4,700 reports demanded from business firms duplicate information that has already been furnished to "another bureau down the hall."

Great quantities of records are called for which are not used and sometimes are not even filed by the government.

Some business firms refuse to answer questionnaires and the Commission found that often the refusals were never even noticed.

Financial agencies of the federal government (that investigate, guarantee, or insure) have a capital of \$16.9 million. These agencies in given circumstances can further draw on the Treasury for an additional \$14 billion. Their legal and moral liabilities aggregate \$244 billion, only about \$34 billion less than the legally-admitted public debt.

Borrowing on long term by the Rural Electrification Administration costs the so-called local "cooperatives" only 2 per cent interest. This is 1 per cent less than it costs the government to borrow to lend to REA — with nothing added for administrative expense.

Under the Federal Housing Administration the government has backed \$18 billion of mortgage loans disbursed by banks and other lenders. Savings banks keep a reserve for losses of 6 per cent; the FHA, 2 per cent.

The Department of Defense alone has an investment exceeding \$15 billion in commercial-industrial facilities ranging from shoe repair shops to clothing factories, from cement-mixing plants to sawmills, from chain stores to tree and garden nurseries.

Post exchanges and commissaries sell goods and services at or near cost to the government, often underselling even wholesalers because they often buy direct from manufacturers. They pay no rent for either warehousing or selling space; the salaries of military personnel whose services are often utilized are not charged; no account is taken of wastage, spoilage, theft, or depreciation. No interest is paid on the government investment. The enterprise pays no federal or state income taxes.

The Commission calls the right to buy at these substantial savings a "fringe benefit" to government employees and recommends that where such benefit ought to be given, it should be paid in the form of additional salaries. Except in isolated areas, post exchanges and commissaries should be liquidated.

The Commission says 1,000 of the business facilities operated by the Defense Department could be eliminated without injury to national defense.

Most of the government enterprises were begun in war time; nearly all the others were created as temporary agencies to meet the depression; but in virtually every case, when the time for liquidation came, the bureaucracy — supported by the benefited individuals, pressure groups, and communities — found excuses to continue the enterprises.

Medical Empire: The federal government already has assumed partial or total responsibility for the medical care of thirty million persons. Hospital facilities costing one billion dollars are used for the care of veterans with non-service connected illnesses. The annual expense for non-service cases is half a billion dollars. Some veterans' hospitals, because of unwise locations, still lack patients, cannot be operated efficiently and should be closed. Others are over-crowded.

The government maintains 381 facilities in the United States for manufacture and repair of medical and dental supplies. Private industry has both the ability and the capacity to meet the requirements now being supplied by government activities.

For 1954 the varied federal medical services involved the employment of more than 6 per cent of active medical personnel in the country. In 1953, the last year for which full figures were available, the 7,000 hospitals in the country were shown to have 1,573,014 beds, with 200,535 in federal institutions.

GOVERNMENT COMPETITION WITH PRIVATE ENTERPRISES

Although it is the declared congressional and executive policy to foster free enterprise, the federal government is competing with private business on a wide front. Investigation of federal business in competition with private enterprise was required by the Act creating the Hoover Commission.

One of the major problems is the continuation of government enterprises after the emergency that engendered them has terminated. Because of vested interests, misleading or incomplete accounts, or other reasons, some of these enterprises have established an astonishing longevity.

These enterprises include shipbuilding and ship repair yards, peacetime transportation in aircraft and seagoing vessels, commissary stores and post exchanges, bakeries, coffee roasting plants, meat cutting plants, laundries, dry cleaning plants, tailor shops, clothing factories, dental

manufactories, dental manufactures, watch and jewelry repair shops, and many others.

The Commission recommended the gradual liquidation of the postal savings system; deposits have declined steadily since 1947.

The Commission raised questions as to permitting the Tennessee Valley Authority to continue to produce and sell fertilizer in competition with private producers. It recommended that TVA discontinue chemical research and that its fertilizer research facilities be transferred to the Department of Agriculture. The Commission noted that the government had disposed of its other World War I nitrogen and other chemical plants.

One of the principal recommendations of the Commission was that all public laws which require or permit the Armed Services to engage in business operations which can be performed by private industry be reviewed and amended to enable private business to supply military needs to a greater extent. The Commission acknowledged with commendation that, while its report was being prepared, the Department of Defense reviewed its own efforts to reduce competition with private enterprise, with the result that ninety-seven facilities in twenty categories were either discontinued or scheduled for discontinuance. This action of the Department is rated as most constructive.

Huge air transport fleets in 1954 carried 3,900,000 passengers, besides 4,784,000 military hitchhikers, the total cost of which was \$204,400,000. The large majority of this transport paralleled the routes of established private airlines. At the same time, Congress was subsidizing many of the private airlines, by payments for carrying mail, to build up the strength of the commercial airlines, their equipment and personnel, for time of war. The Military Sea Transport, in 1954, operated 221 ships carrying more than two million passengers and 23 million tons of cargo with operating costs of considerably more than half a billion dollars, while Congress subsidized the private merchant marine with a view, among other things, to providing a fleet for military emergencies. Much of the cargo and traffic (from both air and sea transport) could be diverted to private carriers with probable economy to the government and a strengthening of wartime reserves in both branches.

Due to the distressed condition of the private shipbuilding industry and the serious competition engendered by government shipyards, the private industry is weakened as a war reserve. Congress should appoint an independent Commission to study the effect on the industry of the construction and repair of naval vessels in government shipyards.

The Subcommittee on Business Enterprises discussed at length the problems of 288 large industrial facilities in the military departments which were mostly held over from World War II and now constitute the National Military Industrial Reserve. Beyond these, 148 plants have been disposed of to private enterprises on conditions that protect the military interest. The government investment is about \$9 billion; annual maintenance of the reserve plants are in excess of \$200 million. The subcommittee pointed out that six of the plants disposed of have paid more than \$100 million in taxes during a six-year period. The Department of Defense, with the aid of outside experts, should review these plants as to their value, future requirements and possibilities of disposal.

There were twenty-two recommendations in this Report from the Commission.

GOVERNMENT LENDING, INSURING, AND GUARANTEEING AGENCIES

The Commission studied 104 of these federal agencies which have grown to such magnitude — \$244 billion in all — that a broad reorganization has become necessary in the interests of sound operations and economy. It was recommended that certain agencies be mutualized under federal regulation, that hidden subsidies be disclosed to the public, and that agencies generally be made self-supporting.

While it is impossible to calculate fully the benefits to taxpayers by adoption of the recommendations, the Commission foresaw ultimate annual savings of \$200 million by requiring that agencies collect their administrative expenses from their borrowers or other beneficiaries, by imposing on borrowers on future loans interest rates equaling the cost to the government, and by requiring agencies operating with federal funds to surrender government securities held by them to the Treasury in return for a non-interest-bearing credit. One anticipated result would be to restore the "control of the purse" to Congress.

In its appraisal of the various agencies, the Commission found that with relatively few exceptions they have developed methods of organization which assure integrity, efficiency, and great public service. They have made great contributions to national security, to the strengthening of our economy, and to the standards of living of the American people.

The Commission proceeded on the assumption that lending or guaranteeing loans is a function which the government should undertake only when a private enterprise cannot or will not perform the function, and then only in furtherance of a justifiable governmental purpose.

There were forty-eight recommendations made in this department.

FEDERAL MEDICAL SERVICES

Three federal agencies — the Department of Defense, the Veterans Administration, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare — account for more than 90 per cent of the total federal outlays in the health and medical category. The Hoover Commission charged that the whole medical program is carried out under a cumbersome system which breeds inefficiency and huge waste. Federal operations which started officially in this field on a modest scale about 150 years ago have expanded and multiplied to unprecedented proportions in recent years. The various departments and agencies have worked independently, each setting up its own policies and traditions, serving different objectives and different major purposes.

Costs of these varied services in the fiscal year 1954 amounted to \$4,149,000,000, including \$2,030,000,000 in disability allowances. For 1955 the outlay was estimated at \$4,270,000,000.

There were twenty-nine recommendations in the Commission's report, with emphasis on a proposed Federal Advisory Council of Health. Its suggested duties would include studies and suggestions for coordination, elimination of duplication and development of over-all policies for health and medical agencies in government; for adequate health manpower and hospital facilities; for systematic cross-servicing between agencies, and for training and selection of medical staffs for all agencies.

WATER RESOURCES AND POWER

A clear and comprehensive policy declaration by Congress on the country's water resources is imperatively needed to assure their optimum use and their maximum contribution to the national economic growth, strength, and general welfare. This particular report reflected what was perhaps the most far-reaching of all its task force studies. The group wrote its findings in a three-volume compilation, with fifteen recommendations. The Commission proposed that the present Committee on Water Resources and the Interagency Committee on Water Resources be transformed into a Water Resources Board, to be located in the executive office of the President.

This new board should be presided over by a non-government chairman and would include five public members chosen for recognized ability in this field, as well as Cabinet members. This board's primary purpose would be to determine broad policies for recommendation to the President and, with his approval, to Congress. It should have the further duty to devise methods of coordination of the agencies both at the Washington level and in the field. The federal government should assume responsibility when projects are beyond the means or the needs of local or private enterprise. Also, the government should take account of the rights and laws of the separate states concerning appropriation, use, control and development of waters within their boundaries.

Task force members made on-the-ground, detailed investigation of more than two hundred power, navigation, irrigation, and flood control installations. They held public hearings in five cities where representatives of various interests were heard, or statements filed, from thirty states. The views of thirteen governors and sixty-four other state officials were received. The public was represented by fifty-two development and conservation associations, three engineering associations, twelve agricultural associations, fourteen labor unions, twenty-two public power utilities, twenty-nine private power utilities, thirty-one business associations, together with fifty other associations and individuals.

The task force's work included examination of congressional and departmental reports, laws relating to these problems, and historical backgrounds. Irrigation policy, flood control policy, and navigation policy, the task force found, have been separately conceived and separately administered. The report pointed to the absolute necessity of coordination of policies and administration of water resources, and stated many of the costly projects could not be justified economically.

During 130 years through 1954, the federal government appropriated about \$14,300,000,000 for water resource projects. Those projects now authorized by Congress will cost about \$18,494,000,000, making a total of about \$32,800,000,000. The water needs of the United States are expanding. The total increase expected during the next twenty-five years is estimated by the task force to be equal to the additional supply of 147 New York cities, requiring the flow of about eleven Colorado rivers. The Commission urged that our national policies must provide for the development of our water resources.

The task force stated that there is no present or prospective need for federal financing of power activities. Moreover, federal power development is not necessary to supply whatever power may be required for current and prospective defense activities. Yet, our national policy

must be to provide for the development of our water resources, maintenance of waterways, and so on. "The questions before this Commission are how these problems can be solved constructively for the benefit of the people as a whole, and maintain our basic social and economic system."

PAPERWORK MANAGEMENT

Three recommendations in two reports on this subject urged general federal supervision over all phases of paperwork management throughout the executive branch of the government, to simplify, reduce, standardize, and otherwise improve the requirements. Immediate savings could be made if legislation were enacted authorizing changes in Employers Quarterly Federal Tax Return, as recommended by the Internal Revenue Service and the Social Security Administration.

TRANSPORTATION

In its report on Transportation, the Hoover Commission made twenty-one recommendations, to accomplish a modern traffic management and to eliminate waste, duplication, and inefficiency in the federal government's peacetime expenditure of close to \$3 billion a year to haul passengers and freight.

The Commission urged that the government, as the largest shipper of persons and property and as the operator of vast transport facilities of its own, organize and manage its traffic so as to give full recognition to the importance of an adequate and prosperous transportation system, in accordance with the intent of Congress; and recommended that a Director of Transportation be established by the Secretary of Defense, this official to have no responsibilities except those pertaining to traffic and transportation.

REAL PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

Operation and management of a vast realty empire listed at \$40,800,000,000 (representing only the original acquisition and construction costs) were found to be handled under a decentralized and wasteful system requiring the full-time services of 370,000 federal employees. The Commission, in thirteen recommendations, emphasized: (1) the magnitude of this realty problem, involving 400,000 properties, buildings, and facilities, including 838,000,000 acres of land; all controlled by twenty-seven different agencies; and (2) the urgent need for modern business methods to achieve economies and efficiency.

To meet present deficiencies and to effect substantial savings, the Commission recommended centralized management control, also supervision and prompt creation of a comprehensive and continuing inventory showing servicing costs, condition, type, and extent of occupancy in all buildings, et cetera.

The task force estimated that if all its recommendations were adopted and fully carried out, aggregate annual savings might amount to as much as \$185,000,000. It also said that \$1,225,000,000 might be returned to the Treasury through disposal of plants and other properties which might be determined to be surplus if all occupied space were fully and efficiently utilized. There was said to be a lack of adequate and up-to-date records and of financial accounting for space entrusted to the various agencies. The task force found no central management and no agency of the government which maintained over-all ac-

counting records or inspection of the process of real management. Moreover, great recoveries of invested capital could be made by disposition of surplus real estate and by establishing adequate property management in the agencies.

FOOD AND CLOTHING

Taxpayers could save more than \$340,000,000 of the government's annual bill for food and clothing through unified, efficient management and tighter inventory controls. The Hoover Commission estimated that its proposals for streamlining these operations could effect over-all savings of at least 10 per cent annually in the government purchases, and 10 per cent more in storage and handling of food and clothing.

Substantial savings might also be achieved in food. Where the Commission expressed concern over the fact that stocks of certain items sometimes are held in storage for years and virtually ignored, while fresh additional stocks are being purchased and used. The total inventory of food for the three services were found to exceed \$2 million.

The task force cited great waste, duplication, overlapping, and an unnecessary number of agencies concerned with food and clothing. It found the Navy holding over-packs and supplies of food while other services needed and were buying current packs. It reported complete lack of teamwork between purchasing and stock management.

The Commission noted a shortage of high-caliber, broadly-trained personnel in the food and clothing field in the armed services, and reported that constant rotation of military personnel, bringing in many persons not previously familiar with subsistence, results in costly and effect continuous on-the-job training programs.

Under the Commission's plan the centralized subsistence units should make all food and clothing purchases for the service on a negotiated-contract basis, after notice of intent to purchase, rather than by the slower, more costly, more cumbersome advertisement-and-bid method.

The task force found too many service depots in operation, and tremendous quantities of depot stocks believed to be far in excess of what was needed for the operational levels set by the armed services. The Marine Corps' current strength could be equipped with green coats in 3.2 years from the stocks then on hand, and its stock of green trousers was sufficient for 3.5 years.

The Commission explained that its report and studies of its task force were directed at improvement and modernization of the subsistence systems now in use.

HANDLING SURPLUS FEDERAL PROPERTY

There were twenty-three recommendations in the Hoover Commission report on surplus property — recommendations which, if carried out, are expected to save taxpayers billions of dollars and go a long way toward eliminating the annual deficit in the national budget.

For the next several years, huge quantities of surplus approaching an annual rate of \$2 billion, acquisition of which will be purged from government warehouses. Modern techniques of selling were urged.

The government has an enormous pool of assets amounting to some \$155 billion scattered throughout the world from which surpluses come, creating a disposal problem both immense and complex. This figure does not include the value of land in the public domain, or surplus food commodities, or stockpiles of strategic materials.

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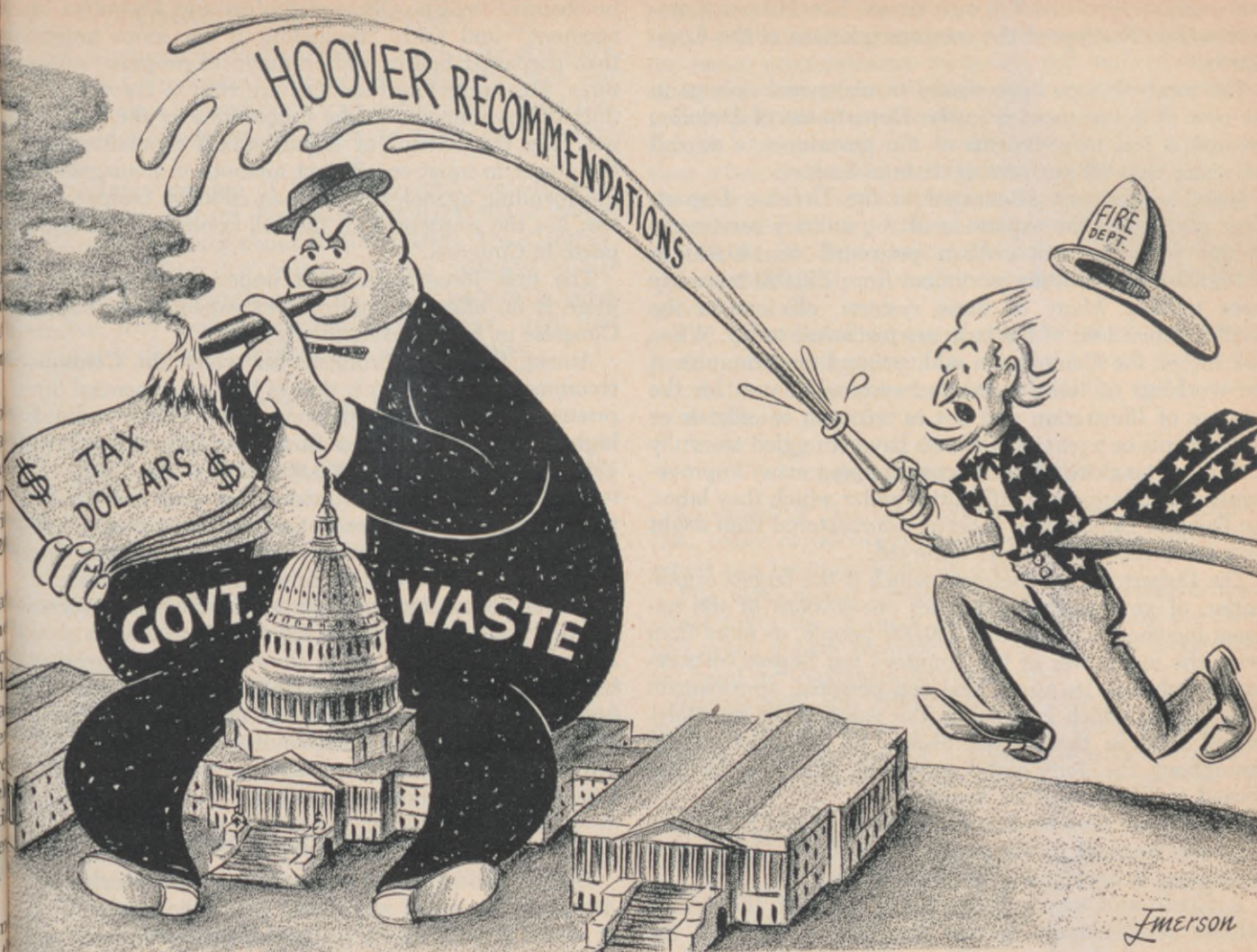
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Government-owned property becomes "excess" after the agency in possession no longer needs it, and "surplus" after its availability has been made known to other agencies and none of them desires it.

The federal government spends billions of dollars yearly for new supplies and at the same time retires old, worn-out, or unneeded items. Estimated expenditures for fiscal 1955 were \$23,900,000,000 for the Defense Department, and \$3,400,000,000 for all civilian agencies. Expenditures of such huge sums produce corresponding quantities of excess and surplus property. The government has mountainous accumulations of property which it would not have bought if it had had a good inventory system. It is estimated that, with proper inventory control and more realistic stock levels, from \$10 billion to \$25 billion of supplies now in government warehouses could be eliminated.

Many items are sold as scrap, destroyed and abandoned. Often valuable items are sold in mixed lots with little regard for their possible commercial use.

Both the Commission and the task force found a reluctance on the part of government agencies to accept excess where there was a slight variation of specification from materials to be bought. Material transferred by the agencies can be held unused for years at a substantial cost to the government for warehousing, distribution, inventory, and inspection, only to be designated surplus again with a new chain of resulting costs.

WAREHOUSING AND STORAGE

There is a great excess of storage space, duplication, and waste, particularly in the Department of Defense.

The task force which studied this subject estimated that the aggregate savings possible through business-like management of this federal activity would be \$288 million annually.

It was noted that excess facilities were not systematically reported and that there apparently was no effective exchange of information on space or requirements between storage personnel and real property personnel in the three military services, or at the Department of Defense level.

In its report on Warehousing and Storage, or "Depot Utilization," the Hoover Commission made twelve recommendations for integrated control and for uniform methods, operating procedures, terminology, catalog nomenclature, reporting systems, and other constructive action.

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

In dealing with this problem, the Hoover Commission utilized a different procedure from its customary one of separate task forces on one subject and separate Commission reports.

In this case the Commission utilized a large "Committee on Business Organization of the Department of Defense," in lieu of a distinct task force. In effect, the committee

was a super or overriding task force. The Hoover Commission bodily adopted the recommendations of the Committee.

The most obvious opportunity to make real savings in the cost of government is in the Department of Defense, because it has three-fourths of the government's payroll and more than 60 per cent of its total budget.

Many weaknesses discovered in the Defense Department are due to the expansion of the military services in twenty years from a civilian personnel of 140,000 to 1,180,000 and a military personnel from 250,000 to nearly three million. Many of these systems, efficient in the smaller dimensions of the past, are inefficient today. When task forces, the Commission said, pointed out examples of the workings of these outmoded systems, it was for the purpose of illustration and not in criticism of officials or departments or agencies. Officials have struggled manfully with these tangles and have brought about many improvements. Considering the difficulties under which they labor, the Defense Department is better administered than might have been expected, it was observed.

The Department of Defense, which is the largest organization of government, consumes one-seventh of the national income. It employs 4,300,000 people, or more than twice the manpower of the country's ten largest corporations combined. Its assets, real and personal, approximate \$140 billion, which is equal to the value of all privately-owned land in the United States. Its activities extend throughout the forty-eight states, to 16,000 cities and abroad to fifty-two other countries.

The Hoover Commission underscored need for continuing improvements in the organization of the Department of Defense to accomplish three objectives:

1. Clear and unchallenged direction of the entire defense establishment by the Secretary of Defense, the Secretaries of the three military departments, and their secretariats.

2. Logical delegation of responsibilities to the members of the secretariats, so that each has a manageable set of duties and adequate authority to carry them out.

3. Close teamwork among all members of the top executive organization, including the members of the secretariats and those responsible for the military command of the operating forces.

In addition, the Committee urged recognition of the importance of providing capable career assistants to each member of each secretariat, and that continuity be improved by having staff positions in the Office of the Secretary of Defense increasingly filled by trained career specialists.

BUDGET AND ACCOUNTING

A revitalized Bureau of the Budget that would apply methods which private business has found essential to successful and economical operation can bring improved financial management to government agencies, with savings estimated by a task force at \$4 billion a year.

A report with twenty-five recommendations to accomplish these objectives constituted one main part of the Hoover Commission's work.

The Bureau of the Budget has long had responsibility for furthering adequate accounting and financial methods on the executive agencies. Yet, in the Commission's opinion, it is evident that sufficient recognition has not been given to this responsibility.

The Commission recommended that the Bureau's name

be changed to "The Office of Budget and Executive Management," and said: "Budgeting is far more important than preparing figures and estimates of proposed expenditures. The budgeting functions are vital to the whole conduct of government. In the preparation of the budget lie not only the control of departmental expenditures, but the power to insist on efficient methods in management of the spending agencies. Within an effective budgeting system lies the restoration of the full control of the national purse to Congress."

The task force stated that under present procedure there is no effective control over expenditures either by Congress or by the executive branch.

Among the major problems for which the Commission recommended solutions is that of huge unexpended appropriations carried forward from year to year, running as high as \$78,400,000,000 for fiscal year 1954, \$68 billion for 1955, and an estimated \$53,900,000,000 for 1956.

The Commission recommended that congressional appropriations as well as the executive budget be made in terms of estimated annual accrued expenditures, namely charge for the costs of goods and services to be received.

Proper accounting methods are needed in government as well as in industry, the Commission said, to provide information which is basic to effective management. It has been estimated that 910,000 full-time employees and tens of thousands of additional man-years in part-time efforts are needed to compile the financial facts which government agencies need, and to assure the public of integrity in government spending.

OVERSEAS ECONOMIC OPERATIONS

Despite mistakes and waste, foreign aid, which has cost American taxpayers more than \$50 billion since the end of World War II, should be continued, but not in countries which no longer need economic assistance; and should be reorganized and economically administered, with the primary purpose of strengthening the security of the United States. Such was the view of the Hoover Commission, which made eleven recommendations in this department.

The Commission cited President Eisenhower's statement that, inasmuch as the European countries originally members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have reached the greatest industrial productivity of their history, no further economic aid need be given them. They will continue to benefit from our support of NATO and our maintenance of troops in Europe.

Some of the money spent on this program in the past has been spent unwisely and in some cases the taxpayers have not received full value for their money, the Commission said; and estimated that if its recommendations were adopted at least \$360 million can be saved annually without prejudice to the objectives. Among other things, the Commission advised a strong, unified control from the United States (which frequently speaks with numerous conflicting voices, open to misconstruction); recommend that special emphasis be placed on agricultural and irrigation projects; that technical assistance programs be based upon organization of joint local and American units; that economic aid of all kinds be limited to such undertakings as can be staffed with qualified personnel; that no economic aid be granted for projects where private investment capital is available; and that all economic aid be contingent upon good-faith efforts of the recipient country to improve the investment climate both for domestic and foreign capital of a private nature.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

In an outstanding deviation from its drive for economy, the Hoover Commission here went the other direction and asked for larger expenditures, and particularly urged that greater federal support be given to basic and medical research.

The military portion of federal research and development is the lion's share. It utilizes \$2,050,000,000 of a total annual expenditure of about \$2,400,000,000. The Commission recommended that military officers assigned to Research and Development serve for longer periods in order that they may become professionally adept, and that they receive deserved preferment and promotion.

LEGAL SERVICES AND PROCEDURE

The Commission's report set forth broad plans to separate administrative from judicial functions in federal agencies, and thus give the public greater protection against abuses of power and arbitrary bureaucratic action.

The Commission's report and fifty-two recommendations on the subject were directed at improving the organization of legal services within federal agencies, establishing a career service for government lawyers, and raising their pay.

Chief formal proposal was for the establishment of a new Administrative Court of the United States, which would have three sections dealing with the adjudicative phases of tax, labor, and trade regulation.

The Commission called for a reorganization of the work of the Department of Justice to separate its legal administrative duties from its litigation functions, with an assistant deputy attorney general in charge of each division.

PERSONNEL AND CIVIL SERVICE

Major changes in methods of handling civilian employees in order to recruit and hold more top-grade workers and administrators for careers in public service were recommended by the Commission.

It realized that certain of its recommendations may result in additional cost, but stated that it would be "penny-wise and pound-foolish" to allow this consideration to outweigh the end result of greater efficiency and competence in government which in the long run would save many times the temporary increase in cost.

The Commission claimed that if the adoption of its recommendations could reduce the present annual government employment turnover from 25 per cent to 20 per cent, that factor alone would save nearly \$50 million a year.

Major proposals were for the establishment of a Senior Civil Service composed of politically-neutral, well-paid career administrators of exceptional skill and experience for continuing service in all departments and agencies, who would have "personal rank" and be subordinate only to political heads of departments and agencies; creation of more non-career (politically-appointed) executives to take over political and partisan tasks, including work of that nature which many career executives are now forced to handle; new methods and policies designed to attract and hold skilled employees in public service; extension of Civil Service coverage, with its competitive examinations to additional jobs; and development of separate, adequate merit systems for other jobs which may not now feasibly be placed under the Civil Service program.

The Commission thought that the functions of political

executives and career administrators have become confused and conflicting, and would like to make it possible for career administrators to devote full time to management and to keep clear of political tasks and of participation in political controversies. These senior civil servants should be employed in a flexible manner in career positions wherever needed throughout the federal service, and the Senior Civil Service program, as proposed, should be administered by a proposed new, full-time Senior Civil Service Board of bi-partisan character, the Civil Service Commission to be responsible for the effectiveness of its operation.

The Commission expressed disapproval of the present performance-rating system in our Civil Service and recommended establishment of a new, direct, less cumbersome, more efficient procedure.

INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

So much of the Commission's analysis is "classified" [i.e., secret or restricted; under security], that the official report can be summarized in a few words:

The Commission hinted that the government is timid about using its resources for fear of offending the Reds, and urged greater concentration on "the main target, Russia," and her technical developments.

Russia, said the Hoover Commission, is provokingly bold in protecting its own security against espionage. Security measures in the United States, however, have permitted collection of vital secrets in this country with comparative ease.

It was recommended:

1. That the President appoint a committee of experienced private citizens, who shall have the responsibility to examine and report to him periodically on the work of government foreign agent activities. This committee should also give such information to the public as the President may direct. The committee should function on a part-time and per diem basis.

2. That Congress consider creating a Joint Congressional Committee on Foreign Intelligence, similar to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. In such case, the two committees, one presidential, the other congressional, could collaborate on matters of special importance to the national security.

FINAL REPORT AND SUMMARY

In its final and summary report, the Hoover Commission said that the President should be relieved of direct supervision over thirty-three agencies which could not be "relocated" in other existing branches of government. To some official in the President's office should be delegated the supervisory responsibility of the President, who now has direct responsibility for sixty-four independent agencies of diverse character.

The Hoover Commission emphasized its belief that the substantial cuts in expenditures estimated by the various task forces are feasible, are based on the elimination of waste, and do not involve any reduction in military strength, any item of useful public works, or any "delivered" federal contribution to health, education, and welfare.

The Commission made 145 "administrative" recommendations which it asserted are in the power of the various departments and agencies to adopt, and 167 recommendations of a legislative character.

The recommendations should effect and expedite the return to the Treasury of more than \$10 billion through recovered investment, elimination of unnecessary liabilities, liquidations, and realizations of surplus property assets. In any event, the Commission affirms that there are enough possible savings to enable the balancing of the budget and the reduction of taxes.

Effect on Individual Taxpayers: What would the saving of \$7.5 billion mean to you?

The Hoover Commission takes no stand on how the savings should be applied. Here are possibilities being discussed in Congress:

The simplest tax cut for Congress to make would be a straight across-the-board cut to all individual taxpayers. Since the federal revenue from individual income taxes is \$30 billion a year, a \$7.5 billion cut would mean a reduction of 25 per cent in the personal income tax of every taxpayer.

Among alternative tax cuts, several of which can be combined to equal \$7.5 billion, are the following:

An increase to \$700 in the present \$600 personal exemption would cost \$2.3 billion.

If the \$600 exemption should be raised to \$800, the cost would be \$4.5 billion.

Let's look at a different type of reduction.

If the top income tax rate for all individuals should be set at 35 per cent, the cut would cost \$2.4 billion a year.

If the top rate were set at 40 per cent, the cut would cost \$1.9 billion. If the top rate were set at 50 per cent, the cut would cost \$1.1 billion. If at 60 per cent, the cut would cost only \$600 million.

When we realize that the total federal tax collections from all sources in 1954 were \$70 billion, it is amazing to learn that the total amount collected from individuals whose rates are above 35 per cent was only \$2.4 billion — a mere 3.4 per cent of the grand total.

The shock is due to the extraordinary success of the Communist propaganda — repeated so often that millions now believe it — that 1 per cent (or 3 or 5 per cent) of the people own 90 (or 95) per cent of the nation's wealth.

The conclusion follows — if you believe the Communist-inspired propaganda — that with a sharply ascending progressive income tax, all little people should favor every federal expenditure: They would not pay for it anyway. Government spending would not be at the expense of the little fellows, but only of the Big Boys.

That conclusion is built upon a false premise. The truth is, the Federal Reserve Board's *Survey of Consumer Finances* shows that, in 1954, families with incomes of \$10,000 or over received about 20 per cent of the total income of all families. If all the taxable income in excess of \$10,000 could be totally confiscated by the government, it would pay the costs of government for only four weeks; and, of course, the income to be confiscated would quickly vanish, once taxpayers were convinced that there would be no benefit to them from the production of income.

The present top income tax rate is 91 per cent. The small portion of the revenues obtained by the rates above the 35 per cent figure makes it clear that the higher rates have a punitive rather than a productive purpose. Moreover, since the excessive rates sharply diminish the incentive to take risks, they punish all the people, not merely the rich. In fact, they probably punish the poor much more than the rich (who can still live well), because the poor gain most proportionately from the higher standard of

living and the better-paying jobs created by costly modern production facilities.

The National Association of Manufacturers has sent to Congress a proposal under which the corporation rates, as well as the individual rates, would be gradually reduced over a five-year period to a top rate of 35 per cent. The Association proposes a uniform cut in the progressive rate so that lower-income taxpayers would share in the reduction. The NAM plan is not premised upon any saving from the Hoover recommendations; it is based exclusively upon the increased tax revenues expected to flow automatically from the growth of the economy. Assuming continuation of the normal 3 per cent a year growth, NAM says that annual tax revenues from sources other than the rates above 35 per cent will grow by \$12 billion in five years, while the cut in federal revenue from a 35 per cent top rate would be \$10 billion.

If the NAM plan should be adopted, the Hoover savings can be applied elsewhere.

Advice to You as a Taxpayer: Build grass-roots sentiment by sending copies of *How to Save \$7.5 Billion* to the influential leaders, and groups in your community such as libraries (city, high school, college), principals and social-science teachers in your schools, the publisher and editorial writers of your local newspaper, the social-science professors in your local college or your own Alma Mater, all members of the Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce. (Note: The national Junior Chamber of Commerce made the earlier Hoover reorganization program its national project.) Don't forget the members and leaders in service clubs, including the civic-minded women's clubs; trade union leaders; your business friends throughout the nation.

Ask local organizations to pass resolutions addressed to your Congressman, Senators, and the White House. Also write to them yourself.* Promote active discussion in your clubs. Schedule panel discussions on your local radio station.

Even more important than first letters, is the follow-up to your Congressman, Senators, and the White House. Encourage delegations to call on your representatives in Washington, or at their homes when they return. Do your part toward achieving adoption of the Hoover program.

*On Page 11 may be found a miniature congressional directory which will aid you in following Mr. Hanighen's suggestions. — Editor

A constitution is the property of a nation, and not of those who exercise the government. All the constitutions of America (state constitutions) are declared to be established on the authority of the people.

— THOMAS PAINE

He who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that. His reasons may be good, and no one may have been able to refute them. But if he is equally unable to refute the reasons on the opposite side; if he does not so much as know what they are, he has no ground for preferring either opinion.

— JOHN STUART MILL

To speculate without FACTS is to attempt to enter a house of which one has not the key, by wandering aimlessly around and around, searching the wall and now and then peeping through the windows.

— JULIAN HUXLEY



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

THIRD INSTALLMENT

★ The Communist problem, unique in our history, consists of the existence in our midst of a mass conspiratorial organization controlled by a foreign power. Fully subscribing to the statement of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, who prepared this document, that, given a more accurate knowledge of this conspiracy, fewer Americans will fall victim to its wiles, *Facts Forum News* presents the third portion of the Subcommittee's handbook, which began in our March issue. Following publication of the final portion, a booklet reprint of the Handbook will be made available.

HOW TO MEASURE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

COMMUNIST influence cannot be estimated properly merely by comparing its votes or membership with those of political parties. Those who declare that the Communist Party is no menace because its membership and voting strength constitute only a fraction of a per cent of the total membership and voting strength of major political parties are deluding themselves and others. This approach is the root cause of a mistaken policy which has already done considerable harm and which may bring even more disastrous results. The simplicity of this approach is born of sheer ignorance of the problem.

Each Party member or sympathizer must be evaluated in terms of his political, social, and economic weight and influence and the fact that he has the backing of a major foreign power. The collective influence of this group cannot be judged as a mere arithmetical sum of members and sympathizers, since one arm of this conspiracy lends support to and supplements the other in a highly synchronized manner. We must keep this in mind in estimating the influence of this tightly organized, coordinated, and aggressive group and its combined effect upon an amorphous, comparatively unorganized mass of people who are, for the

most part, blissfully unaware that they are being worked upon by a conscious, conspiratorial group with a clear-cut policy. We must remember that in a highly sensitive and articulated society like ours, it is not difficult to cause havoc by a strategic dislocation. Communists make a practice of seeking out such points of vantage.

Thus a Party member or sympathizer may be an official of a labor union with thousands of members which can tie up a given community or industry. He may be an unpublishized government official who prepares memoranda on policy affecting the entire nation. He may be an atomic scientist with access to highly secret information vital to our security. He may be a writer, a preacher, or a radio commentator with a vast audience. He may be a script writer whose film or radio message, voiced by a popular star, reaches millions. He may be an actor whose popularity is exploited by the Party to sponsor its front organizations and public appeals. He may be an artist with a mass following in the art world. He may be the descendant of some well-known family tracing its ancestry to the days of the American Revolution, whose name adds glamour to Communist enterprises. He may be the leader of a tenants league or a community organization. He may be the idol of a racial or foreign language group. In each case the individual's influence radiates to ever-widening circles with an effect similar to that of a stone thrown into a pool.

RESIGNATIONS AND EX-COMMUNISTS

Government agencies are sometimes confronted with cases in which individuals claim that they have resigned from the Communist Party. Under no circumstances should such a statement be accepted at its face value. Party members have been known to use this device when they are convinced that their previous Communist affiliations are known and provable. In other cases, as for instance in connection with the signing of non-Communist affidavits, the Party will instruct members who are trade-

union officials to formally resign while remaining under Party discipline. It should be remembered that Party membership is not looked upon as a possession of the individual, but strictly a possession of the Party, to give, withhold, or retract. The Party does not recognize any voluntary resignation. Those who fall from the good graces of the organization are expelled.

The attitude of the world Communist organization toward resignations is reflected in Section 30 of the Statutes of the Communist International from which we quote in part:

Resignation from office by individual members or groups of members of Central Committees of the various Sections is regarded as disruptive of the Communist movement. Leading posts in the Party do not belong to the occupant of that post, but to the Communist International as a whole. * * *

Certain tests may be made to determine the legitimacy and sincerity of a resignation. No one of them should be considered as complete and decisive. They should be judged in terms of the pattern of the individual's pro-Communist or anti-Communist behavior since the resignation. The following questions may properly be asked in connection with each resignation: Does the individual have a carbon copy of his resignation? What was the real motive of the resignation? Was he, or the Communist Party, or one or more of its controlled organizations in a position to benefit thereby? What was the attitude of the Communist press toward the action? Do his views, writings, readings, associations, and general attitude indicate that he is still loyal to the Party line or that he has, in fact, repudiated it? Can he corroborate this claimed repudiation of the Party with written evidence or the statements of known anti-Communists? The individual's record with the FBI since his resignation is, of course, important. A test of the individual's sincerity is his willingness to expose his associates in the ranks of the Communist conspiracy and its methods of operations. Unwillingness to do this may indicate some remnants of loyalty to the Party. At the same time, it should be made clear by government agencies that such information is looked upon as a valuable contribution to the security of the country and not, as the Communists would have it regarded, as an act of petty talebearing.

There are definite cases on record where withdrawals from the Party are apparently under Party instructions. A number of known Communist union leaders have signed non-Communist affidavits in order to be in a position to avail themselves of the machinery of the National Labor Relations Board. During World War II, known Communists, who were members of the Armed Forces, were allegedly given a leave of absence in order to make them eligible for commissions. This did not prevent them from faithfully following the Communist Party line and from holding official positions in the Communist Party after the close of the war. Such instructed withdrawals are clearly suspect.

Effective countermeasures against the world-wide Communist conspiracy require an intelligent attitude toward the ex-Communists both here and abroad. In the event of actual armed conflict with the Soviet Union, psychological warfare will play an important part in determining victory. We must know how to win over the forces of a possible enemy. We must develop skill in handling those we have succeeded in disaffecting. In a sense, our handling of the ex-Communists in this country gives us valuable preliminary training which should be highly useful in the event of an actual conflict. A policy of "once a Communist



Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky, Soviet Intelligence Chief for seventeen years who was found shot in a Washington hotel in the early forties, tells the D. Committee (1939) of the 1936-37 Soviet purge which he said took lives 35,000 members of the Red Army officers' corps. Committeemen, I. to are: Rep. Jerry Voorhis (D-Calif.); Rep. Martin Dies, Chairman (D-Texas) and Rep. Thomas J. Parnell (R-N.J.).

always a Communist" would be disastrous. Given a dictatorship guarded by its ruthless secret police, with 15 million slave laborers, with its 100 million peasants groaning under the yoke of collectivization, with low living standards and general dissatisfaction, there is every reason to believe that the proper type of psychological warfare could do much to disaffect Communist forces, shorten a war, and save many lives. A wrong approach would retard the process of disaffection and strengthen the hand of the Communists. It must be remembered, in this connection, that by using unsound methods the Nazis repelled millions of Russians who deserted in the last war and thus solidified the forces of the Red army.

Within our own borders it is estimated that it takes from ten to twenty investigators to keep one subject under constant surveillance. With a party membership of 22,660 and at least ten times that number of sympathizers, would take a secret police of close to a million to maintain a constant surveillance of this group. This is utterly contrary to our democratic traditions and would mean the setting up of an enormous American Gestapo or M.V. Within the limits of its resources, the FBI is, of course, doing a magnificent job. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that in combating a conspiratorial organization including, directly or indirectly, at times, within its orbit more than half a million individuals and at the same time exerting its efforts against crime of every conceivable type the FBI is confronted with a stupendous task. Hence the necessity of relying upon all available information which can be obtained from ex-Communists.

It is sometimes asked, "How do we know the reformed Communists have actually reformed? How do we know that they are not secret agents of Joseph Stalin?" So questions may be based upon sheer ignorance of the problem coupled with a desire to disguise that ignorance by the assumption of an attitude of apparent supercaution without any specific foundation. They may be based upon a stubborn unwillingness to face hard and unpleasant facts. On the other hand, they may be the result of a Communist plant intended to cast doubt upon those who can best expose them. From the Communist viewpoint it is an excellent strategy to confuse opponents and discredit their effective witnesses. This shallow skepticism toward

Communists is sometimes found in circles which have been consistently apologetic and defensive toward the Communists.

The answer to the above questions, of course, is that intelligence and common sense are required in dealing with both Communists and ex-Communists. There is no substitute or short cut. The fact of the matter is that in judicial and deportation cases thus far, including the cases of Alger Hiss, Harry Bridges, the eleven Communist leaders, Harold Christoffel, and many others, the testimony of ex-Communists has demonstrated a high level of credibility under rigorous cross-examination and investigation.

Those who do not understand the Communist underworld are apt to misunderstand all that is involved in turning against the Communist Party. It is not nearly so simple as repudiating a political party.

As indicated above, Communist headquarters maintain an elaborate dossier on each individual Party member to be used as a club against any possible defection. Widely circulated smear campaigns directed against anyone who attacks the Party or its constituents serve as a powerful deterrent. Those who have earned their livelihood by grace of the Communist machine, in a Communist-front organization or through one of its unions or publications are immediately penalized by this vast apparatus.

The history of the international Communist movement is replete with cases in which dissidents have been assassinated or have mysteriously disappeared. Former Soviet Intelligence Chief Walter G. Krivitsky was found shot in a Washington hotel in the early forties. George W. Alberts, an opponent of Communists in the maritime field, was found dead on board the steamship *Point Lobos* in 1941, beaten with blunt instruments and hacked with knives. Juliet Stuart Poyntz, a leading New York Communist, suddenly vanished without a trace in the late thirties. Laura Law, who was threatening an exposé of the Party in the State of Washington, mysteriously disappeared. The purging and liquidation of leading Communists is a common occurrence in countries behind the Iron Curtain and in the Soviet Union. It thus takes some courage for an ex-Communist to defy this nefarious machine. Under the circumstances, ex-Communists might be expected to prefer obscurity and safety.

What is the motive which impels an ex-Communist to testify in court or before a congressional committee in spite of the risks which he knowingly takes? It is simple to ascribe it to a mere desire for publicity; and this may be true in the rare case of a Matusow. But it is also possible that a person who has been disillusioned with Communist claims and who is fully convinced that this movement is dangerously antisocial and anti-American might be moved by a desire to safeguard his country from what he now realizes to be a real and pressing danger, having as he once did for a movement which misled and deceived him. Experience has indicated this is the actual motivation in the cases of most former Communists who have given testimony against the Party.

Some will ask, "How can you believe an ex-Communist who admittedly has resorted to lies and deceit and who has been willing to ally himself with a movement which demands outright disloyalty to the United States in behalf of the Soviet dictatorship and which condones every crime from treason to murder in support of its efforts?" To answer this question properly, it is necessary to understand the processes by which the Communist moral code

is built up. In this connection we wish to quote at this point *The Report of the Canadian Royal Commission* of June 27, 1946, which dealt with Communist espionage cases, in which individuals were conditioned by a series of study courses. In view of the highly coordinated and disciplined character of the International Communist movement, this practice must be viewed as typical:

As the courses of study in the "cells" undermine gradually the loyalty of the young man or woman who joins them, it is necessary to say something as to the content of the courses pursued in them, as that is reflected by the evidence.

The curriculum includes the study of political and philosophic works, some of them far from superficial, selected to develop in the students an essentially critical attitude toward Western democratic society. This phase of the preparation also includes a series of discussions on current affairs, designed to further a critical attitude toward the ideals of democratic society.

But this curriculum would appear in reality to be designed not to promote social reform where it might be required, but to weaken the loyalty of the group member toward his or her own society as such.

Linked with these studies at all stages, moreover, goes an organized indoctrination calculated to create in the mind of the study-group member an essentially uncritical acceptance at its face value of the propaganda of a foreign state.

Accordingly, the study groups are encouraged to subscribe to Communist books and periodicals * * * as well as selected books on Russia.

In some cases the effect of these study courses seems to be a gradual development of a sense of divided loyalties, or in extreme cases of a transferred loyalty.

Thus it seems to happen that through these study groups some adherents, who begin by feeling that Canadian society is not democratic or not equalitarian enough for their tastes, are gradually led to transfer a part or most of their loyalties to another country, apparently without reference to whether that other country is in actual fact more or less democratic or equalitarian than Canada.

Indeed, a sense of internationalism seems in many cases to play a definite role in one stage of the courses. In these cases the Canadian sympathizer is first encouraged to develop a sense of loyalty, not directly to a foreign state, but to what he conceives to be an international ideal. This subjective internationalism is then usually linked almost inextricably through the indoctrination courses and the intensive exposure to the propaganda of a particular foreign state, with the current conception of the national interests of that foreign state and with the current doctrines and policies of Communist Parties throughout the world. * * *

A further objective, pursued through the study group is gradually to inculcate in the secret membership of the Communist Party a habit of complete obedience to the dictates of senior members and officials of the Party hierarchy. This is apparently accomplished through a constant emphasis, in the indoctrination courses, on the importance of organization *as such*, and by the gradual creation, in the mind of the new adherent or sympathizer, of an overriding moral sense of "loyalty to the Party." This "loyalty to the Party" in due course takes the place in the member's mind of the earlier loyalty to certain principles professed by the Party propaganda. * * *

The indoctrination courses in the study groups are apparently calculated not only to inculcate a high degree of "loyalty to the Party" and "obedience to the Party," but to instill in the mind of the adherent the view that loyalty and obedience to the leadership of this organization takes precedence over his loyalty to Canada, entitles him to disregard his oaths of allegiance and secrecy, and thus destroys his integrity as a citizen. * * * (pp. 72-75).

In other words, the Communist is indoctrinated with a standard of loyalty to the Soviet Union similar to that which moves the American soldier to justify killing an enemy, spying and lying to accomplish the enemy's defeat. Nevertheless, this individual soldier may be a perfectly honest, moral and upright citizen in his dealings with his fellow men. Hence, it is conceivable that once he has fully

and sincerely repudiated his Communist moral code the individual could and would simultaneously repudiate the type of behavior which it justified.

Failure to understand how to handle the ex-Communist and how to make full use of his inside knowledge of the Communist conspiracy may result in costly errors for the United States.

RECRUITING

No political party in the country is as aggressive in recruiting new members as is the Communist Party, nor as systematic. J. Peters in his *Manual on Organization* lays down the principle that "Continuous daily recruiting is the basic task of every Unit and each individual member of the Party."

Recruiting is compulsory with each Party member, who is expected to fulfill his share of the quota assigned to his club or section in regular Party recruiting campaigns. These campaigns are usually concentrated upon workers in the basic industries, upon Negroes, whom the party considers as useful, explosive tinder in promoting social friction, and upon influential people in various walks of life. Each Party member is expected to keep a list of prospects whom he is expected to cultivate systematically, under specific Party direction. In her pamphlet, *The Communist Party and You*, Betty Gannett, Assistant Organization Secretary of the CPUSA, makes the following suggestions:

a Communist must constantly help to educate his fellow workers, through the sale and distribution of Communist literature, securing subscriptions for the Communist press, individual discussions, and through influencing the most militant workers to join the Communist Party * * *

* * * make new friends, especially in your shop, your union, your organization, or the neighborhood in which you live. You will find that our Communist press, our hundreds of popular pamphlets, will help you bring them nearer to our Party. Use this material constantly — it is your best aid.

It is also true that the Party has a tremendous turnover as converts become disillusioned and drop out. Hence the importance of attracting new gullibles.

The following account of the recruiting of an American Communist is to be found in *Life* for January 5, 1948:

He joined the Party in 1935, when he was 20 years old. It wasn't simple, like joining the Democratic party or the Elks. It was the reward for three years of work, study and obedience to discipline * * * It began when he was still a high-school student in Chicago as social pleasure and what he thought then to be intellectual adventure * * *. There were parties, picnics, beach suppers, all with songs and laughter, discussions and admiring girls. * * *. Of course there was another side to all this. There were tasks, little ones at first, more important ones later. He distributed literature at mass meetings, walked in a hunger march, and it was rather fun, even a little exciting. He did not notice that he was being watched by the older men, watched for ability and obedience * * *. Soon he was attending the Workers' School three evenings a week. One or two evenings he worked on Party activities — wrapping newspapers at the print shop, attending mass meetings, picketing the mass meetings of other organizations. * * *. After three months of the Workers' School he could spot a "supporter," a "diversionist" or a "dissenter" in a conversation on the weather. * * *. He had his membership in the Party. * * *

WHAT MAKES A COMMUNIST TICK?

The question is often asked, "What makes an individual join the Communist Party in the first place?" No single answer will suffice. In each case there may be a different motive or a mixture of motives. In some cases they are the result of normal psychological factors. Sometimes

there are distinctly abnormal features involved. It is necessary to understand these motives and factors if we are successfully to deal with the problem.

A trite explanation offered by the ill-informed is that communism is a product of inequalities under our social system. Hence, these people argue, if we will alleviate these conditions, we will never have to worry about communism. Since it is manifestly impossible to devise a social system in which everybody will be satisfied, this would mean that we should meekly fold our arms and accept communism in our midst as a necessary evil for which we ourselves are chiefly to blame. In the second place, this approach overlooks the fact that millions of dollars spent on cleverly devised Communist propaganda is bound to have some effect in any society, no matter how relatively contented, especially when supplemented by the activities of thousands of ardent zealots.

The misery theory of communism runs contrary to the actual facts in our country. New York State, for example, has approximately 50 per cent of the total Communist Party membership and leads the country. Yet it is second in terms of per capita income as well as per capita school expenditures. California is second with approximately 16 per cent of the total Party membership and yet it is fourth in terms of per capita income and seventh in terms of per capita school expenditures. Similarly, Illinois is third in membership standing with approximately 5 per cent and yet it is sixth in per capita income and third in terms of money spent for schools.

Conversely, Mississippi is lowest in the scale of Communist Party membership but is also lowest in per capita income. The misery theory of communism does not jibe with these figures, nor with the fact that such wealthy persons as Frederick Vanderbilt Field, and prominent members of the Hollywood film colony have been found to be members of the Communist Party. Indeed the misery theory of communism is exactly what the Communists would have us believe, in order to mislead us.

A corollary to this theory is that workers are attracted to the Communist Party in the hope of improving their lot economically. Despite Russia's claim to be a workers' republic, the Communist movement, by its disruptive tactics and support of Soviet slave labor camps, has aroused the deepest hostility of labor. Labor has, therefore, expressed little desire to migrate to the so-called "workers' paradise." Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations are today bitterly fighting the Communists. In his report to the plenary session of the national committee of the CPUSA held on March 23-25, 1950, Henry Winston, organizational secretary, deplored the Party's "central weakness in the fight to win the workers" and declared that in its effort to win support for Henry A. Wallace's Progressive Party the union "rank-and-file generally" did not respond. He emphasized the fact that "the coalition tactic our Party worked out beginning with the 1948 convention was not fully unfolded in the shops." Thus the Communist Party has little ground for the label of "proletarian."

It would seem, on the contrary, that a large percentage of the Party consists of mission-minded intellectuals who have constituted themselves the exponents of the interests of labor, which wants no part of them.

William Bledsoe, former editor of the *Screen Guild Magazine* in Hollywood, has brilliantly described the reactions of wealthy movie stars and writers in his article entitled "Revolution Came to Hollywood," which appeared

in the February, 1940, issue of the *American Mercury*. These cases are by no means typical of the industry at the present time.

I saw Social Consciousness quicken and come to a boil in actors, writers, and directors whose names rival Rinso and Camels as household words. I followed the insurrection, mass meeting by mass meeting, cocktail party by cocktail party, until many a Big Name was more or less secretly enrolled in the Communist Party or tagging along solemnly in one of the "front" leagues and committees * * *.

But on the whole Hollywood is a city of unhappy successful people. And that, it seemed to me, was the basis for communism with two butlers and a swimming pool * * *.

Actors, writers, directors and Hollywoodians on the fringes of the movie business joined Party "fractions" which met in Beverly Hills, Bel Air and Brentwood underground cells to hear the Party line * * *.

One famous comedian wrote an article for the *Screen Guild Magazine* entitled "Are We Laborers?" in which he attempted to prove that the actor or writer, like the truck-driver, is a proletarian slave writhing in the chains of capitalism. Another famous script writer propounded the question "Is the Middle Class in the Middle?" to which he answered, "If the middle class wants to get rid of its white collar of servitude, it had better get its picket lines in order."

Screenwriter Mary C. McCall in the *Screen Guild Magazine* for February, 1937, said that for those enlisted in the good cause, "life begins" at 5:30. She declared:

Then we can listen to speeches and sign pledges, and feel that warming glow which comes from being packed in close with a lot of people who agree with you — a mild hypnotism, and exhilarating pleasurable hysteria.

Living as they do in an unreal world of images, some of them envy the farmer and the laborer for his contact with reality. The Communist myth offers a dream world which has all the earmarks of reality. For them the Soviet "paradise" is that reality, in which at last they have a personal and contributory stake.

The special May Day issue of the *Daily Worker* for April 30, 1950, demonstrated the type of middle class professionals attracted by the Communist Party. This issue carried paid greetings from:

- A group of Queens' dentists
- A group of Manhattan physicians
- A group of Bronx dentists
- A group of college teachers
- Manhattan dentists
- A progressive Doctor of Chiropractic
- White Collar Section, CPUSA
- Cultural Division, N. Y. State Communist Party
- Progressive Playwrights
- A group of librarians

According to John Williamson, then organizational secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, writing in *Political Affairs* for February, 1946, "71 per cent of the Party in New York City consists of white collar workers, professionals and housewives."

In a number of cases it will be found that the Party is a refuge for certain psychologically maladjusted individuals. A nurse at a neurological clinic in New York affirmed some years ago that she recommended joining the Communist Party for some of her maladjusted patients who needed some outlet for their nervous energy and she added that the prescription had brought good results in some instances.

In *Masses and Mainstream*, a Communist monthly magazine, for November, 1949, Francis H. Bartlett, a psychiatrist, explains "how capitalism causes neuroses" and advises involving "the neurotic individual in a cooperative

effort with us to understand and root out the individualistic goals to which he clings."

In the same issue of *Masses and Mainstream*, Joseph Wortis, another psychiatrist who has since invoked the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer inquiry regarding his Communist Party membership, describes how "progressive" psychoanalysts deliver public lectures "on the psychological consequences of capitalism" which "leaves many in the audience frightened and palpitating, with no alternative but to place themselves and their families at the disposal of the already overtaxed facilities of the lecturer."

A recent example is the case of Mrs. Jean Murray, a former Communist, charged with trying to blackmail prosecution witnesses in the trial of Harry Bridges. She was sent for psychiatric examination by Federal Judge Louis B. Goodman in San Francisco after she attacked the court attendants screaming, "Workers, arise. Prepare yourself for the revolution."

Maladjusted individuals feel themselves isolated. Communist theory places the blame for such maladjustments upon society rather than the individual, which is a comforting thought for the individual concerned. Mr. Bartlett holds out the following promise to those who would join in the "struggle against capitalism":

In this process, the barriers between individuals are broken down; people develop closer bonds with each other; they identify themselves with broader and broader segments of humanity; they lose the sense of isolation and develop feelings of solidarity. * * * In short, their lives, in spite of capitalism and against it, begin to acquire significance and direction.

Joseph North, a feature writer for the *Daily Worker* of May 3, 1950, describes another case of a "gifted writer * * * a Communist," who told North "she was being psychoanalyzed." "I have been having trouble in a group where I belong," she said. She brought her troubles to her psychoanalyst and his advice was to leave the group, she said, because it "deflates my ego." She reported no such negative reaction from her membership in the Communist Party.

The neurotic person is baffled by the complexities of modern society. The Marxist-Leninist formula offers a ready-made answer to all questions. The Communist is firmly convinced that in place of the "old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms," he possesses the key to Utopia "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" (Marx).

Psychiatrists admit that the problems of the adolescent border closely upon those of the neurotic. They are similar in many respects. The adolescent tends to rebel against the domination of his parents and adults generally. He is seeking a medium through which to declare his personal independence. In a sense he is maladjusted. The Communist movement, for its own insidious purpose, offers him a circle in which he believes he will be taken seriously. It will publish his articles in a youth magazine. It will offer him an audience for his artistic talents. It will make him an executive secretary of some front organization and give him authority he has never had before. He, therefore, accepts its discipline voluntarily, even enthusiastically.

More than that. By dint of his acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist dogma, he suddenly feels himself superior to his parents and the adult world around him. He now has all the answers. It gives him a certain confidence and

sense of assurance. One young Communist even went so far as to write an article entitled "My Father Is a Liar" in the *New Masses* some years ago. In 1940 a group of young Communists booed President Roosevelt on the White House lawn, the first time in our history that such a disrespectful act was committed against an American President. Unfortunately our school system has not fully equipped our young men and women to see through Communist sophistry and trickery.

The Communist movement offers attractive bait to those who crave companionship and excitement. It offers relief from boredom. One issue of the *Daily Worker*, for example, in its "What's On?" column invited its readers to —

Films, discussion, dance	Spring frolic
Folk dancing	Maritime shindig
Welcome home party for Mike Gold	Jefferson theater workshop
Vote Your Own Film Club	May Day workshop dance
Saturday Night Film Club	Soviet film
Negro-White Unity Cultural Festival	Pre-May Day social
Artists ball	Balalaika Symphonic Orchestra concert
People's drama theater	One hour of social theater
	Chinese cultural cabaret

Once an individual enters the Communist Party, he separates himself psychologically from life outside the Party, from his former social contacts, his family, and his business associates. He lives in a world which is hermetically sealed off from the outside by a more and more impenetrable iron curtain of continuous indoctrination to which he has become addicted to the exclusion of all other outside sources of information and thought. He relies upon Party literature, schools, and spokesmen for his views and information. He attends pro-Communist plays. If he attends a concert or a social function, it is one given as a benefit for the *Daily Worker* or some other Communist cause. It is a satisfying experience for certain types of people. In this closed circle the Communist hears the same Communist clichés reiterated over and over again with never a doubting word. It is like listening to familiar music. He meets the same or similar people wherever he goes, all moving in the same Communist rut. Here he can be sure of approbation and sympathy, since he is always among his ideological kinfolk. He is never isolated.

Added to all this is the excitement of picket lines, strikes, mass meetings, parades, demonstrations, tiffs with the police, and arrests. An active Communist will sometimes attend several meetings a day. In other words, there is not a dull moment.

There is no doubt that the Communist network holds an attraction for adventurous spirits who thrive on the conspiratorial atmosphere within the Party, the secret meetings, the resort to aliases, the paraphernalia of illegality and opposition to constituted authority.

Those who have a tendency to rebel against tradition and convention — the Bohemians and the nonconformists of all stripes — are naturally attracted to the Communist movement. By its repudiation of so-called capitalist ethics and moral standards, the Party provides a welcome philosophical sanction for the lunatic fringe. According to Communist theory the family, as we know it, is an institution designed to protect and extend property rights, which are anathema to the Reds. By branding our government as capitalistic, Communist philosophy justifies any breach or defiance of governmental authority.

There are timid souls, persons with a distinct inferiority complex, who are inspired to boldness when they become part of an aggressive group. The wolf who is a coward



Earl Browder (right), Communist presidential candidate, 1936, crosses hammer and sickle held by Charles Krumbein, state secretary of the party, as they stood before a crowd that jammed Madison Square Garden for the final rally of the campaign.

singly becomes a scourge as part of a pack. Psychologists refer to these people aptly as ambitious cowards. A Communist writer, who is himself a temperamental coward, will find considerable delight and satisfaction in writing in the columns of the (Communist) *Daily Worker* resounding and defiant tirades against the monopolists and those in high places in the government.

The Party is, in a sense, a vehicle for anyone with an axe to grind, for anyone who has become embittered either by some unfortunate personal or emotional experience, a victim of some serious physical ailment or handicap, a second-rate artist, a lawyer without clients, a doctor without patients, a writer without an outlet, or a preacher without a parish, whose personal ego is soothed by the thought that it is all the fault of the capitalist system. He finds in the Party an instrument to vent his spleen against the imagined source of injury, as well as a receptive audience.

It is often asked why a Communist who is most vehement before an agency of the American government in defense of civil rights, will meekly submit without debate or protest to the slightest whim of a Soviet dictator or the Communist Party, USA, even though it may mean a complete repudiation of his most sacred principles. Thus the Communist who had for years denounced Nazism and all its works, reconciled himself overnight to the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and for him Nazism became merely a "matter of taste." Similarly those who fumed against capitalism and Wall Street became willing to shake the hand of J. P. Morgan as soon as Earl Browder, then general secretary of the Communist Party, gave such Party heresy his blessing during the period when Russia was desperately seeking a united front against Nazi Germany.

In certain liberal circles there is an illusion that the Communist movement is the very epitome of democracy. It is therefore worthwhile to present at this point a description of inner Party democracy in the highest echelons of the Party by William Z. Foster, its chairman, in *Political Affairs* for September, 1945. Although the regime

of former General Secretary Earl Browder is referred to, there is no reason to believe that the atmosphere has been changed under his successors:

He [Browder] had grown almost into a dictator. His authority reached such a point that his word had become virtually unchallengeable in our Party. His policies and writings finally were accepted almost uncritically by the leaders and the general membership. Browder created around himself an atmosphere of infallibility and unchallengeable authority. All this was accentuated by the deluge of petty-bourgeois adulation, praise-mongering and hero-worship that was constantly poured upon him by our leadership and our members * * * Comrade Browder had largely liquidated the political functions of the Party's leading bodies. He habitually bypassed the National Board in policy-making * * * The National Committee, also, had gradually lost all real political power. It assembled; it listened to Browder's proposals; it affirmed them; it dispersed to the districts to impress the policy on the membership. Of genuine political discussion there was none in the National Committee. Similarly, our recent National Conventions were hardly better than the National Committee meetings — with their formal endorsement of Browder's reports — no political discussions. * * *

Why does a freeborn American accept such humiliating and despotic authority? In the first place, the Communist has been taught that the end justifies any means, that the interests of the so-called First Socialist Republic, to which he has voluntarily dedicated himself, are paramount and justify any and every sacrifice. He willingly submits to a discipline of his own choice regardless of where it may lead, surrendering all right to independent judgment.

Why does a man like Frederick Vanderbilt Field, scion of a millionaire family, join the Communist Party? His case is not an isolated one. It not infrequently happens that such an individual, who is the heir of unearned millions, suffers from a severe guilt complex. He feels his life of idleness is unproductive. Keenly sensitive to the plight of the underdog, he throws in his lot with the Communist Party to salve his conscience, believing that the Party is the champion of the underprivileged. He takes the Party's word for it, making no attempt to investigate for himself such Communist institutions as slave labor camps, the secret police and the real plight of the common people behind the Iron Curtain. In fact, he is so grateful to the Party for the spiritual relief it offers that he will furiously resent the efforts of anyone who tries to set him straight with the truth about the Soviet Union and communism generally.

It is not essentially correct to look upon Communists as ordinary criminals. Strangely enough, they may commit the most heinous crimes, all the way from treason to murder, in the firm belief that they are thereby furthering the interests of humanity. They may be pursuing the highest motives based upon the warped and erroneous conscience which Communist doctrine has inculcated. Thus they will justify the utmost ruthlessness, the Communist purge trials, the use of forced confessions and the forced collectivization of millions of peasants, resulting in widespread famine and starvation. The favorite cold-blooded apology is "You must break the eggs if you would have an omelette," the omelette in this case being socialism. The Communist, in other words, considers himself a soldier in the international Communist army defending the interests of international communism and the Soviet Union which, in his eyes, morally justifies the taking of life, spying, and all the activities of war. Hence all anti-Communist programs must have in mind a twofold objective: (1) The first objective must be the re-education of Communists through methods of persuasion and experience in order to re-incor-

porate them into the ranks of sane and constructive citizens. It must be recognized that this is difficult since we are confronted in many cases with hard-bitten bigots. Nevertheless, it should be attempted since it is far more desirable to have a sophisticated, well-informed, and loyal citizen who can contribute his knowledge and experience to the fight against communism than one who is dedicated to defiance of the American government; (2) The second objective must be to invoke the full penalty of the law against recalcitrants both as a deterrent and as a means of the re-education of those not responsive to objective number one.

Communist faith often invokes the fervor of a new religion. The Party member feels he is a member of an elite group who are privileged to live in a circle which is the germ of the new world of tomorrow. The non-party infidels, he thinks, are living in outer darkness in a world which is decadent and doomed. For the apostles and prophets of religion he substitutes Marx, Lenin, and Stalin.

However, the Communist places himself on a higher

Frederick Vanderbilt Field, financial angel of left wing causes who has been pictured as "sugar daddy" of the Institute of Pacific Relations, was questioned about IPR operations and his connection with it by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1952. Field, in an earlier appearance, would not say whether he had ever been a Communist.



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pedestal than would a mere religious convert. Communist theory has a certain superficial logic which makes an appeal to the intellectual. Thus in many cases individuals are recruited for the Party through Communist Party schools and theoretical works. Frequently emotional and idealistic factors tend to blur the mental processes and to obliterate sound standards of judgment which the same individual will unhesitatingly apply in some other intellectual field in which he may be an expert. The Communist zealot is never as critical toward Communist theory or practice as he would normally be in his studies or in industry.

Lest it be assumed that individuals join the Communist Party solely because of certain psychological aberrations, for idealistic reasons or because of the party's intellectual appeal, it should be realized that the organization is in a position to offer attractive material benefits. There are businessmen who are completely dependent for contracts upon the good graces of the Soviet government. Communist lawyers, accountants, and insurance men draw generous incomes from their services to Communist unions, front organizations, or individual Communists or sympathizers. Certain columnists, writers, musicians, actors, and artists find it extremely profitable to cater to left wing intellectual and artistic circles. The Communist patronage

machine with its wide ramifications is extremely solicitous of its faithful followers. Communist-front organizations and unions offer a source of jobs which are restricted to those who pay unquestioning homage to the Party line.

There are members of the Communist Party who suffer from intense inner qualms about the correctness of the Party line and about its practices behind the Iron Curtain such as the maintenance of slave labor camps, Soviet imperialism, anti-Semitism, the regimentation of intellectuals and the suppression of civil rights. But in many cases they do not have the spiritual and moral courage required to make a break, which may sound fantastic to those who have no realization of the pressures to which a member is subject. Having become completely dependent upon his Communist surroundings and associates for his mental, spiritual and social sustenance, having isolated himself from non-Communist influences, friends and reading, he looks upon the very thought of a break as a personal tragedy. He dreads being cast out of the holy of holies, the temple of Soviet worship. He fears the vilification and slander which will be directed against him as a "renegade" by the Communist smear apparatus. Remembering the mysterious case of Gen. Walter Krivitsky, former Soviet intelligence officer found dead in a Washington hotel, and Juliet Stuart Poyntz, who disappeared from the streets of New York City without a trace, he stands in mortal terror of physical assault or possible liquidation. If he is employed through a Communist union or front organization, it may mean the loss of his job. Cases have been known where the Party has threatened with exposure those who had become disaffected. It is much easier for the weak character to swallow his pride and his principles and just go along.

COMMUNIST CLUBS

The nature of Communist organization fluctuates in strict accordance with the current political climate in which the party finds itself. During the period when Russia was our ally, when the Red Army was being glorified and the Communist Party was frantically supporting our war effort in order to save the "Soviet Fatherland" from Hitler's legions, Communist clubs met openly, sometimes numbering hundreds of participants in cities like New York. Today when Russia has made the United States the chief target of its "cold war" and subversive activities, when the Communist Party is under fire and its leaders subjected to jail sentences, these clubs have been subdivided into groups of from three to five, meeting secretly, usually in homes. They are of two types, the shop club and the community club.

THE SHOP CLUB, RED SPEARHEAD

The shop club is peculiar to the Communist Party and specially suited to its subversive and conspiratorial purposes. No other political party in this country has adopted this form of organization. It is a direct importation from the experience of the Russian Communist Party.

Lenin, the Party's chief authority on matters of organization, long ago pointed out for Communists throughout the world that "Every factory is our stronghold." Prior to 1926, the American party was built on the basis of national language federations. Speaking before the sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International held in Moscow in April, 1925, Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of that body, specifically

instructed the Workers (Communist) Party, as it was then called, "to fuse the national sections into a real united party." A directive letter was sent to the American party by the Communist International in which the Party was given until December 1, 1925, to reorganize its two most important districts, New York and Chicago. It was pointed out that "The factory nucleus is the best organizational method of uniting comrades belonging to different nationalities" and that "the work of properly organizing the party will be best accomplished by the organization of factory nuclei." For the guidance of American Communists, Moscow dispatched a special instructor named Marcus, who wrote a pamphlet, *The Communist Nucleus, What It Is—How It Works*, under the pseudonym of M. Jenks. From time to time, the party's internal and confidential organ carried additional detailed instruction from specialists of the Russian Communist Party. To supplement this, J. Peters (deported to Communist Hungary in 1949) was sent to Moscow in the early thirties where he received extensive training as a result of which he wrote the authoritative *The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization*. Today the shop nucleus is more euphoniously called the shop club.

The Communist International has given clear directives to the American Communist Party to concentrate upon large industrial plants. It has even indicated what specific industries should be made the target. For example, the *Party Organizer* of February, 1933, declared:

The Communist International in January, 1931, raised for our Party the need of concentrating on the most decisive industries (mine, steel, textile, auto, marine) in the five largest districts * * * (p. 5).

The same issue of the *Party Organizer* even pinpointed the cities selected, including Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, so that the party might "firmly root itself in the decisive industries." Since that time, these objectives have been broadened considerably to include more key industrial cities.

In *Political Affairs* for May, 1950, Henry Winston presents his report to the plenary meeting of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, in which he points up the necessity for a maximum registration of Party members in the following basic industries: auto, electrical, steel, coal, rubber, and railroad.

What is the purpose of this concentration upon key industries? Again we must turn to the Communist International for a clear and forthright reply. Its resolution on imperialist war adopted at its sixth congress in the summer of 1928 is still the basic line today. Presented as the "main task in the struggle against imperialist war before it breaks out" is the following:

Factory and trade union activity must be concentrated primarily in the industries which serve the mobilization for and conduct of war, like the metal industry, the chemical industry, and transport * * *. Side by side with other revolutionary mass actions (demonstrations, strikes in munitions works, transport strikes, etc.) the general strike * * * is an extremely important weapon * * *.

The thirteenth plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International in December, 1933, summed it up most succinctly when it called upon affiliated Communist parties to "concentrate their forces in each country at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism." In Communist jargon, all countries which are anti-Communist are labeled as "imperialist."

Despite the fact that workers as a group find communism repulsive, it must be remembered that the Com-

munist Party makes it an active practice to colonize key industrial plants with aggressive, often college-trained Communists who have been thoroughly indoctrinated and prepared in party-training schools. The presence of one such troublemaker in a large establishment can be the source of considerable turmoil.

Operating secretly within a given plant to avoid detection, the Party member receives every possible outside aid through what is known as "concentration," defined by J. Peters as the utilization of "all available forces and organizations to penetrate the selected factory." Distribution of the *Daily Worker*, of leaflets, open-air meetings at the factory gate, are all handled by Party members on the outside, housewives, students, etc. Leading party members are assigned to advise those who are inside. Front organizations supplement their efforts. J. Peters, signing himself J. P., stressed the importance of this task in the *Party Organizer* for February, 1933, as follows:

That District and Section Committees must consider their first political responsibility to those units which are concentrated on the important plants. This means that all the problems, in the concentration work, must be taken up in the respective committee, a clear line of policy developed * * * comrades should be assigned to help the units to carry on the work. * * *

It is incumbent upon the Communists operating inside the plant to exploit "even the most elementary grievances in the shop" and develop "partial struggles around these demands." These struggles, strikes, etc., are not to be limited to the particular plant but must be broadened to involve other plants and to involve the workers in conflict with the police and the government generally.

The Communist cell also functions as a source of information for Soviet military intelligence. In the same issue of the *Party Organizer*, F. B. or Fred Brown, alias for Alpi, an agent of the Communist International, is most specific on this point:

An immediate task for the shop nuclei, for individual Party members working in shops, metal plants, chemical factories, shipyards, on the waterfront, is to keep their eyes open and see what is being shipped, what steps are being taken by the bosses for the transformation of the industry into a war industry. * * * Real efforts must be made to stop the shipment of ammunition.

It is of more than passing significance in this connection that the man who was promoted to the small ruling secretariat position of national secretary of the Communist Party, USA, is none other than Gus Hall, alias for Arvo Mike Halberg, Arvo Gust Halberg, Arvo Kustaa Halberg,

Gasper Hall, John Hollberg, and John Howell. He has been convicted under the Smith Act. According to sworn testimony before the city solicitor of Warren, Ohio, in 1937, he was the leader of a bombing squad which obtained dynamite and nitroglycerin and which was assigned by Hall to blow up and destroy property of the Republic Steel Corporation, the homes of nonstriking workers, railroad property including tracks and bridges, huge tanks of highly volatile benzol, a municipal dam controlling water supply and the municipal electric light plant (hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, November 4, 1938). The selection of Gus Hall as one of the top leaders of the Party is extremely significant.

Meetings of the shop club are called secretly — never by written communication and usually by word of mouth. Even phone calls are avoided. Meetings may be held in homes or in the local office of a Communist-controlled union or sympathetic organization. If a meeting room is rented, it is not hired in the name of the Party. The work is divided up among the chairman, the financial secretary in charge of dues, the organizational director in charge of recruiting and meeting arrangements, the press director in charge of *Daily Worker* sales and distribution as well as other Communist literature, educational director in charge of study classes and propaganda meetings. As a rule, these meetings are held in the evening, once every week or two. No minutes are kept, and financial records are kept in code. Directives are presented orally from the next higher body by a personal representative. For conspiratorial purposes, it may be necessary to divide up the members in a very large plant, into separate clubs by departments.

For some time, the CPUSA published a confidential organ called the *Party Organizer*, later known as *Contact*, which was devoted to giving guidance to Party members on matters of organization. Although this magazine is no longer published, its advice is currently relevant with the exception that it is now issued orally instead of in writing. The March-April, 1932, issue of the *Party Organizer*, in describing correspondent C. B.'s experiences in the Bethlehem Steel mill at Sparrows Point, Md., declares:

Grievances of the workers are sparks that can be developed into roaring flames of strike if they are carefully handled. The question is what to do with this little spark. * * * Revolutionary workers have the task of developing the grievance to the highest level.

A study is made of the nature of the alleged "grievance," the departments and workers affected. A leaflet is distributed dealing with the "grievance." The correspondent continues:

The pay line on Monday will be especially "hot," first, because of the grievance itself; second, because of the receipt of the leaflet; third, if our comrades participate in the conversation and raise the agitation to a higher level, there are great possibilities for singling out good prospects for a grievance group, even to the extent of bringing workers right from the pay line to their own home or bringing them to a designated place that was mentioned for this occasion where several capable comrades would be on hand to speak to workers recruited in this manner. * * *

This account was followed by another signed by J. B. who described the Party's activity against a new boss in the Fisher Body plant:

Immediately after this situation was reported, a very small leaflet on this matter was issued. This leaflet was distributed in this particular department in various places such as machines, lockers, and all other spots where the worker could easily see them. At lunch time one Party comrade started to discuss the leaflet and he urged that a grievance committee should be organized. The committee went to the



Gus Hall (left), Chairman of the Communist Party in Ohio, and Henry Winston, national organizing secretary, who were among the eleven Communist Party officials sentenced in 1949 by Judge Harold Medina. Hall and Winston were imprisoned between court sessions after being found in contempt of court by Judge Medina.

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superintendent demanding that the boss be removed. * * * When the whistle blew, none of the workers returned to work. * * *

The activity of the shop club is not limited to the exploitation of minor grievances but is consciously integrated into current Communist international policy. During World War II these shop clubs were allegedly dissolved as a token gesture from our Soviet allies. Today Communist parties throughout the world are emphasizing, as their chief issue at the present time, the drive to immobilize the democratic countries through a peace offensive. Literature distributed is slanted to give the impression that the United States is controlled by warmongers while the Soviet Union is referred to as "peace-loving."

The Party is quite flexible in its organizational forms. In some cases, industry clubs are formed including members from a given industry represented in a certain area, concentrating upon local factories and union activities.

COMMUNITY CLUBS

The bulk of the Party membership is to be found in the community clubs. These clubs serve a number of essential functions: (1) as a local political dynamo contact and sparking point to stimulate activity in local front organizations, unions, mass organizations, and neighborhoods generally; (2) as a support and aid to nearby shop clubs; (3) as a channel for intelligence information for officials at the Party center. These clubs usually operate under some protective cover.

In determining the size of the community club, the Party is caught on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, if it would attract public attention and support, it must hold public meetings and encourage large attendance. On the other hand, it is compelled to resort to conspiratorial secrecy by the fact that its activities in the present period increasingly demand defiance of the law, outright disloyalty to the United States, and sacrificial loyalty to the Soviet Union, thus arousing the ire of the public and subjecting it more and more to stern punitive legal measures. The Party has definitely chosen the second alternative, especially since 1945, dividing the community clubs into small groups of about five. Public meetings are held under the auspices of some convenient front organization not under the Party.

In his *Communist Party - A Manual on Organization*, J. Peters has indicated the type of issues to be exploited by street or town units, including unemployment relief, the high cost of living, sanitary conditions, sales tax, civil rights, police brutality, injunctions. He adds:

Another important task of the Street and Town Unit is to help the Shop Units in its territory and near to it * * * for example, systematic sale of the *Daily Worker* in front of the factory; or systematic holding of shop-gate meetings; distribution of leaflets or shop papers from the outside. The Street Unit can also help the Shop Unit do open work around the factory, in the streetcar and bus stations. * * * The Street Unit supports actively and takes part in the strike struggles of the factory workers, and also mobilizes the neighborhood for support, furnishing reserves for the picket lines, conducting demonstrations, collecting strike relief, etc.

Again by way of illustration, we cite an article in *Contact* for September, 1947, by Oleta Yates, chairman of the San Francisco County of the Communist Party:

Clubs must think in terms of moving people—ten, twenty, one hundred or five hundred—in protest delegations, picket lines, demonstrations or other forms of struggle.

The *Daily Worker* of April 26, 1950, cited, as an emulatory example for its Communist readers, the fact that

"twenty men and women were found guilty of 'disorderly conduct' last week on a charge that grew out of a demonstration at the 44 Stanton St. Welfare Department center three weeks ago."

A representative list of Communist community clubs in the city of New York as shown in the *Daily Worker* in the middle 1940's follows:

BRONX

Bedford Club	Italian C Club (Parkchester)
Begun Club (Mt. Eden)	Jackson Club (So. Bronx)
Bronx Blvd. Club	Joe Brodsky Club
Bryant Club (Tremont)	Joe Smith Club
Burnside Youth Club	Joe York Club (W. Bronx Youth)
Cacchione Club	Julius Fuchik
Cacchione (Mosholu) Club	(Pk. All. Youth) Club
Carver Youth Club	Lucy Parsons Club
Castle Hill Club (Parkchester)	Melrose Club (Morrisania)
Club Anderson	Melrose Youth Club
Club Barker	New Youth Club
Club Levin	N. Pelham 1 Club (Allerton)
Club Lincoln (Hunts Pt.)	N. Pelham 2 Club (Allerton)
Club 1 (Burnside)	N. Williamsbridge Club
Club 3	Olgin Club (Mt. Eden)
Club 4	Olgin Club (Tremont)
Club 6	180th Club (Tremont)
Club 8	Prospect Youth Club
Club 10	Ruthenburg B Club
Dennis Club (Mt. Eden)	Shakespeare Club
Elder Club (Parkchester)	Simpson Club
Elder Tenants Club (Parkchester)	Sojourner Truth Club
Elizabeth Stanton Club	(E. Bronx Youth)
Fisher Club (Parkchester)	Solidarity Youth Club
Foster Club (Mt. Eden)	Tom Paine Club
Flynn Club (So. Bronx)	Upper Stadium Club
Fordham Housewives Club	Van Cortlandt (Mosholu) Club
Gunhill Club	Vanguard Youth Club
Haywood Club (Parkchester)	Vets Club
Hewitt Club (So. Bronx)	West Farms 2 Youth Club

BROOKLYN

Albermarle Club (So. Flatbush)	Greenpoint Club
Avenue O Club	(Williamsburgh)
Avenue U Club	Gung-Ho Club
Banner Club (Brighton)	Halsey Club
Bay 29th St. Club	Harry Barnett Youth Club
Bensonhurst Club (Bath Beach)	Highway Club (Bath Beach)
Beverly Club (So. Flatbush)	Hinsdale Club
Boro Hall Youth Club	J. Smith Club
Brodsky Club (Midwood)	Joe Stember Youth Club
Brownsville Club	John Brown Club
Brownsville Youth A Club	John Brown Youth Club
Buck Lazar Club	Kings Highway 1 Club
Cacchione Club (Bedford)	Kings Highway 2 Club
Cacchione Club (Crown Hts.)	Kingston Club (Bedford)
Cacchione Club (Midwood)	Krumbein Club (Bath Beach)
Carver Club	Krumbein Club (Bedford)
Club C (12 A. D.)	Krumbein Club (Crown Hts.)
Club C (24 A. D.)	Krumbein Club (11 A. D.)
Club 1	Krumbein Club (Kings Hwy.)
Club 3 (Bakers)	La Pasionara Club
Club 5	L'Enero Club
Club 338	Lewis Club
Coney Island Club	Longshore Club
Dahill Club	Lower 16th Club
Ditmas Club (So. Flatbush)	Luigi Gallo Club
Douglass Club (E. N. Y.)	Madison Club
East Flatbush Club	Mangel Club
Eastern District Club	Mendy Club
Farragut Club (Flatbush)	Mendy Club (Kings Hwy.)
Flynn Club (Bath Beach)	Mendy Youth Club
Fort Greene Club	Middle 16th Club
Fort Hamilton Club	Mike Ludlow Club
Foster Club (Bath Beach)	Neptune Club
Freedom Club (Bath Beach)	New Lots Youth Club
Fulton Club (6 A. D.)	New Utrecht Club (Bath Beach)
Gannes Club (11 A. D.)	Oceana Club
Gleason Club	Paine Club

BROOKLYN — continued

Parkville Club
 Parkway Club (Bedford)
 Perlman Club (11 A. D.)
 Plaza Club (Boro Hall)
 Project Club (6 A. D.)
 Restaurant Workers Club
 Riverside Club (Boro Hall)
 79th St. Club (Bath Beach)
 Stillwell Club (Coney Island)

Stone Ave. Club
 Tompkins Club
 20th Ave. Club (Bath Beach)
 Ulmer Club (Bath Beach)
 Weiness Club
 Williamsburgh Youth Club
 Willie Milton Youth Club
 Winthrop Club

MANHATTAN

Audubon North Club
 Audubon South Club
 B. Entin Club
 Brodsky Club (5 A. D.)
 Brodsky Club (8 A. D.)
 Cacchione Club (Lower Manhattan East)
 Chain Corrugated Club
 Claudia Jones Club
 Club Bennett
 Club Betances
 Club Brodsky (Dist.)
 Club Carlson
 Club Forward
 Club Galileo
 Club Glumac
 Club Gramsci
 Club Isham
 Club Larkin
 Club Maltezos
 Club A (Grand Central Section)
 Club B
 Club C
 Club D-1
 Club D-2
 Club D-3
 Club D-4
 Club 1 (Lower Manhattan West)
 Club 2 (Lower Manhattan West)
 Club 2 (7 A. D. West)
 Club 3 (Lower Manhattan West)
 Club 3 (Lower West Side)
 Club 3A
 Club 4 (Lincoln Square)
 Club 4 (Lower Manhattan West)
 Club 4 (Printers)
 Club 5 (Lower Manhattan West)
 Club 5 (7 A. D.)
 Club 5A
 Club 6
 Club 6 (Lower Manhattan West)
 Club 6N
 Club 6S
 Club 7 (Fur)
 Club 7 (Lower Manhattan West)
 Club 7A
 Club 8 (Lower Manhattan West)
 Club 10
 Club 21 Chelsea
 Club 42 (Food)
 Club 66 (Garment)
 Club 89
 Columbus Hill Club
 Crawford Club
 Cutters Club
 Czech Club
 Drieser Club (5 A. D.)

Dry Goods Club
 Dyckman Club
 East Harlem Youth Club
 Emil Aine Club
 15th St. Club (Lower Chelsea)
 52d St. Club (Lincoln Square)
 First E. D. Club
 Freedom Club
 Garibaldi Club (Lower Manhattan East)
 Garment Youth Club
 Greek Adult Club
 Harriet Tubman Club
 Hillside Club (Inwood)
 Hispano Club
 J. Connolly Club (Wash. Hts.)
 Jesus Menendez Club
 Joe Hill Club (Forbes)
 La Pasionara Club (Lincoln Sq.)
 La Pasionara Club (10 A. D.)
 Larkin Club (5 A. D.)
 Lowell Club
 Mooney Club (5 A. D.)
 Mothers Club
 143d St. Club (13 A. D.)
 Puerto Rican Club
 Railroad Club
 Railroad Club (Lincoln Sq.)
 Ray Friedlander Youth Club
 Sacco-Vanzetti 1 Club
 Sacco-Vanzetti 3 Club
 Sacco-Vanzetti 4 Club
 Sacco-Vanzetti 6 Club
 Sacco-Vanzetti 7 Club
 Sacco-Vanzetti 8 Club
 Shirt (Amalgamated) Club
 16th St. Club
 Slipper (Shoe) Club
 Strippers (Fur) Club
 Stuyvesant 1 Club
 Stuyvesant 2 Club
 Stuyvesant 3 Club
 Stuyvesant 4 Club
 Stuyvesant 5 Club
 Stuyvesant 6 Club
 Stuyvesant 7 Club
 Stuyvesant 8 Club
 Thompson Club (10 A. D.)
 Togliatti Club (8 A. D.)
 Village North Club
 Village South Club
 Village Youth Club
 Washington Hts. Youth Club
 West Midtown 1 Club
 West Midtown 2 Club
 Youth Club

QUEENS

Astoria Youth Club
 Arverne Club
 Auto Club
 Bayside Club
 Club M-2
 Club M-3
 Club M-4
 Corona Youth Club

County School Club
 Far Rockaway M Club
 Freedom Club
 Hamills Club (Rockaway)
 Hillcrest Club
 Hollis Club
 Joe Hill Club
 John Williamson Club

QUEENS — continued

Juniper Valley Club
 Long Island City Club
 L'Unita Club
 Maspeth Club
 Mets Club
 Middle Village Club
 Railroad Club
 Rego Vets Club
 Sid Foelek Club
 Sugar Club
 Queensbridge Club
 Willie Milton Club (Hollis)
 Woodside Club

SECTION COMMITTEE

The section committee, headed by the section organizer or chairman, supervises and directs the work of the shop and community clubs in a given area. This is done through meetings of the club chairmen and through section representatives sent to the meetings of the various clubs. Its officials parallel those in the clubs: chairman, organizational secretary, educational director, press director, financial secretary, etc., who work on a volunteer basis.

Specimen sections in New York City include the following with addresses as of 1946:

MANHATTAN

Tompkins Square
 Lower Manhattan
 Lower West Side, 430 Sixth Ave., Phone GR 5-9696
 Jefferson, 201 W. 72d St., TR 4-9362
 Unity Center, 2744 Broadway, PH 9-9483
 Chelsea, 269 W. 25th St., CH 4-1688
 East Midtown
 Lower East Side, 324 Second Ave.,
 Hank Forbes, 201 Second Ave., GR 5-9036
 Yorkville, 350 E. 81st St.
 Lower Heights, 493 W. 145th St.
 Washington Heights
 Food Workers
 11 A. D.
 7th A. D. West
 Lower West Side, 430 Sixth Ave., GR 5-9896
 7th A. D. East
 Waterfront, 269 W. 25th St., CH 4-1947
 Italian, 273 Bleecker St., CH 2-9436
 East Side (Olgin), 154 Clinton St.
 West Side, 73 W. 99th St.
 Harlem
 East Harlem, 171 E. 116th St., ED 4-2918
 Lower Harlem, 1549 Madison Ave. SA 2-7559

BROOKLYN

Bath Beach, 2166 86th St., ES 2-7277
 Boro Park, 4903 12th Ave.
 Crown Heights, 289 Utica Ave., PR 3-9597
 Fort Greene, 190 Tompkins Ave., EV 4-7183
 Bedford-Stuyvesant, 1239 Atlantic Ave. ST 3-9589
 6th A. D., 190 Tompkins Ave., EV 4-7183
 Brighton Beach, 3200 Coney Island Ave. DE 6-9814
 Eastern Parkway, 1188 President St. RP 3-9736
 Industrial, 260 Fulton St., MA 5-9094
 24th A. D., 806 Sutter Ave.
 Bensonhurst, 7309 20th Ave.
 Kings Highway, 1212 Kings Highway DE 9-9518
 Brownsville, 375 Saratoga Ave.
 East New York, 806 Sutter Ave.
 12th A. D., 305 Church Ave.
 Waterfront, 5306 4th Ave., GE 9-9734
 Boro Hall, 260 Fulton St., MA 5-9094
 Coney Island, 3228 Mermaid Ave.
 Flatbush, 848 Flatbush Ave.
 Williamsburg, 190 Tompkins Ave., EV 4-7183
 Midwood
 Kings Metal

QUEENS

Rego, Astoria, 3047 Steinway Ave.
 Sunnyside, 4614 Queens Blvd.
 North Shore, 9912 N. Boulevard

BRONX

Prospect, 1301 Boston Road	
Fordham, 9 W. Burnside Ave.,	FO 4-8780
Allerton, 2700 Olinville Ave.,	OL 5-8837
Hunts Point, 891 Freeman St.,	DA 9-7956
Mosholu, 3092 Hull Ave.,	OL 5-9315
Parkchester, 1590 Westchester Ave.	TI 2-4805
Morrisania, 1 E. 167th St.,	JE 8-1445
Kingsbridge, 20 E. Kingsbridge Rd.	
Mt. Eden, 125 E. 170th St.,	JE 6-8815
Tremont, 807 E. Tremont Ave.,	TR 8-7731

According to J. Peters' manual, "The Section is made up of a number of Shop, Street or Town Units in a given territory," under the lead of the section committee. The size of the territory of the sections, the members of the section committee and the section organizer or chairman, are all subject to the decision of the next higher committee, i.e., the district committee or state committee. Here again decisive authority emanates from the top. The section committee usually consists of from nine to eleven members.

DISTRICT OR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

The district covers a portion of the country (a part of one, or one, two and sometimes three states, depending upon the industries, on the size of the membership, etc.). Thus it will be noted that District 2 covers all of the State of New York, while District 1 includes Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Pennsylvania, on the other hand, is divided up between District 3, including eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, and District 5, including western Pennsylvania, the coal, and steel centers.

In an effort to befog the public mind, the Communist Party constitution declares that —

The highest body of the state organization is the State Convention, which shall convene at least once every two years.

As a matter of fact, Communist conventions are perfunctory affairs with little decisive power. In a full-time conspiracy it is manifest that day-to-day decisions could not be left to a biennial convention. Actual power resides at all times in a small secretariat of three or five within the district or state committee, which may be overruled at any time by a representative of the national committee or the Communist International (now the Cominform). In its turn the district or state committee and its officials are subject to approval by the national committee. It usually consists of from fifteen to nineteen members.

The following chart [on next page] gives the chain of Communist command from the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the smallest Communist unit in the United States. It attempts to summarize the opinions of numerous former members of the Communist Party of the United States and the Soviet Union as to the structure of the international Communist movement.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The national committee, which is elected by the national convention in accordance with a slate previously submitted by the Party leaders subject to the approval of current Moscow representative, usually consists of from thirty to thirty-five members. All its members are not made public. According to the Party constitution, this committee "organizes and supervises its various departments and committees; guides and directs all the political and organizational

work of the Party; elects or removes editors of its press who work under its leadership and guidance; organizes and directs all undertakings of importance to the entire Party; administers the national treasury." The national committee meets about every four months, its members being distributed as organizers in the various districts throughout the country. The national committee elects a national board of about eleven which is resident in New York City, and meets about once a week. The national board in turn selects a secretariat of three to five including the chairman, the executive secretary and other members of the national headquarters staff, who run the Party from day to day. In each case it should be remembered that recommendations for each post come from the top down, the highest echelons being subject to recommendation and approval from Moscow itself. There are no rival candidates or contests for office.

The actual functioning of the national committee and its smaller, ruling national board or politburo (a term copied straight from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) is not in accordance with any prescribed constitutional procedure. It is totally at variance with routine practices in other political parties or in fact in traditional American organizations in general. It is even extremely doubtful whether the rank and file Communist Party member has the vaguest notion of what is going on in the upper circles of his organization. We shall try to give a true picture of the "broadest inner democracy" of which the Party boasts.

DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE

Because of its quasi-military and conspiratorial character, the Communist Party, USA, pays considerable attention to the matter of discipline.

The national convention elects a national review commission, formerly known as the control commission, which is strictly limited to "tested" members of the Party who have been active for at least five years. What the Party constitution does not say, however, is that members of the commission are closely interlocked with the underground apparatus of the Party and with Soviet military intelligence. Because of this in some instances it commands greater authority than the national committee itself. Among those who have been members of this commission in the past are Charles Dirba, alias Moore; K. Radin; Jacob Mindel; Charles Krumbein, former Comintern emissary jailed for passport fraud, and Jacob Golos, revealed in testimony by Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers as the head of an underground ring of the Communist Party. Current practice has been not to reveal the names of the members of the review commission. This commission has charge of all disciplinary procedure throughout the Party, and is entrusted with the custody of the Party's secret records.

What matters are the subject of disciplinary action according to the Party constitution? One count is "conduct or action detrimental to the working class." Considering itself as the "political party of the American working class," it remains for the Party officials to interpret this highly elastic category of offenses. The opinions of responsible labor officials are not asked. Another offense is "conduct or action detrimental to the interests of the Party," another vague classification. Punishable also is any violation of the decisions of Party committees. Under these broad categories of Party offenses the civil rights of Party members are extremely tenuous.

"unifier of peoples," "the great military leader of modern times," "greatest strategist of our era," "symbol of heroism and glory," and so on.

On a smaller scale the same atmosphere of slavish adulation permeates the national committee of the Communist Party, USA. Testimony to this effect comes from William Z. Foster, himself, the Party's chairman. In his article in *Political Affairs* for September, 1945, Foster states frankly:

With his great personal prestige and his excessive degree of authority, Browder's word had become practically the law in our Party * * * He had grown almost into a dictator. His authority reached such a point that his word had become virtually unchallengeable in our Party. His policies and writings finally were accepted almost uncritically by the leaders and the general membership. Browder created around himself an atmosphere of infallibility and unchallengeable authority. All this was accentuated by the deluge of petty-bourgeois adulation, praise-mongering and hero-worship that was constantly poured upon him by our leadership and our members * * *

Constantly grasping for more power, Comrade Browder had largely liquidated the political functions of the Party's leading bodies. He habitually by-passed the National Board in policy-making * * *

The National Committee also had gradually lost all real political power. It assembled; it listened to Browder's proposals; it affirmed them; and it dispersed to the districts to impress the policy upon the membership. Of genuine political discussion there was none whatever in the National Committee. Similarly, our recent National Conventions were hardly better than the National Committee meetings—with their formal endorsement of Browder's reports, no political discussions and no self-critical examination of the leadership * * *

In this stifling bureaucratic atmosphere * * * political thinking itself was hamstrung. Comrade Browder, basing himself upon the high prestige which he enjoyed among the Party membership, made policy pretty much as he saw fit.

Of course, Foster strives to create the impression that Earl Browder was individually at fault for this state of affairs. Nowhere does he admit that the atmosphere he describes is typical. The fact remains that although Browder was general secretary from 1930 to 1945 with the knowledge and approval of his Moscow superiors, Foster, who had been loud in praise of Browder's "insight and vision," hailing him as the "heroic leader of the people," did not dare to change his tune publicly until 1945 after the French Communist leader, Jacques Duclos, had damned Browder in the name of the international Communist hierarchy. Following the ejection of Browder, Foster was quick to pay his homage to his successor, Eugene Dennis, quoting him with deepest respect. Dennis, according to Foster in the *Daily Worker* of May 15, 1950, "symbolizes the just cause of peace, democracy, and socialism" and is singled out as "the foremost leader of our Party."

SPIRIT OF PREVAILING FEAR

The truth is that the same Communist leaders who are the personification of defiance before congressional committees and the courts of the land, who pour a steady stream of vilification upon representatives of the American government, are paralyzed with fear before the emissaries of the Soviet dictatorship.

In the September, 1945, issue of *Political Affairs*, Foster openly admitted that the chairman of the Party would have faced expulsion had he made public his letter to the national committee of January, 1944, in which he dared to take issue with Browder, then the current Moscow favorite. In the *Communist* of April, 1944, Foster's views were openly castigated before the entire Party by Gerhard Eisler, an alien. Foster submitted meekly and without

protest, simply because Eisler possessed the blessing of Moscow.

It is indeed hard to reconcile the rebellious fire-eater of the *Daily Worker* and of congressional committees' hearings with the submissive Mr. Foster before his Moscow superiors. Speaking in Foster's presence before the American commission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on May 6, 1929, Joseph Stalin was unsparing in his castigation of his American gauleiter. We quote his speech in part:

The Foster group wants to display its loyalty to the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) and proclaims itself as "Stalinites." Good and well. * * * The Foster group wants to demonstrate its closeness to the Comintern. * * * Good and well. * * * Let the Muscovites know how we Americans can play on the Exchange. * * * But Comrades, the Comintern is not an Exchange. The Comintern is the holy of holies of the working class. The Comintern must, therefore, not be taken for an Exchange. * * *

It is characteristic that in writing to his friends, Comrade Foster refers to that conversation as something mysterious, as something about which one must not speak aloud. * * * What could there be so mysterious in my conversations with Comrade Foster? * * *

What did Foster speak to me about? He complained of the factionalism and unprincipled character of Comrade Lovestone's group. * * * I admitted that Comrade Lovestone's group is guilty of these digressions. * * * From this, Comrade Foster comes to the strange conclusion that I sympathize with the [Foster] minority group. * * * Is it not clear that that which Comrade Foster WISHES, seems to him to be REALITY?

How did Mr. Foster, a free-born American, react to this humiliating dressing-down from a foreign potentate? There is no trace of any reply to this tirade by Mr. Foster. His attitude toward Joseph Stalin was, however, clearly expressed in answer to a government question in connection with the trial of the eleven Communist leaders and



Eugene Dennis (left), embraces Benjamin Davis, former New York City councilman and convicted Communist leader, at Pennsylvania Station in New York City upon Davis' completion of a sixty-day contempt sentence last year in Pittsburgh. Dennis (termed by William Z. Foster as "the foremost leader of our party" and Davis were among Communist leaders convicted in 1949 for conspiring to advocate the forceful overthrow of the U.S. government. Both were released in March, 1955, after serving four months.

was published in a special supplement to *The Worker* of September 25, 1949. He was asked whether he was present and joined in the following greeting to Joseph Stalin at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in July, 1935:

To Comrade Stalin, Leader, Teacher, and friend of the proletariat and oppressed of the whole world * * * we address ourselves to you, Comrade Stalin, our leader, * * * to you, beloved leader of the whole international proletariat and of the oppressed with warmest greeting. * * * The peoples of the world * * * are turning more and more towards the USSR, fixing on you, Comrade Stalin, the leader of the toilers in all countries, a gaze full of hope and love. * * * You have taught and are teaching us Communists the Bolshevik art of uniting unshakable fidelity to principles with closest contact with the masses. * * *

The 7th World Congress of the Communist International * * * assures you, Comrade Stalin, that the Communists will always and everywhere be faithful to the end to the great and invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

He replied:

I was not present at this particular demonstration but I joined in the spirit of it and endorsed it. * * * I thought such a man deserved the ovation that he got.

In fact this bootlicking servility runs in a never-varying thread through all of Foster's utterances after Stalin took over power. It is worth noting by way of contrast, that Foster has repeatedly denounced the chosen heads of his own country as imperialists and warmongers. Here is a choice sample, from the *Daily Worker* of January 12, 1948, page 3:

One of the outstanding traits of President Truman as a political leader is his demagoguery. He is a reactionary who covers up his sinister policies with fair words; he cold-bloodedly indulges in glittering promises to the masses, which he has not the slightest intention of fulfilling. * * *

Preparations for war and the aggressive pushing of big business imperialism, all hidden under words of angelic peace — this was the heart of President Truman's report. And a sinister heart it was. * * *

In his standard work, *The History of the Communist Party of the United States*, William Z. Foster has this to say:

* * * When one set of capitalist demagogues — Truman, Taft, etc. — discredit themselves, capitalism knows how to raise up another set — Eisenhower, Kefauver, etc. — to keep bourgeois illusions alive among the toiling masses (p. 468).

In his testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities on November 26, 1946, Louis F. Budenz furnished another example of the paralyzing fear which pervades the upper strata of the CPUSA. The incident involved Gerhard Eisler, alias Edwards, and Clarence Hathaway, then editor of the *Daily Worker*, a member of the Party's top political committee or national board. Budenz, who in late 1945 was managing editor of the paper, described what took place at an editorial board meeting he attended:

I came into that meeting of the editorial board of the *Daily Worker* * * * when lo and behold, to my surprise, in walked Mr. Edwards; he did not even introduce himself to the editorial board, but in he walked and proceeded to flay Hathaway for almost an hour, declaring him to be unfit to be editor of the *Daily Worker*, that he was more interested in his picture on the front page than "he is in running the paper" as it should be run, politically. And I was amazed at this because of Hathaway's position, as represented by the daily press at that time, as one of the big three running the Party. But Edwards came in, and Edwards was the representative of the Communist International, and he flayed Hathaway, and Hathaway did not do anything but sit there with a silly grin and had to take this trouncing. That was an education to me.

Mr. Budenz continued his testimony with the case of Harry Gannes, late foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*:

He was about to be convicted of false passports when he died of a brain tumor. His death was hastened by fear and worry. I worked in the same office with him at the time and know that most of his trouble was not fear of America, nor fear of an American prison, but fear of people back of him in the Communist conspiratorial apparatus. He feared he would have to divulge some of the shadowy figures with whom he worked for the Kremlin.

No Party official, no matter how high his status, was apparently exempt from this fear complex. Mr. Budenz declared in his testimony, "I have seen Earl Browder look like he was struck with a most intense fright on more than one occasion, and Jack Stachel looks as though somebody was chasing him all the time."

It would seem, therefore, that whereas the lower layers of the Party might be motivated primarily by ideological devotion, its higher echelons are driven by an overpowering fear of a far-reaching conspiratorial network from which they cannot extricate themselves even if they desire to do so — a cold-blooded machine which is merciless toward even the slightest infringement of its drastic ukases.

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AS A PUPPET

Despite the fact that the Party constitution specifies the national convention as "the highest authority of the Party," actual practice discloses that the seat of real authority lies neither with the convention nor with the national committee which it supposedly elects, but with Moscow. The House Committee on Un-American Activities entered into considerable detail on this point in its report on *The Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power*, published in 1947 as House Report No. 209. We elaborate this point by an examination of Party behavior since November 16, 1940, when the CPUSA disaffiliated from the Communist International "for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act" (H. R. 10094) and subsequent to the alleged dissolution of the Communist International on May 30, 1943.

Political Affairs, formerly known as *The Communist*, is the official theoretical organ of the CPUSA. Its editorial board includes such topflight members of the national committee as V. J. Jerome, Abner W. Berry, Alexander Bittelman, Jack Stachel and Max Weiss. It is published under the supervision of the national committee for the purpose of supplying the members of the Party with political directives for the coming month. It is, therefore, of the highest significance that the issues of this authoritative magazine contain in almost every issue articles on the outstanding current issues by prominent writers for the Communist press of the USSR. Thus the CPUSA graphically demonstrates to its members the truth of the statement which appears in the *Daily Worker* of March 5, 1939, that —

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union always was and always will be a model, an example for the Communist parties of all countries.

[Alphabetical lists, by years, of Soviet and other foreign Communist authors of articles published in *Political Affairs* (formerly known as *The Communist*), theoretical monthly magazine of the Communist Party, USA, which were included in the Subcommittee's Handbook, have been omitted here as being of value primarily to those engaged in research, and may be secured separately at our minimum reprint rate of ten cents.

The booklet reprint which *Facts Forum News* will make available at a later date will include this material.]

(To be continued next month)

Does RFE Promote the Cause of Freedom?

(Continued from Page 28)

Bohemia, but someone else occupied my place at the last moment, and I had to wait until October, 1948, when my friend sent me via Moravia and Vienna to Austria, thence to Germany. He himself escaped in Spring, 1949, to Germany.

In this way I have learned through my own experience the tactics by which the Communists force the people in the East to inform for them, the means by which they fully infiltrate the entire life in a Communist country through informers who control and check each other, and who then report to sly men in the background enabling them to paralyze every real resistance and make the Communist rule firm, instituting a totalitarian control which cannot even be imagined by the people in the West.

All these things were stated in my sworn statement to the Kersten Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives in 1954. Although I spoke several times to Congressman Kersten, many times to Congressman Fred E. Busbey of Illinois, and many times to the Director, the Chief Investigator and others of the Committee, I did not deliver my statement in person, and have never maintained that I did, as Shepardson indicates. I sent it by mail, as I was advised to do, and received an official acknowledgement from the Committee dated July 27, 1954. Photostatic copy of the last page of my testimony is enclosed.* Among others, I sent copies of this to Congressman Kersten, to Congressman Busbey, to Congressman Clardy, to Congressman Walter, and I discussed my case and experiences at length in 1953 with Congressman Kit Clardy of Michigan, then member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. I also mentioned its main points to Congressman Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, whom I met in October, 1955, in Geneva, Switzerland. Naturally, all men with whom I cooperate here in Germany know my case thoroughly. Before my article was published in *Facts Forum News*, *Facts Forum* obtained a copy of my testimony, also.

In my testimony to the Kersten Committee, I mentioned that I had led the Foreign Section of the "Central Union of Czechoslovak Students in Exile" for several months. Although this organization served to unite Czech students, and some fine young Czechs

were members, it was run by the Benes Socialists. However, some of the Socialists and adherents of the National Front charged that I was excluded in 1948 by the Communists because of my studies in Germany. I told them (but did not admit to them, as Shepardson states) what had actually happened in 1948, and also told them that their idol, President Benes, had signed agreements with the Communists. The Czechoslovak Socialist students were enraged at this, and this was the end of my cooperation with their Committee. This was in 1950.

In 1951 I was employed by Radio Free Europe in Munich, where I told in my application papers, and orally as well, of everything I have written here. I was accepted for work in the Archives, Reference Assistant and Librarian (editorial positions being reserved for Socialists and former Communists).

In June, 1951, I told an American at Radio Free Europe that I was in contact with the Czech Democratic Federalists in Munich, who opposed the National Front, and thus also the personnel of Radio Free Europe. I was then interviewed by the European Director, Richard J. Condon, and finally spoke to Mr. Otto, then Security Officer of Radio Free Europe. Mr. Otto asked me to continue to visit the Federalists, to act friendly toward them, and to report their activities and inquiries to him. Thus he asked me to "cooperate" in exactly the same manner as had Thaler at an earlier date. I politely rejected his requests, and was then discharged in July, 1951. From the standpoint of Radio Free Europe I was certainly "grossly inefficient" — just as grossly inefficient as I had been in cooperating with Paul Thaler.

This, too, was included in my testimony to the Kersten Committee. After Radio Free Europe fired me, my application for emigration to the United States was rejected in August, 1951. However, since the time I started to work here in the field in which I am now working, the immigration agency has informed me (in 1954) that there is no objection to my emigration to the United States. Under the International Refugee Organization I have always had the status of political refugee, and have all the privileges of the U.S. President's Escapees' Program.

I have never been a paid worker for the "Prchala Youth Movement." This is also gossip by the Socialist students, which Mr. Shepardson docilely repeats. However, I would not object if this were true, for I highly esteem the Czech General of the Army Lev Prchala, who spent World War II in Great Britain, opposing Hitler, and also rejected the pro-Communist policy of Dr. Benes and remained in London after 1945. Prchala is the Chair-

man of the Czech National Committee in London, and his program would promote restoration of justice, order, private enterprise and property, and free economy in Czechoslovakia, as well as the right for self-determination of all nations of Czechoslovakia — the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Ruthenians, and the Sudeten Germans. The aim of General Prchala's organization is to form a federation of free nations in the Bohemian countries. Mr. Shepardson, whose Free Europe in practice rejects the right of self-determination for anti-Communist nations, calls the aim of General Prchala "the dissolution of the national Czechoslovak state."

While working in the archives of Radio Free Europe, I discovered the speeches of General Douglas MacArthur, Senators McCarthy, Taft, Jenner, and others, in the U. S. Congressional Record and in newspapers. Also, for the first time, I read about and saw pictures of Communists and subversives in America. With astonishment I recognized these subversives as belonging to the same international group as do the Secret Police in the East, as well as the men in Radio Free Europe and in the U. S. Intelligence Service. I realized then what great sabotage is being committed by Radio Free Europe against the people of the East when it suppresses every mention of the identity of the subversives in the West. Because they have never heard of the work done and the fight put up to expose subversives by such men as Taft, McCarthy, Walter, Jenner, Velde and others, many people in the East remain in apathy and in subservience to the Communists. It serves the cause of communism in the East when Radio Free Europe conceals the sly methods of the Communists to gain others as informants.

The same attacks which the President of the Free Europe Committee makes were made against me three years ago by that American writer of frothy comment, Dorothy Thompson, when I published a booklet on the Council of Free Czechoslovakia and the personnel of Radio Free Europe. Dorothy Thompson's letter to Mr. Hanighen of Human Events was published with a reply in the May, 1953 issue of the *Slovak Newsletter*, Middletown, Pennsylvania. Of Ferdinand Peroutka, Dorothy Thompson wrote:

He is my husband's first cousin. . . . Walter Lippmann and I were among his sponsors. . . . He possesses high literary gift and extraordinary political penetration. He can be eloquent, ironic, satirical, and, being a man who burns with the love of truth and freedom, he casts off light.

Who are these men who are running the most powerful station to the East, ruling the refugees by means of the purse, and receiving high salaries from America? Who are these men

*This documentation is on file with *Facts Forum News*.

whom the professors call the "leading democrats after 1945"?

The first of these is Ferdinand Peroutka, the foremost of the journalists of the National Front, and now Chief of the Czechoslovak Desk of Radio Free Europe.

According to Mr. Shepardson, Ferdinand Peroutka is a Catholic and independent who never was pro-Communist, and according to Miss Thompson, he casts off light.

Peroutka was not a member of any party, but in 1945 the Benes National Socialist Party nominated and sent him into the Parliament of the National Front. Besides being a socialist (as he professes himself to be in the aforementioned program of January 29, 1955), he has been a left-wing "progressive" "independent."

Thus, in his book *So or So*, he wrote:

Never in history was Russia so mighty, never were the forces of Socialism so mightfully arrayed. This is a new era of history. Despite this, some people are still thinking in an outmoded way. However, it has not yet been possible to explain to all that it is necessary for capitalism to fall. In our country, there is only one evolution possible: towards Socialism.

Peroutka was also editor in chief of the weekly *Dnesek* (besides being editor in chief of the big daily *Svobodne Noviny*). Here we can see how he "fought" communism. In *Dnesek*, November 27, 1947, an article stated:

Is it not clear to all realistically thinking political men in Czechoslovakia that without the Communists and against the Communists our country cannot be governed?

No judicious, reasonable, realistically thinking Czech politician has thought for a moment about the creation of an anti-Communist bloc.

According to the December 15, 1955 issue of *Katolik*, the Czech Catholic semi-weekly (greatest of all Czech Catholic press in the free world), published in Chicago, Illinois, which is, among other functions, the organ of the official Czech youth Catholic organization:

Not only do we judge Peroutka's actions, but we also raise criticism which we will present to the bishops of Czechoslovakia and to the Catholic people. We will show how Christian thinking and actions under Peroutka's leadership in time of a decisive fight of Christianity and democracy against Communism were strangled, oppressed, and destroyed.

Milos Vanek, who is Chief of the Economic Department, and one of the most important political editors of the Czechoslovak Desk, was one of the first top political leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The Czech Otto Lexicon, Prague, 1934, Appendix III-1 page 690, says that Vanek was "pushed out" of the party in 1925. What has he done since leaving the Communist Party?

The Czech Masaryk Lexicon, Prague 1933, VII Part, page 655, says:

Milos Vanek works principally for the

deepening of economic and cultural relations between the CSR and the USSR. . . . He translated Trotsky's book, *Basic Problems of the Revolution* (1925). . . .

(Note: The Trotsky book, *Basic Problems of the Revolution*, was published by the Communist Publishing Company, Prague, 1925, as the fourth volume of the "Lenin Library.")

The Communist, Zdenek Fierlinger, now President of the Red Parliament in Prague, writes in his book *Ve sluzback CSR (In the Services of CSR)*, Prague, 1947, p. 35:

There was here a group of resolute Comrades, of whom the foremost were many who are today active Comrades: Krauman, Dr. Maiwald, Polcek, Ubiria, Pistorius, Dr. Janecek, Ing. Vacek, Milos Vanek and others.

To this can be added: Dr. Vacek was until recently Communist Lord Mayor of Prague (now retired); Dr. Maiwald was Chairman of the State Planning Office of the National Front; Milos Vanek, and also Jiri Pistorius now work for Radio Free Europe.

In his post in Radio Free Europe, Vanek has never repented his past deeds. Under his pseudonym of "Pravdomil Basta" he jovially talks about the non-fulfillment of Communist plans, and gives false advice to the people in the East, such as that concerning the monetary reform in 1952.

The question arises — has Mr. Shepardson, who tried to get information about me, ever tried to obtain information about Comrade Vanek?

Dr. Jaroslav Stransky, Benes Socialist, weekly commentator on Radio Free Europe, is former Justice Minister of the National Front. He signed the Kosice Program, the decree about the extraordinary Peoples' Courts, the decree about the confiscation of property, etc.

Vaclav Majer, festival speaker (as representative of the "Czechoslovak Democrats") over Radio Free Europe to the people of Czechoslovakia, is a Social Democrat and former Food Minister of the National Front. He signed the same decrees as did Jaroslav Stransky. In exile, Majer is the Chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party.

On March 14, 1943, on the 60th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, representatives of Socialist and Communist parties met at Marx's grave in the London cemetery. Vaclav Majer said there, as reported in *Czechoslovak*, London, March 19, 1943:

We believe together with Marx that Socialism is the way for a common International cooperation, for a lasting peace and welfare of the nations. Today we are here, a handful of Socialist emigres from Czechoslovakia. But . . . Marx's grave will be the pilgrimage place of mankind, liberated from the blind captivity of dead economic doctrines.

Dr. Ivo Duchacek, close friend of Dr. Hubert Ripka, is one of the leading editors of the Czechoslovak Desk

of Radio Free Europe in New York, and former Chairman of the Foreign Committee of the Parliament of the National Front. He is a man who really led the Peoples' Party under the National Front.

He "fought" communism under the National Front in a manner indicated by his speech in the Prague Parliament, March 8, 1946, one of many speeches of like vein which are available for study:

The alliance with Russia is a cause of all parties of the National Front. It is the result of their common efforts, the cause of the entire people, not of one party. . . . After all, the competition in claiming credit for the treaty with the Soviet Union is in its substance no bad feature. It . . . reasserts how all the people of this country really stand behind this treaty.

Dr. Josef Lettrich was Chairman of the Slovak Parliament of the National Front and has been Chairman of the artificially created Slovak Democratic Party. At Christmas, 1943, he closed an agreement for special cooperation with the Communist Party, as is shown on page 14 of the Kersten Report.

I quote from one of his speeches in which he explained why all non-Socialist parties were liquidated by the National Front, which appeared in *Cas*, daily of the Slovak Democratic Party, June 19, 1945:

We have not restored the old political parties because we consider their programs to be outmoded.

On January 25, 1948, one month before the Communists took over Czechoslovakia, Dr. Lettrich said at the session of the Slovak Democratic Party in Bratislava:

The alliance with the USSR is the starting point of our new foreign policy and of our security system. . . . This orientation is to be considered as the invariable device for our future political life.

Lettrich was sent on one propaganda trip for the National Front to the United States in 1947, and now, in America for the second time, he is one of the leaders of the "Council of Free Czechoslovakia" and speaks over RFE as the representative of the "democratic Czechoslovaks." According to the Declaration of the Slovak Democratic Party on January 10, 1948:

We emphasize that we are in accord with a thorough purge . . . of antistate elements. [The purge came one month later.]

Dr. Petr Zenkl, a Benes Socialist, Chairman of the National Socialist Party, was Deputy Prime Minister to the Communist Prime Minister Klement Gottwald. He also must accept responsibility for the crimes of the National Front, since he was in a position of leadership in the government on the day Czechoslovakia rejected the Marshall plan, etc.

On May 7, 1947, in the National Front Parliament, Dr. Zenkl said:

The faithfulness to the alliance with the

USSR and the brotherly love for the peoples of great Russia are for us, Czechs and Slovaks, sincere ties which are valid for our whole nation. Therein lies the symbol and duty for all those who lead or want to lead the policies of this nation.

Today this Socialist and pro-Communist, a man who formerly was only Lord Mayor of Prague and who became Deputy Prime Minister and leader of the Socialist Party only through the influence of the National Front, the Communists and other like groups, is speaking over Radio Free Europe.

Dr. Miloslav Kohak, Socialist, former leading man of the National Front press, who owes his career to the National Front, is former Director of the Czechoslovak Desk in Munich and now works in New York for Radio Free Europe together with Dr. Vratislav Busek, Socialist, and leading editor of Radio Free Europe in New York. Kohak, together with Busek, signed a declaration addressing members of the Benes Socialist Party after the Communist takeover, which was published in *svobodne Slovo* on Feb. 27, 1948:

With a sincere heart we stand behind the faithful alliance and friendship towards the USSR and the other Slav countries. In this close alliance we welcome the cooperation with all progressive and peace-loving forces of the Western countries, and we condemn the subversive efforts of the reactionary capitalism and imperialism so as it corresponds to the tradition of our freedom-loving nation. We welcome the decision of the President of the Republic, which lead our State out of a grave political crisis, and we stand without reserve behind the Government of the National Front under the leadership of Klement Gottwald.

This, again, is a sample of "elimination of Communist influence by democratic methods." Today both of these "gentlemen" represent non-repenting National Frontism on Radio Free Europe.

Dr. Martin Kvetko was regional Minister of the National Front in Slovakia. Today he is Deputy Director of the Czechoslovak Desk of Radio Free Europe in Munich. During his work as regional minister, forced labor camps were erected for the enemies of the regime of the National Front in Slovakia. When the Communist coup in February, 1948, came, Kvetko remained, of his own will, in the Parliament, and voted for the new Gottwald Government. In his name the following resolution was read:

We have never gone along with, do not want to go along with, and shall not go along with any party or person who follows a course that is against the people, against the interests of democracy and those who are against the people or the State, in alliance with world reaction, and are acting contrary to our convictions and revolutionary ideals. Any such contrary course is in conflict with our deep Slavic consciousness and against our ally, our liberator and guardian, the USSR. This alliance is our only guarantee of the free evolution of the Czechoslovak Republic

with the promise of a secure future . . . and we shall take our stand against anyone who might desire to bring misunderstanding into or destroy this alliance. . . . As elected representatives of the people . . . we shall vote for Gottwald's program.

After this declaration, a vote of confidence in the new and purely Communist government of Klement Gottwald was expressed by 230 out of the 300 members of the National Assembly, Dr. Martin Kvetko among their number. A photocopy of the first page of *Narodna Obroda*, of March 12, 1948, showing the vote in the Parliament on March 12, 1948, and including Dr. Kvetko's name is enclosed.*

Karol Belak-Berger is one of the most important political editors of Radio Free Europe, who was a journalist during the National Front.

Even in exile, Mr. Belak upholds the National Front and Socialists. In *Skutecnost*, November, 1949, Geneva, he wrote:

We are not happy that the Third Republic National Front did not succeed, that socialization failed, that Benes' conception failed. On the contrary, we would be happy if these things had succeeded, and we were ready to draw the consequences.

Dr. Julius Firt was one of the leading men of the National Front press. Today he is the Director of the Czechoslovak Desk of Radio Free Europe in Munich. From the voluminous material about him, let me quote an interpretation in the Prague National Front Parliament of December 18, 1945:

The Czechoslovak people, organized in the parties of the National Front . . . do not wish anything (other) than a most sincere friendship and true brotherhood with the Russian people and the entire Soviet Union.

This was signed not only by Dr. Firt, but also by the following members of Parliament, servants of communism now working for Radio Free Europe: Ferdinand Peroutka, Franta Klatil, Dr. Antonin Hrebik, Jarmila Uhlirova (all Socialists).

Dr. Jan Stransky, son of Jaroslav Stransky, former member of the National Front Parliament is today Deputy Director to Ferdinand Peroutka in New York, and director of the Freedom Balloon Action for Czechoslovakia. His past speeches in favor of the Soviet Union are known and available from the stenographic minutes of the Prague Parliament.

Mr. Shepardson has accused General Prchala, the Slovak and the Sudeten German "Separatists" with wanting to dissolve the "national Czechoslovak state." Actually that state was dissolved when in 1945 the National Front handed over the Eastern part of it to Soviet Russia, transferring the Carpathian Ruthenians into direct Soviet slavery. Dr. Stransky said then

*This documentation is on file with Facts Forum News.

(December 12, 1946, Prague Parliament):

(It was) a new bond, which strengthened further the Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship. It was a decision whose rightness will in the long run be confirmed by history. One decision which we do not repent, and which we will never repent.

Dr. Stransky's performance in Radio Free Europe to this day indicates no repentance of such past decisions.

Dr. Hubert Ripka, former Minister of Foreign Trade of the government of the National Front, signed the Kosice Program, as well as the same decrees signed by Stransky, Majer and Lausman.

In his book *East and West*, Ripka wrote:

The Bolshevism of Lenin and Stalin represents a creative synthesis of specifically Russian and certain Western elements. . . . We Czechslovaks make no secret of our genuine satisfaction that Soviet Russia is beginning to participate in European and world politics as a strong world power.

Dr. Ripka was, for a long time, Foreign Secretary of the "Council of Free Czechoslovakia," to which the Radio Free Europe men belong, and which is also financed by Whitney H. Shepardson's Free Europe Committee, until because of an investigation by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee he was dropped from that position.

Mr. Shepardson said that there are millions of Social Democrats in Czechoslovakia and the professors say that the Socialists have been the best fighters against communism.

The following declaration shows how the Social Democrats fought communism. When the Communists were preparing in 1947 for full seizure of power, the Social Democrats "fought" them so hard that they requested a convention with them and persuaded them that they were not against communism.

Pravo Lidu, the official daily of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, September 12, 1947, carries the common Social Democratic-Communist communique, at the end of which we read:

In their common session, the representatives of both parties decided to issue a proclamation to the members of their parties, to make efforts to restore also in the future the atmosphere of a harmonious cooperation. Manifesting the will for a close cooperation, which is the condition for thwarting the aims of the Reaction and which has to ensure in a successful democratic way towards Socialism, both Parties, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, will strive that within the National Front, the Socialist Bloc in its broader sense be revived.

This is the manner in which the Socialists in RFE "fight" communism even today. They suppress all anti-Communists and then try to win the Communists over by maintaining: "We are also for Socialism — we are

not against honest Communists, etc." Such actions, of course, do not lead to the defeat of communism, but to its victory. However, this is a true thumbnail sketch of the typical Socialist anti-Communism which RFE considers the only right way.

Frantisek Listopad Synek, former Communist, was contributor to the Communist *Mlada Fronta* (on September 23, 1948). He now works for Radio Free Europe, and recently obtained RFE's first prize for his poems.

Zdenek Lederer, editor of Radio Free Europe, wrote for the *Mlada Fronta*, as, for instance, on September 9, 1947.

Similar material can be furnished about others among RFE's editors or speakers: Otto Graf, Ivan Herben, Ing. Filo, Dr. Matej Josko, Dr. Samuel Bellus, the Social Democrat Prof. Macek (who has also been praised in a book by the Communist Fierlinger), etc. Many Communists who worked for RFE have returned to Prague. These include Bohumil Lausman and Vladimir Kucera, alias Tonda Hornik, one of the more influential editors who has produced, in a typical Communist jargon, programs of doubtful value for Radio Free Europe. A close friend of the editor, Otto Graf, Kucera returned to Prague in 1955. Ernest Langendorf, the Press Officer of Radio Free Europe, falsely stated in a letter to all members of the Bavarian Landtag of August 1, 1955, that RFE has not had any contact with Kucera since February, 1955. The official publication of the Free Europe Committee in New York, *Ceskoslovensky prehled*, June, 1955, reported, however, that Kucera made tape programs for Radio Free Europe on March 12. Programs by Kucera were broadcast at an even later date. Hon. Franz Gaksch, member of the Bavarian Landtag, called the declaration of Langendorf on the floor of the Bavarian Landtag an "outspoken untruth" (August 4, 1955).

The last case I shall mention is that of Marie Dvorakova, who was Secretary in the important Information Department, and was known to be suspect. On October 23, 1955, she returned to Prague, and from there spoke against the West. It is interesting that the Security Department, now led by one Mr. Fisher, has not revealed any of the Communist agents in the employ of Radio Free Europe, probably because it has had its hands full in keeping anti-Communists out of that organization.

The usual excuse of Free Europe officials for employing only pro-Communists has been that there are no other men available for the job than the National Fronters.

Were this true, the Americans would have done better to keep the broad-

casts in their own hands, rather than entrusting them to the hands of pro-Communist National Fronters whom the Reds have let flee to the West.

The Communists did arrest and kept in Czechoslovakia all real, top non-Socialist leaders. However, despite this planned Communist policy which permitted the pro-Communists to flee, and kept anti-Communists in prisons, there are many able anti-Communists among the Czechs and Slovaks in exile today.

The long list of those who have been ignored by Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Committee contain names which were never associated with the National Front, and the names of others who, although at one time associated with the National Front, have spoken against it in the free world.

As a matter of fact, the non-Socialist majority of the Czechs, and practically all Slovaks, are completely banned and without representation in Radio Free Europe, and have been suppressed by the Free Europe Committee in the same way as they were under the National Front.

Besides this, there are men in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, and even Radio Free Europe, both National Fronters and also, in some very few cases, real anti-Communists, who are cooperating there at the price of sinning by silence. These men have to remain in subordinate positions, and dare not speak out. The men of the People's Party do not have the representation in Radio Free Europe which they deserve; only a few of those who continue to follow National Front policies are so honored. The former Minister of pre-war Czechoslovakia and leader of the Agrarian Party, Dr. Josef Cerny, or the Artisan E. Fusek, for instance, are or were in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia. Cerny serves merely as a window-dressing for the National Fronters, and is never permitted to speak over RFE. An actually anti-Communist American policy would have put Cerny into the lead, and the National Fronters into subordinate positions. RFE, however, supports only and exclusively non-repenting National Fronters, encourages them and assigns to them positions of leadership.

By their lack of intelligence, greediness for the property of others, and softness on communism, the National Fronters helped the Communists at home and are helping them even now in the West. They are the very outposts of communism in the free world. They are adulterating and confusing the crusade for freedom. The majority of the emigres and the majority of the people at home have nothing to do with them.

The fact is that the "psychological

warfare" of Radio Free Europe is led by men whom the Communists in the East had themselves chosen for that purpose. RFE obviously chose the non-repenting National Fronters because they have one thing in common: they do not understand the international Communist conspiracy, and are pliable tools of communism in the West as they had been in the East. Above all let me stress that it is because of their present activities in Radio Free Europe that these men are traitors to the free nations and the peoples in the East.

In the entire picture, the propagation of socialism is only a small fault. Also the fact that Radio Free Europe has succeeded in completely suppressing every mention of developments which have taken place in America since the time of Truman and Yalta is but a small part of the picture. The main treason committed by Radio Free Europe consists of the following:

The main policy lines of Radio Free Europe broadcasts result in a false interpretation of communism as a mere primitive Russian imperialism, a danger from the visible Communist Parties and the Red Army, a danger only from without, and in full suppression of all information regarding the secret international World Communist conspiracy, the danger from within, infiltration of government, universities, the press, etc., the facts about the Harry Dexter White case, the real cause of the loss of China, the true causes of Communist successes in the past (including those in Czechoslovakia). This misrepresentation of the true methods, aims and accomplishments of World Communism by Radio Free Europe includes upholding the Yalta agreement, the National Front, and the Kosice Program, in never broadcasting the names of American Communists (such as Bachrach, Israel Amter, Isaac Romaine, etc.) of American spies, traitors, Fifth Amendment Communists, and in full suppression of every word about the congressional committees investigating subversives in the United States. I accuse Radio Free Europe of fully suppressing all mention of the existence of men like Senators Dies, McCarthy, Reece, and other great American men.

Radio Free Europe, besides misinforming the West, blinds the vision of the people in the East, exposing them to lethal danger, and in this manner betrays them.

When the professors mention that their hearts bleed, when they say that they are ashamed that I am born of a Czech mother, I can only say that I shall never more see my mother just because of these treacherous policies of the Free Europe Committee which they so eagerly defend.

Mr. Whitney H. Shepardson, as the

President of the Free Europe Committee, is responsible for the hiring of Socialists who are unintelligent enough to completely lack understanding of the Communist conspiracy — and he is responsible for these policy lines of his Radio Free Europe. Mr. Shepardson grossly misuses the money of American citizens for a work which helps international communism. Knowingly or not, he is one of the main pillars of international communism in the free world.

SOLUTION RESTS WITH AMERICANS

Contrary to Mr. Shepardson's statements that destruction of the RFE broadcasts would please the Communists and destroy all Western broadcasts to the enslaved East, the removal of the RFE propaganda would clear the way for a real anti-Communist broadcast to the East. Our aim is not to destroy RFE. Our aim is to have it investigated by a legal Committee of the United States Congress. There are two committees which seem completely competent to make such an investigation: the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of Senators Eastland, Jenner and Welker, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities of Representatives Walter, Velde, Jackson and Sherer. Letters to these men and these committees might cause the necessary investigation.

The possibilities of the United States Congress must not, however, be overestimated. The Free Europe Committee and the Crusade for Freedom are mighty, private organizations, and to attack them includes many risks, especially in an election year.

Our aim must be to substitute real

anti-Communist broadcasts to the East for the Radio Free Europe propaganda, to build up an American radio station which would broadcast American anti-Communist programs exclusively. The Socialists and pro-Communists have Radio Free Europe. The non-Socialists and anti-Communists should also have a radio transmitter, even if only a short-wave transmitter at the beginning. Truth can be spread with much less expense than the Radio Free Europe propaganda, for the East is thirsting for real truth.

As an example: Since January, 1956, Radio National of Madrid, Spain, has beamed 15 minutes daily on three short-wave broadcasts to the Czech countries. While having no responsibility for the entire program, I have written several programs concerning American patriots fighting communism. In individual programs, I quoted speeches of General MacArthur, of Senators Jenner and Knowland, and I pictured the activities of Congressman Walter and his Committee on Un-American Activities. I quoted the Kersten Report, and, for the first time in history, the Czech people heard of Senator Joe McCarthy from the West.

A new private committee of American citizens must be built up. A private organization can be counteracted only by another private organization. A small short-wave transmitter broadcasting real anti-Communist ideology to the East could be a start of real anti-Communist activities in behalf of the free world.

A true picture must be broadcast of the sly tactics in the East and West of the Communist international conspiracy; the people of the East must hear

the speeches of American patriots and active American anti-Communists. The names of these have already been exposed and immobilized in the West.

Only in this manner can the apathy among the slaves of communism in the East be dispelled. This is the only possible antidote for the misbegotten propaganda of RFE. In this manner the people of the East will be enabled to compare both sides and come to their own conclusions regarding whether Radio Free Europe's broadcasts, or the new broadcasts represent the truth. There is no doubt as to what the opinion of the people will be.

There are enough real anti-Communist leaders from the East in America, Germany and other countries of the free world. They can work, and they want to work. They can also give to the Americans the real material about the Communist system in the East, material which is now being suppressed.

Indeed, the American patriots cannot get along without this material. In order to fight international communism, it is absolutely necessary that they know also what the Communist system in the East looks like, and they must win those people as allies who are now under the Communist tyranny, as well as winning those people who have fled from Communist tyranny.

Private German and European industry will join in this fight, but the initiative is up to private patriotic and active American citizens.

If our aim is the abolishment of communism without war, we must choose this road, and we must start immediately.

— JIRI (GEORGE) BRADA

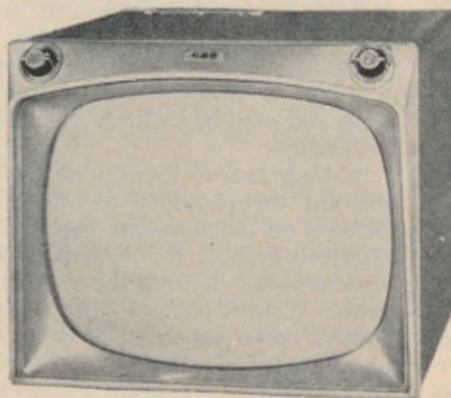
DO YOU WANT A COMPLETE SET of the articles concerning Radio Free Europe? If there is enough demand, booklet reprints of all the installments of "A Close-up View of Radio Free Europe," by Jiri Brada, "Melting the Iron Curtain," RFE's own story, and the letters in this issue will be made available. Prices will be given on request.

Attention all ELKS... LIONS... LEGIONNAIRES...

Members of Civic and Religious organizations of every kind!

Have you been wanting a Television Set for your Rumpus Room... Nursery... Club House...

Is there a NEEDY FAMILY... a SHUT-IN... an ORPHANAGE or WELFARE HOME in your community you would like to help?



The beautiful 21" ebony table model television pictured here is the newest from CBS COLUMBIA, one of the country's largest manufacturers of quality TV sets.

Write today to
FACTS FORUM, Dept. O,
DALLAS, TEXAS
for complete information.

Earn this CBS COLUMBIA TV Set FREE with the FACTS FORUM PLAN

Facts Forum Radio-TV

ALABAMA

Alexander City	WRFS*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
Andalusia	WCTA*	920	Sat	5:30 p
Atmore	WCTA†	920	Mon	8:30 p
	WATM*	1580	Tues	9:15 a
	WATM**	1580	Tues	9:15 a
Auburn	WAUD*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Birmingham	WBRC-TV**	6		
Carrollton	WRAC*			
Clanton	WKLK*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
	WHOS**	800	Sat	12:15 p
	WMSL†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WMSL-TV**	23	Sat	7:00 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Wed	6:15 p
Enterprise	WIRB*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WIRB**	1230	Sat	6:30 p
Enfauila	WULA*	1240	Mon	8:05 p
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWF**	990	Sun	1:00 p
Florence	WOWL*	1240	Sun	6:05 p
	WJOI*	1340		
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGWD**	570		
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Huntsville	WBHP†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Jackson	WPBB*	1290	Mon	5:00 p
Jasper	WWWB*	1360		
	WWWB**	1360		
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Monroeville	WMFC*	1220	Sun	3:45 p
	WMFC**	1220	Sat	10:30 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600		
	WJH†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOV-TV**	20	Wed	6:00 p
Oneonta	WCRL*	1570		
	WCRL**	1570		
Opp	WAMI*	860	Sun	1:30 p
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	Sun	5:00 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
	WELR**	1360	Sun	3:30 p
Russellville	WWWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWWR**	920	Sun	12:45 p
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*	1230	Sun	9:00 p
Troy	WTBF*	1490		
Tuscaloosa	WTRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WTRD**	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WTBC*	1230		

ALASKA

Fairbanks	KTVE-TV**	11	Sat	6:00 p
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ARIZONA

Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Flagstaff	KGPH*	690	Sun	3:30 p
Holbrook	KDJI**	1270	Sat	8:15 a
Kingman	KGAM*			
Phoenix	KOOL-TV**	10	Sun	1:00 p
Stafford	KGLU*	1480	Thurs	6:30 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	1:00 p

ARKANSAS

Arkadelphia	KVRC*			
	KVRC**			
Batesville	KVRC†	1240	Mon	10:30 p
	KBTA*		Sat	9:15 a
Benton	KBTA**		Sun	10:00 p
Camden	KBBA*	690	Sun	12:15 p
	KAMD*		Sun	8:45 p
Conway	KAMD†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KCON*			
	KCON**			
El Dorado	KRBB-TV**	10	Sat	6:30 p
	KDMS*		Sun	5:45 p
Fayetteville	KDMS**			
	KGRH*			
	KGRH**			
Forrest City	KGRH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KXJK*			
Fort Smith	KXJK**	950		
	KWHN†	1320	Mon	8:30 p
	KWHN**	1320	Sun	4:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
Harrison	KFSA-TV**	22	Sun	1:00 p
	KHOZ*			
	KHOZ**			
Hope	KXAR*			
Hot Springs	KXAR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KWFC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
Jonesboro	KWFC**	1340	Sun	10:30 p
	KBTM*			
	KBTM**			
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri	10:15 p
McGehee	KXLR†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
Magnolia	KVSA*			
Malvern	KSSC*	550	Thurs	7:30 p
	KBOK*		Sun	10:05 a
	KBOK**		Sun	1:30 p
Mena	KENA*	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Monticello	KHBM*		Sun	1:45 p
	KHBM**		Sun	8:00 p
Morrilton	KVOM*		Sun	2:00 p
Mountain Home	KTLO*		Sun	9:30 a
	KTLO**		Sun	9:00 p
Newport	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KNBY*			
	KNBY**			

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Facts Forum [News] is a wonderful magazine. I appreciate having it for our patrons.

RUTH GWIN
Librarian, Piggott Public Library
Piggott, Arkansas

I am extremely amazed at the effort [Facts Forum News] makes to satisfy the requests of its subscribers and readers. I am sure you are making countless new readers and friends through this policy.

CLAIRE G. LEWIS
804½ No. Kingsley Drive
Los Angeles, California

. . . I have recently been taking the Facts Forum News and am delighted with its excellent presentation of the facts about our domestic and foreign affairs.

MR. M. B. JUDKINS
2425 Newton St.
Denver 11, Colorado

As a veteran school teacher, I appreciate greatly your splendid magazine which recently came to my attention. I say more power to you as you carry on the good work.

JOHN MOEN
1830 W. Glenrosa
Phoenix, Arizona

I am flattered by the prominence your magazine has given my comments concerning the national farm situation in the January [1956] issue. Not only have you recognized my deep interest in a solution to the present critical farm difficulties, but you have also recognized the validity of the arguments set forth not only in my statements, but also those of others who may not agree as to the course of action but who do agree as to the need to bolster this segment of our national economy.

SEN. CLINTON P. ANDERSON (D-N.M.)
Member of Congress
Washington, D. C.

I bought my first copy of your magazine. It was the most interesting magazine that I had ever read. The article, "The Trend in Teacher Training," [February, 1956, issue] was the first article that I have ever seen which discusses the subject in any other light than the line laid down by the NEA.

WILLIS V. JOHNSON
419 Roanoke Avenue
Dunedin, Florida

I'm a reader of Facts Forum News which is sent to me by a friend in Mexico. I think your magazine is very interesting and that you ought to be congratulated for your patriotic task.

ELENA CASA FRANCA
Calle Contralmirante Montero 1099
Surguillo, Lima, Peru

ARKANSAS — (Continued)

Paragould	KDRS*	1490		
	KDRS**			
Pine Bluff	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
	KPOC**			
Rogers	KAMO*		Sun	12:45 p
Russellville	KXRJ*		Thurs	8:30 p
	KXRJ**			
	KXRJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Siloam Springs	KUOA*		Sat	12:45 p
	KUOA**			
Springdale	KBRB*		Mon	7:00 p
Stuttgart	KWAK*			
	KWAK**	1240	Sun	2:30 p
	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KCMC-TV**	6	Sat	8:30 p
Warren	KWRF*			
	KWRF**			

CALIFORNIA

Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	12:00 n
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
	KDAC**	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Hollywood	KCOP-TV**	13	Sun	11:00 p
Los Angeles	KHJ†	930	Mon	8:00 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Sun	7:30 p
	KSFE**	1340	Sun	6:15 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	4:45 p
Oroville	KMOR*	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KAEP*	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV**	10	Sun	11:00 a
San Diego	KFMB-TV**	8	Sat	1:00 p
San Francisco	KGO*	810	Sat	10:30 a
	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	10:30 a
San Luis				
Obispo	KVEC-TV**	6	Thurs	8:30 p
Santa Cruz	KSCO*	1080	Thurs	8:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE**	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	Sat	12:30 p
Yuba City	KUBA*	1600	Sun	5:30 p

COLORADO

Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon	7:30 p
Cortez	KVFC*	740	Sun	12:00 n
Delta	KDPA*	1400	Sun	3:30 p
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:30 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	7:30 p
	KFXJ-TV**	5	Sun	10:30 p
La Junta	KBNZ†	1400	Mon	7:30 p
	KBNZ**	1400	Sun	10:00 p
Sterling	KGEK*	1230	Sun	12:45 p

CONNECTICUT

New Haven	WYBC**	1640		
Putnam	WPCT*	1350	Sun	1:00 p
Waterbury	WATR-TV**	53	Fri	6:30 p

DELAWARE

Wilmington	WPFH-TV**	12	Sun	10:30 p
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WEAM**	1600	Wed	10:00 p
	WINX*	1600		
	WOOK*	1340		

FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	Sat	12:00 n
	WKKO**	860	Sun	4:30 p
Gainesville	WRUF†	850	Mon	9:30 p
Key West	WKWF†	1600	Mon	9:30 p
Kissimmee	WRWB*	1220	Sun	12:00 n
Live Oak	WNER*	1450	Mon	5:45 p
	WNER**	1450	Fri	7:30 p
Marianna	WTYS†	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	Sat	5:30 p
Palm Beach	WJNO-TV**	5	Mon	10:00 p
Panama City	WPCF†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WDLF*	590	Sun	2:00 p
St. Augustine	WSTN*	1420	Wed	11:45 a
Sanford	WTRR*	1400	Sat	9:15 p

GEORGIA

Columbus	WDAK-TV**	28	Sat	7:30 p
Cordele	WMJM†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
Dalton	WBLJ*	1230	Sat	6:45 p
Dublin	WMLT†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Gainesville	WGGA†	550	Mon	9:30 p
Griffin	WKEU†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Jesup	WBGR*	1370	Sun	1:00 p
La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Macon	WIBB*	1280	Sun	2:00 p
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Monroe	WMRE*	1490	Sun	8:00 p
Statesboro	WWNS†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Swainsboro	WJAT*	800	Sun	1:30 p
Tooea	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, Mau	KMVI*	550	Sun	12:15 p

*Facts Forum;

**Facts Forum Panel;

†Reporters' Roundup

IDAHO

Boise	KIDO-TV**	7	Sun	11:00 p
Moscow	KRPL**	1400	Sun	4:30 p
Twin Falls	KLIX-TV**	11		
Weiser	KWEI**	1240	Sun	5:30 p

ILLINOIS

Belleville	WIBV*	1260	Sun	5:00 p
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	4:00 p
	WBYS*	1560	Sat	4:00 p
Carbondale	WCIL*			
	WCIL*		Sun	1:00 p
Carmi	WROY*	1460		
Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
	WMAQ*	670		
	WMAQ*	670		
	WMAQ-TV**			
Cicero	WHFC*	1450	Tues	10:30 p
Decatur	WDZ*	1050		
	WDZ*	1050	Sun	12:30 p
	WTVF-TV**	17	Sat	5:30 p
	WTVF-TV**		Sun	1:00 p
De Kalb	WLBK*			
Dixon	WSDR*	1240		
Du Quoin	WDON*	1580		
	WDON*	1580		
East Peoria	WEEK*	1350		
	WEEK*	1350		
East St. Louis	WTMV*			
	WTMV*			
Elgin	WRMN*			
Evanston	WEAW*	1330		
Fairfield	WFIW*	1390	Sun	12:00 n
Freeport	WFRL*	1570	Sun	1:00 p
Galesburg	WGIL*	1400	Sun	6:30 p
Harrisburg	WEBQ*	99.9	Mon	8:00 p
	WEBQ*		Sat	9:15 a
	WSIL-TV**		Sun	4:30 p
Herrin	WJPF*			
Jacksonville	WLDS*	1180	Sun	12:45 p
Joliet	WJOL*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Kankakee	WKAN*	1320		
	WKAN*	1320		
Kewanee	WKEL*	1450	Fri	5:45 p
	WKEL*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:30 p
Litchfield	WSMT*	1540	Sun	10:00 a
	WSMT*	1540		
Marion	WGGH*	1150	Sun	5:00 p
Mt. Carmel	WVMC*	1360		
	WVMC*			
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Olney	WVLN*	740		
	WVLN*	740		
Ottawa	WCMY*	1430		
	WCMY*	1430	Sun	3:30 p
Pekin	WSIV*	1140	Sun	1:30 p
Rock Island	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
	WHBF*	1270	Tues	9:30 p
	WHBF-TV**	4	Sun	12:00 n
Sparta	WHCO*	1230	Fri	2:00 p
	WHCO*	1230	Tues	2:00 p
Sterling	WSDR*	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Waukegan	WKRS*	1220	Sun	1:15 p
	WKRS*	1220		

INDIANA

Anderson	WCBC*	1470		
	WCBC*	1470		
Bedford	WBIV*	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Bloomington	WTTT*	1370	Sun	3:15 p
	WTTT*	1370		
Connorsville	WCNB*	1580	Wed	12:30 p
	WCNB*	1580		
Elkhart	WSJV-TV**	52		
Evansville	WEHT-TV**	50	Sun	10:00 a
	WEHT-TV**			
	WEA*	1400		
	WEA*	1400	Sun	9:30 p
Ft. Wayne	WANE*	1450		
	WJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Frankfort	WILQ*	1570	Sun	12:30 p
Goshen	WKAM*	1460		
	WKAM*	1460		
Indianapolis	WISH-TV**	8	Sun	12:00 n
	WIBC*	1070	Sun	8:45 p
Jasper	WITZ*	990	Sun	4:45 p
	WITZ*	990	Sun	11:00 a
Kokomo	WIOU*	1350		
Lafayette	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WFAM-TV**	59	Fri	8:00 p
Logansport	WSAL*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WSAL*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
Madison	WORX*	1440		
	WORX*	1440		
Michigan City	WIMS*	1420	Sun	6:00 p
	WIMS*	1420		
Mt. Vernon	WPCO*	1590		
	WPCO*	1590	Sun	3:00 p
Muncie	WMUN*	104.1		
	WMUN*	104.1		
	WLBC-TV**	49		
	WLBC*	1340	Fri	10:15 p
New Castle	WCTW*	102.5	Sun	12:15 p
North Vernon	WOCH*	1460		
	WOCH*	1460		
Peru	WARU*	1600		
Portland	WPGW*	1440		
	WPGW*	1440	Sun	1:15 p
Salem	WSLM*	1220		
	WSLM*	1220	Mon	8:30 a

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

It was with no small degree of satisfaction that I read your article, "Art for Whose Sake" in the February [1956] issue of *Facts Forum News*. This, unlike most articles of this nature, has presented the vicious threat of communism in the arts in such a statistical and workman-like manner, that it is taken out of the personal opinion class and is really documentary. The statistical information in your article is invaluable to me in my lectures against communism in the arts. . . .

MERLIN ENABNIT
6949 Osceola
Chicago, Illinois

If a majority of our national publications and daily newspapers would strive as consistently as *Facts Forum [News]* does to popularize the return to constitutional government, what a public awakening there would be in a few short years.

L. L. HENDERSON
Route 2
Corning, Iowa

Your magazine is one for which it is certainly easy to find words of praise and recommendation. The best of luck to you, the staff, and your contributors in continuing the fine work.

PATRICK J. HENRY, S. J.
West Baden College
West Baden Springs, Indiana

So excellent and pertinent are all your articles that it is hard to single out any one for special mention, but currently I am enthralled by "The Close-up View of Radio Free Europe" by Jiri Brada. [in three installments - January, February, March, 1956, issues].

MRS. HARRY TRAFFERT
113 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland

I am heartily in accord with your sentiment that there is much more need for patriotism in business.

RALPH S. E. SANGUINETTI
37 Waldorf Road
Newton Highlands, Massachusetts

I read *Facts Forum News* avidly every month and I also enjoy listening to your fine radio and television shows. You are certainly doing the people of the United States a great service with your idea of printing both sides of all controversial questions.

WILLIAM M. SCHULZ
41 Prospect Avenue
Montclair, New Jersey

. . . the people we gifted with subscriptions of *Facts Forum [News]* were delighted. And I was delighted with the very handsome gift card you enclosed.

MRS. W. G. SHERWIN
1740 No. Capitol
Washington 2, D. C.

INDIANA - (Continued)

Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
	WJCD*	1390	Sun	3:00 p
South Bend	WSBT*	960		
	WSBT*	960		
	WSBT-TV**	34		
Terre Haute	WBOW*	1230		
	WTHI-TV**	10	Mon	12:30 p
Vincennes	WAOV*	1450		
Washington	WAMW*	1580	Sun	6:15 p
	WAMW*	1580	Sun	11:30 p

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	KCRG†	1600	Mon	8:30 p
Clinton	KROS†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Decorah	KDEC†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KDEC†	1240	Sat	5:30 p
Des Moines	WHO*	1040	Mon	9:30 p
Fort Dodge	KQTV-TV**	21	Sun	5:00 p
	KVFD*	1400	Thurs	8:15 p
Marshalltown	KFIB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Muscatine	KWPC*	860		
Newton	KCOB*	1280	Sun	3:30 p
Oelwein	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
Ottumwa	KBIZ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Spencer	KICD†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Waterloo	KWWL†	1330	Mon	8:30 p
	KWWL-TV**	7	Sat	6:30 p

KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced	
	KCRB*	1460	Sat	5:15 p
Dodge City	KGNO†	1370	Mon	8:30 p
Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
McPherson	KNEK*	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sun	5:30 p
	KSEK*	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Pratt	KWSK*	1570		
Salina	KSAL†	1150	Mon	8:30 p

KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL**	1290	Sun	6:00 p
	WCBL*	1290	Sun	9:30 p
Campbellsville	WTCO*	1150	Tues	11:00 p
Cumberland	WCPM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL*	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Henderson	WSON†	860	Mon	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX*	1300	Sun	5:30 p
Louisville	WGRC†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW*	730	Sun	5:30 p
	WFMW*	730	Sun	5:30 p
Mayfield	WKTU*			
	WKTU*			
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Tues	8:30 p
	WFLW*		Thurs	10:00 p
Murray	WNBS*	1340		
	WNBS*	1340		
Owensboro	WVJS*	1420		
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPR†	960	To be announced	
Vancleve	WMTC*	730		

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge	WJBO**	10	Fri	2:30 p
Lafayette	KLFF-TV**	25	Fri	7:30 p
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV**	25	Thurs	7:30 p
Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun	12:00 p
Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat	6:05 p
	KNOE-TV**	8	Sat	4:30 p
Natchitoches	KWCJ*	1450	Sun	6:45 p
New Orleans	WJMR-TV**	20	Sun	4:00 p
	WJMR-TV**		Tues	7:00 p
	WJMR-TV**		Sun	12:15 p
	WJMR*			
	WJMR*			
Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	8:15 p
	KSLO*	1230	Sun	7:00 p
Ruston	KRUS*	1490	Sun	6:15 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KTBS-TV**	3		

MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV**	2		
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MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
	WTAO-TV**	56	Thurs	9:30 p
New Bedford	WBSM*	1230	Sat	1:45 p
West Yarmouth	WOGB*	1240	Wed	9:30 p
Worcester	WWOR-TV**	14	Wed	8:00 p

MICHIGAN

Alpena	WATZ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV**	20	Mon	9:30 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WTVW-TV**	13	Thurs	12:45 p
Cheboygan	WCBY*	1240	Fri	9:00 p
Coldwater	WTVB*	1590	Sun	7:15 p
Detroit	WJBK*	1490	Sun	

*Facts Forum

**Facts Forum Panel

†Reporters' Roundup

MICHIGAN — (Continued)

2:45 p	Escanaba	WDBC†	680	Mon	8:30 p
3:00 p	Flint	WBBC†	1330	Mon	9:30 p
	Grand Rapids	WFUR**	1370	Sat	12:30 p
		WFUR**	1370	Mon	5:30 p
	Hillsdale	WBSE†	1340	Tues	6:45 p
2:30 p	Iron River	WIKB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon	8:30 p
6:15 p	Lansing	WTOM-TV**	54	Thurs	8:00 p
1:30 p	Midland	WMDN*	1490	Sun	3:45 p
	Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150	Sun	11:00 a
	Petoskey	WMBN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	Saginaw	WKNX-TV**	57	Wed	10:30 a
		Retelecast		Sun	5:00 p
8:30 p	Saginaw-Bay City	WSGW†	790	Mon	9:30 p
8:30 p	Sturgis	WSTR**	1230	Sun	
5:30 p		WSTR*	1230		

MINNESOTA

8:15 p	Austin	KAUS†	1480	Mon	8:30 p
8:30 p		KMMT-TV**	6	Sun	9:30 p
8:30 p	Bemidji	KBUN†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
3:30 p	Breckenridge	KBMW*	1450	Sun	10:15 a
7:00 p	Grand Rapids	KBZY†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
7:00 p	Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	9:45 p

MISSISSIPPI

6:30 p	Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p
		WVMI**	570	To be announced	
	Biloxi-Gulfport	WLOX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	Brookhaven	WJMB†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	Canton	WDOB*	1370	Sat	11:30 a
		WDOB*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	Cleveland	WCLD*			
	Columbus	WCBI*	1050	Sun	3:15 p
		WCBI*	1050		
	Corinth	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
	Greenwood	WCMA*	1230	Sun	8:30 p
	Gulfport	WGRM*	1240		
	Indianola	WGCM*		Sun	10:15 a
		WMLA*	1400	Tues	10:30 a
		WMLA*	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	Jackson	WRBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
		WLBT-TV**	3		
6:00 p	McComb	WAPF*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
9:30 p		WAPF*	1010	To be announced	
1:00 p	Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	6:30 p
8:30 p	Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
8:30 p		WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
6:30 p	Tupelo	WLEO*	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
8:30 p		WLEO*	1490		
8:30 p	West Point	WROB*	1450	Tues	7:15 p
5:30 p		WROB*	1450	Tues	7:15 p
8:30 p	Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

MISSOURI

8:30 p	Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
10:00 p		KFVS-TV**	12	Mon	2:30 p
		KGMO*			
		KGMO*			
	Caruthersville	KCRV*	1370	Sun	4:15 p
	Charleston	KCHR*	1350	To be announced	
		KCHR*	1350		
9:30 p	Clinton	KDKD*	1280	Sun	12:00 p
ounced	Dexter	KDEX*		Tues	10:15 p
				re-broadcast	12:15 p
		KDEX**		Sun	1:00 p
	Festus	KJCF*			
2:30 p	Flat River	KFMO*			
7:30 p		KFMO*			
12:00 p	Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
6:05 p	Jefferson City	KLIK*	950	Sun	1:45 p
4:30 p		KWOS†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
6:45 p	Joplin	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
4:00 p		WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
7:00 p		WMBH*		Sat	8:30 p
12:15 p	Kirksville	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues	
8:15 p	Lebanon	KTVO-TV**			
7:00 p	Malden	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
6:15 p	Maryville	KTCB*			
9:45 p		KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
		KNIM*	1580	Fri	3:45 p
	Moberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun	2:30 p
	Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Wed	5:45 p
		KWOC*		Wed	5:45 p
	Rolla	KTTR*	1490	Mon	6:30 p
		KTTR*	1490	Sun	1:30 p
	St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV**	2	Sat	1:30 p
	St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
	St. Genevieve	KSCM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
		KSCM*	980	Sun	4:00 p
	Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
9:30 p	Sikeston	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
		KSIM*		Mon	6:45 p
	Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
		KICK*		Sat	6:30 p
9:30 p	Thayer	KTTS-TV**		Tues	10:30 p
1:45 p		KALM*			
9:30 p	Teenton	KALM*			
8:00 p		KTTN*	1600	Sun	4:30 p

MONTANA

9:30 p	Anaconda	KANA*	1230	Wed	8:15 p
8:00 p	Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p
9:30 p	Bozeman	KXLQ*	1230	Sat	9:00 p
9:30 p		KXLQ*	1230	Sat	
7:30 p	Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat	9:15 p
12:45 p		KXLF*	1370	To be announced	
2:00 p		KXLF-TV**	6	Sun	7:30 p
7:15 p	Glasgow	KLZ*	1240	Wed	7:15 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

We watch and listen to the program FACTS FORUM every Monday night and believe it to be very worthwhile and therefore enjoy it as being very interesting and wholesome. . . .

MRS. MITCHEL EASTVOLD
Winnebago, Minnesota

I have listened with much interest to many of your broadcasts on a New York station. . . . Am in full agreement with your policy of presenting the arguments pro and con of every question without comment and of encouraging your listeners to make up their own minds.

ALICE BUHLER
7501 First Avenue
North Bergen, New Jersey

Just wanted to let you know that we enjoyed very much your program this past Sunday on "invoking the Fifth Amendment." We think this is a most informative and educational program and we wish more such programs were offered to the public TV viewers.

MR. LEON ABRAMS
511-515 Main Street
P. O. Box 210
Natchez, Mississippi

I have just found the January and February copies of *Facts Forum News* in my local library, and I like it so much that I would like to subscribe to it. Furthermore, I intend, . . . as fast as I can read each issue of FFN, to pass it on to another, in the hope that each time that person will also subscribe.

MRS. MARY WARNER HOWARD
27 Cherry Street
Franklinville, New York

. . . so glad that, at long last, someone is ready to do something about what is being foisted off on our long-suffering public as "ART." The article, printed in your February [1956] issue by Esther Julia Pels, is excellent indeed. Keep up the good work!

R. M. LATKO
1337 Flatbush Avenue
Brooklyn 26, New York

The article by Congressman Bruce Alger in the January, 1956, issue is extremely interesting. Just got through writing him and told him we need more men of his caliber in Washington.

GEORGE R. MINSHULL
18643 Collins Street
Tarzana, California

MONTANA — (Continued)

Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLK*	1400	To be announced	
Hayre	KOJMT	610	Mon	7:30 p
Helena	KXLJ*	1340	Sat	9:15 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KXLJ*	1240	To be announced	
Lewistown	KXLO*	1230		
Livingston	KPRK†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
Miles City	KATL†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KATL*	1340	Sun	7:00 p
	KATL*	1340	Sun	8:00 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLL*	1450	To be announced	
	KGVO-TV**	13	Fri	9:30 p
Shelby	KIYH†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Sidney	KGCX†	1480	Mon	7:30 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR**	1450	Wed	7:45 p
	KCSR*	1450	Sun	4:00 p
Columbus	KJSK*	900	Tues	1:45 p
Hastings	KHAS†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
McCook	KBRL†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG**	780	Sat	10:15 a
Scottsbluff	KNEB†	960	Mon	7:30 p

NEVADA

Ely	KELY*	1230	Sun	2:30 p
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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
Pleasantville	WOND**	1400	Sun	8:30 p
East Orange	WVJK*			7:30 p
South Orange	WSOU*		Mon	2:15 p
	WSOU*		Sat	5:00 p

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque	KHFM*		Tues	7:15 p
Carlsbad	KAVE*	1240	Sun	10:35 a
	KAVE*	1240	Sat	7:30 p
Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
	KLMX*	1450	Mon	6:30 p
Clovis	KCLV*			
	KCLV*			
Hobbs	KWEW†	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN*	1230	Sun	1:45 p
Portales	KENM*	1450	Wed	7:15 p
	KENM*	1450	Fri	6:30 p
Roswell	KSWS-TV**	8	Sun	2:30 p
Truth or Consequences	KCHS**		Sun	5:30 p

NEW YORK

Albany	WPTR†	1540	Sun	9:30 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490	Sun	10:30 p
Auburn	WMBO†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Fri	7:45 p
Dunkirk	WFCB*	1410	Mon	7:15 p
Elmira	WTVT-TV**	24	Sun	6:30 p
Hornell	WWHG*	1320		1:00 p
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Wed	7:15 p
Little Falls	WLFI*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
New York	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p
	WPIX-TV**		Fri	1:00 p
N'th Albany	WROW-TV**	41	Fri	9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLC*	1490	Wed	7:00 p
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Brevard	WPNF*	1240	Mon	6:15 p
	WPNF*	1240	Mon	7:15 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410	Thurs	10:15 a
	WEGO*	1410	Sun	9:30 a
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Forrest City	WBBO*	780	Mon	7:00 p
	WBBO*	780	Sun	5:30 p
Greensboro	WBIG*	1470	Sun	12:30 p
Henderson	WHNC†	890	Mon	9:30 p
Hickory	WIRC*	630	Sun	10:00 a
Jacksonville	WJNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Leaksville	WLOE†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Lenoir	WJRI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Lexington	WBUY*	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV**	28	Fri	9:30 p
	WPTF*	680	Sun	1:15 p
	WRAL†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WRXO*	1490		
Roxboro	WSTP†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Salisbury	WSIC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Statesville	WTYN*	1580		
Tyron	WLSE†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wallace	WHED**	1340	Sun	8:05 p
Washington	WHED*	1340		
	WGNH†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Wilmington	WMFD-TV**	6	Tues	10:30 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV**	26	Sun	5:30 p

*Facts Forum

**Facts Forum Panel

†Reporters' Roundup

NORTH DAKOTA

Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
	KDIX*	1230	Thurs	8:15 p
Fargo	WDAY-TV**	6	Sun	4:00 p
			alternating Sun	4:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Valley City	KOVCT†	1490	Mon	8:30 p

OHIO

Ashtabula	WICA**	970	Sat	8:00 p
	WICA-TV**	15	Fri	7:30 p
Canton	WCMW*	1060	Sun	5:30 p
Cleveland	WHK†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
	WDOK*	1260	Sun	4:00 p
Coshocton	WTNS*	1560	Sun	12:15 p
Dayton	WHIO*			
Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	11:45 a
	WEOL*	930	Sun	7:30 p
Gallipolis	WJEH*	990	Sun	10:00 a
Lima	WIMA-TV**	35	Sun	6:30 p
Hamilton	WMOH*	1450	Sun	12:30 p
Marietta	WMOA†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Middletown	WPBF*	910	Mon	7:45 p
Newark	WCLT*	1430	Sun	6:30 p
Portsmouth	WNXT*	1260	Sat	7:45 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
Warren-				
Youngstown	WHHH†	1440	Mon	9:30 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV**	18	Sun	3:30 p

OKLAHOMA

Altus	KWHW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL*	1580	Thurs	10:15 a
Cushing	KWHF*	1600	Sun	12:45 p
Duncan	KRHD†	1350	Mon	8:30 p
Elk City	KASA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Enid	KCRC*	1390	Sun	8:00 p
Miami	KGLC*	910	Sun	5:00 p
Oklahoma City	KOMA*	1520	Sat	5:45 p
Okmulgee	KHBC†	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	KVOO*	1170	Thurs	9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIW*	1450	Wed	7:45 p

OREGON

Hillsboro	KRTV**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
McMinnville	KMCM*	1260	Sun	7:45 p
	KMCM*	1260	Wed	8:45 p
Pendleton	KUMA*			
Portland	KKL*			

PENNSYLVANIA

Barnesboro	WNCC*	950	Fri	9:15 p
Bradford	WESB†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	1050	Sun	4:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960	Sat	8:15 a
Coudersport	WFRM*	600	Sat	4:30 p
Easton	WCLV-TV**	57	Sun	9:00 p
	WEST*	1400	Mon	10:45 p
Gettysburg	WGET*	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV**	56	Fri	10:00 p
Lock Haven	WBPF†	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
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
St. Marys	WKBT*	1400	Sun	9:00 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Tyrone	WTRN*	1290	Sun	1:00 p
	WTRN*	1290	Sun	12:30 p
Wellsboro	WNB†	1490	Sat	9:00 p
	WNB†	1490	Sun	9:00 p
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	7:00 p
	WLYC*	1050	Tues	7:15 p
York	WNOW*	1250	Sun	3:30 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	7:00 p

SOUTH CAROLINA

Beaufort	WBEU*	960	Sun	2:00 p
Bishopville	WAGS*	1380	Sat	4:15 p
Charleston	WHAN*	1340		
Cheraw	WCRE*	1420	Sat	2:30 p
	WCRE*	1420	Tues	10:45 a
Chester	WCCD*	1490	Sat	7:15 p
	WCCD*	1490	Sun	6:30 p
Conway	WLAT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Florence	WJMX*	970	Thurs	10:30 p
	WOLS*	1230	Mon	9:15 p
Georgetown	WCTN†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280	Sun	5:15 p
	WJAY*	1280	Fri	4:00 p
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	5:15 p
Seneca	WSNW*	1150	Sun	5:15 p

SOUTH CAROLINA — (Continued)

Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
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SOUTH DAKOTA

Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Sun	8:30 p
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	5:45 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

TENNESSEE

Athens	WLAR**	1450		
Chattanooga	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	WDXN*	540	Sun	2:15 p
Cleveland	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Cookeville	WHUB*	1400	Thurs	9:00 p
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	5:30 p
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Etowah	WCPH*	1220	Sun	2:15 p
Harriman	WDEH*	800		
	WDEH*	800		
	WBHT*	1230		
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	9:15 p
	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	
	WDXI†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL-TV**	11	Wed	10:30 a
Knoxville	WKXV*	900		
	WTSK-TV**	26	Thurs	8:00 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*	900	Sun	2:00 p
Lexington	WDXL*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
Maryville	WGA†	1400	Sun	9:00 p
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGNS*	1450	Sat	11:30 a
Newport	WLK**	1270		
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	2:30 p
	WTPR†	710	Mon	8:30 p
Sevierville	WSEV*	930	Sun	4:15 p
South Pittsburgh	WEPC*	910	To be announced	
	WEPC*	910	To be announced	
Springfield	WDBL*	1430	Sun	2:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDT†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

TEXAS

Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KAMO†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
	KRUN*	1400		
Ballinger	KBMT-TV**	31	Mon	7:00 p
Beaumont	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
Beeville	KIBL*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
	KIBL*	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
	KBST-TV**		Wed	6:30 p
Bonham	KFFN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFFN*	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHUF†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KSTB*	1430	Sun	12:45 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	6:15 p
Brownwood	KBWD†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Carrizo Springs	KBEN*	1450	Wed	
	KBEN*	1450	Wed	
Bryan	KORA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	KCAR*	1350	Sun	1:45 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
Colorado City	KVMC*	1320	Sun	12:30 p
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Wed	9:45 p
	KVDO-TV**	22	Sat	1:30 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY*	1290	Sun	3:45 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV**	4	Sat	3:45 p
	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA*	570	Mon	10:30 p
	WRR†		Mon	8:30 p
Eastland	KERC*	1590	Sun	4:00 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	9:45 a
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Galveston	KLUF*	1400	Sat	6:15 p
	KLUF*	1400	Sun	7:00 p
	KGVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Greenville	KHBR*			
Hillsboro	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Houston	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Huntsville	KEBE*	1400	Sun	7:00 p
Jacksonville	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kermit	KINE*	1330	Sun	6:00 p
Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:05 p
Laredo	KHAD-TV**	8		
Levelland	KLVT*	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOV*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Longview	KLT†	1280	Sun	3:30 p
	KFRQ*	1370	Sun	12:15 p
Lubbock	KDUB-TV**			
Lufkin	KTRE†	1420	Mon	8:30 p
	KTRE†	1420	Sun	6:00 p
	KTRE-TV**	9	Tues	10:30 p
Midland	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	8:30 p
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960	Sun	12:30 p
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
Odessa	KOSA*			
Pampa	KPAT*	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Sat	8:00 p
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:15 p
Post	KRWS*	1370	Mon	3:30 p
San Angelo	KTXL-TV**	8	Sun	4:30 p
	KTXL*		Sun	1:00 p
San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p

(Continued on Page 64)

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Facts Forum News has helped to the nth degree to get this message across to every American citizen—"SPEAK-UP FOR FREEDOM and SPEAK-OUT FOR JUSTICE."

MRS. PAULINE M. FALLS
Haskins, Ohio

I should like to compliment you on your comprehensive news coverage presented in a very unbiased manner. You are doing much to open the eyes of many [citizens].

RICHARD TEAFORD
Southwestern College
Memphis, Tennessee

Just a memo to tell you that I think Facts Forum News is one of the most interesting magazines sold on the market today.

I am majoring in Political Science, here at Drake University, and I feel that your magazine is very beneficial to me.

PAUL L. FERGUSON
1551 Twenty-third Street
Des Moines, Iowa

I know of no other magazine that has better served the cause of freedom than the Facts Forum News. I sincerely hope that patriotism will some day rise to the point where no one will go without your magazine . . . for never in our history was Americanism more important than it is today.

KEITH HARTAGE
Route 1, Box 527
New Kensington, Pennsylvania

As a national of the Free Republic of China (Formosa), may I congratulate the fine work your magazine is doing [to fight] the world-wide crusade toward communism. I sincerely believe that it is such great thought-provoking magazines, as Facts Forum [News], that is keeping America free today.

GEORGE TSENG
919 Speight Street
Waco, Texas

The article, "Of Bread and Circuses," [February, 1956, issue] is one of the most arresting articles I have read in many years, and it should be read by every liberty-loving American.

ALAN CRAIG CUNNINGHAM
345 N. Bowman Avenue
Merion, Pennsylvania

I was tremendously impressed with Admiral Moreell's "Of Bread and Circuses" in your February number of Facts Forum News. Especially do the words "No society is ever murdered—it commits suicide" repeat themselves over and over in my mind.

CHARLES EDWIN BATEN
West 927 Nineteenth Avenue
Spokane 41, Washington

*Facts Forum

**Facts Forum Panel

†Reporters' Roundup

CONTEST RULES

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

Write letters of 150 or less words to your favorite paper about any subject of national interest. If you need more than 150 words to express your views, divide the material into two or more letters. Letters must have been published in newspaper or magazine, and clipping sent for entry. First award, \$25 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS for persons specified by winner; second award, \$10 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, \$5 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; with a token award of 5 six-month subscriptions for all other letters published by FF NEWS.

SLOGAN:

An award of \$10 will be made for the slogan adopted for use each month. This contest will close four days prior to the closing of each Facts Forum Monthly Poll. Each person is invited to keep one slogan only in this competition. Entries may be changed at any time.

POLL QUESTIONS:

Do you have questions regarding subjects of national interest which you feel would be suitable for use in our Monthly Poll? Facts Forum offers a prize of \$10 for each question selected by our judges for such use. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces. EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN EACH CONTEST. Questions will be judged for their current interest, fairness and conciseness. Keep questions "unloaded." Questions must be worded so that they can be answered Yes or No.

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTERS' ROUNDUP:

Send questions for this program to REPORTERS' ROUNDUP, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The three persons submitting questions used on each program will receive Cyma dual-purpose clocks.

PROVOCATIVE PROSE:

Send quotations worth reading and remembering. Be sure to list authors and sources. Persons whose entries are chosen for publication in FF NEWS will receive one-year subscriptions to FF NEWS. If winners are already subscribers, they may in turn designate someone whom they want to receive the award subscription. In case of duplication, the entry with the earliest postmark will be used.



Award Winners



LETTERS to the EDITORS

1st Award

SECURITY POLITICS

To the *Los Angeles Times*:

This being an election year, Congress is reporting out a bill which will "liberalize" Social Security.

The Congress cannot continue to play politics with billions of dollars forcefully taken from unsuspecting people. Social Security now holds 21 billion dollars in government bonds (IOUs), with only about 500 million dollars cash on hand.

Most people think that Social Security is operated like an insurance company, with their money going into a special reserve fund, and when they retire they simply get their own money back.

This is not the case. Social Security is a fraud because (1) the money goes into the Treasury and is being spent for other purposes; (2) it's compulsory; (3) it raises taxes and is inflationary; (4) it competes with private enterprise, and (5) it tends to destroy the faith of the people in their elected representatives.

There can be no "security" based on quicksand.

THOMAS L. BEADLES
1314 West 83rd Street
Los Angeles 44, California

2nd Award

RUSSIAN LEADERS PLOT FOR BATTLE

To the *San Diego Union*:

The United States is living in the most terrible fool's paradise of all time. Those who think that Russia does not want war and who tolerate our self-destructing efforts toward an impossible international Utopia are simpletons. They aid appallingly in the early extinction of themselves and the rest of us. It is not the enslaved Russian people, but their criminal, conspiratorial masters that will launch war against us.

The many fronts of the Communists advance against us slowly, steadily, inexorably, and according to plan. The finale will be military attack.

And we? We make but puny efforts toward liberating the enslaved satellites. We fatuously waste billions. Our defensive efforts are deficient. And we are most culpable since we do not even fight with vigor and effectiveness the Communists and traitors among us.

Let's reject peace-at-any-price and national suicide! Let's save instead individual freedom, free enterprise, national sovereignty, and civilization!

RALPH E. JONES
4150 Bedford Drive
San Diego 16, California

3rd Award

PERIL OF COMPLACENCY

To the *Boston Post*:

One of the greatest dangers to our security against the Communists is our complacency!

Because we so often hear there are only about 25,000 Communists in America, we are apt to shrug away the efforts of congressional committees who are trying to protect us from the evil conspiracy which will slowly but surely gather us into its net unless we wake up!

In Russia, only 7 per cent of the people are Communists. Just think — 7 per cent control, persecute, torture, put to death, and have enslaved the other 93 per cent of the population!

In China the percentage is even smaller — only 3 per cent are Communists who control the other 97 per cent.

Here on our own continent, in Guatemala, it took only 2,500 Communists to control a country of 3,000,000!

So beware of complacency! Remember Lincoln's words, "To sin by silence when they should protest, makes cowards of men."

KATHRYN ELLIS NOWAK
15 St. Pauls Road
South Hempstead, New York

"BIGNESS" A SIN?

To the *Nashville Banner*:

The current congressional investigation of the General Motors Corporation raises, among others, these questions: (1) Is bigness an evil per se? (2) Can this nation maintain its position of world leadership if its greatest corporation's growth is halted or limited in order to "spread the business" among any and all enterprisers?

If corporate bigness is indispensable in meeting the challenge of a totalitarian state for industrial and scientific world supremacy, then it would be tragic malfeasance to contain corporate dimensions in an idealistic effort to help the little fellow.

MRS. JULIAN H. ADAMS
113 Woodmont Blvd.
Nashville 5, Tennessee

TOO MUCH DEBT FOR A REAL PEACE?

To the *Hartford Courant*:

I was interested in your fine editorial in the *Courant* October 3, "Let's Not Shrug Off the Federal Debt." The spendthrift elements have always existed in governments and have caused the downfall of many. Benjamin Franklin said,

Help the Cause of Freedom!

• Call or write friends to listen in on Facts Forum air shows. Type or write a list of stations on which they can hear and see FF programs and mail the list to them.

• If you cannot hear or see FF Radio and TV programs in your area, ask your station to carry them.

• Commend TV and radio stations for presenting FF. Your letters will help offset the ones they receive from critics of the FF idea of giving both sides.

• Ask newsstands for the Facts Forum News and if they do not carry it, ask them to do so.

• Get your club or discussion group to raise FF poll questions in their meetings.

• Write editors, columnists and commentators your informed opinions on problems facing the American people. Enter the published clip-

pings of letters containing 150 or less words in the FF letter contest. Read rules of the FF contest on page 63 of this issue.

• Write Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas, for material which will assist you in getting business friends interested in ADDING PATRIOTISM TO THEIR ADS.

• Pass your copy of Facts Forum News around to friends so they may judge if they wish to subscribe.

• Submit three questions to enter in the June Poll Question Contest (72 spaces, or less). Vote the May Poll on page 65 of this issue.

• Send your friends a subscription to Facts Forum News. Where else could you find so much of value for so little cost? 1-year subscription, \$2, 3 years for \$5.

Enter My ☐ New ☐ Renewal Subscription NOW!

☐ I enclose \$5 for 3 years ☐ I enclose \$2 for 1 year

FACTS FORUM NEWS

1710 Jackson Street, Dallas 1, Texas

NAME (Please Print) _____

Street _____

City _____

Zone _____ State _____

"When you run in debt you give to another power over your liberty." We are now going in debt for peace. Can we have both liberty and peace with our present debts?

What follows the Hoover report? That investigation cost the taxpayers \$2,765,534 to find out and recommend what every member of Congress knows and any taxpayer who reads the daily papers should know. They did not recommend two cars in every garage. We are trying to enjoy the highest standard of living ever known and blind ourselves to the lowest standard of political graft and skulduggery ever known. Everyone can run in debt, but we must all crawl out.

LEON M. SWEET
90 Harding Avenue
Newington 11, Connecticut

GI BENEFITS LURE SERVICEMEN TO RETIRE

To the San Diego Union:

I would like to bring up a point in connection with the problem of keeping trained men in the services.

Many learned men have suggested making the services so attractive that men will want to continue serving, yet no one has bothered to mention that the GI bill was designed to have exactly the opposite effect.

Is it any wonder that a boy will refuse to re-enlist when he can get equal pay by going back to school? The wages now paid the servicemen together with so-called "fringe benefits" compare favorably with pay in civilian life, therefore the answer as to why they refuse to stay

in must be found elsewhere.

"Elsewhere" can be found in the little booklet entitled, "GI Benefits." If we cease making it so attractive for the GI to quit the service we will find many who will remain in for several enlistments.

TOM B. LITTLE
6825 San Miguel
Lemon Grove, California

IMMIGRATION LAWS NEED NO CHANGE

To the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

The Senate Immigration Subcommittee is holding hearings on proposals to revise the McCarran-Walter Act.

Such organizations as the CIO and the AFL scream about unemployment areas and then run to the government to get something done about it, yet go on record as favoring higher immigration quotas.

With our population increasing, cities and schools overcrowded, crime on the increase, and with two million people unemployed, why increase our immigration quota?

Any major decline in our economy, with a mounting population such as we are witnessing, would bring masses of unemployed, hardship, poverty and suffering, and another drastic change in our modern-day free enterprise system. If it were true that the greater the populace, the more prosperity, then China and India would be the most prosperous nations on earth.

HOMER J. LARKIN
1593 Hollywood
Memphis 8, Tennessee

RADIO and TV SCHEDULES

TEXAS — (Continued from Page 62)

Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 P
	KRRV**	910	Sun	7:30 P
Snyder	KSNY†	1450	Mon	8:30 P
Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	1:45 P
Sulphur Springs	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:30 P
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 P
Temple	KTEM**		Wed	7:00 P
Texarkana	KTFB*	1400	Sun	4:45 P
	KCMC*	1230	Sun	4:00 P
Texas City	KTLW*			
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 P
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 P
Waco	KANG-TV**	34	Sat	3:30 P
	KYBS*	630	Thurs	8:30 P
	KYBS**	630	Fri	9:30 P
Waxahachie	KBEC*	1290		
Weslaco	KRGV*		Wed	9:45 P
	KRGV-TV**	5	Fri	8:30 P
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV**	6	Sat	12:00 P

UTAH

Brigham City	KBUH*			
	KBUH**			
Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 P
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 P
Salt Lake City	KSL*	1160	Sun	2:15 P
	KWHO*			
Vernal	KJAM*	1340	Mon	5:15 P
	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	WBLT†	1490	Mon	9:30 P
Clifton Forge	WCFV*		Sun	12:45 P
Crewe	WSVS*	800	Sun	4:30 P
Galax	WBOB†	1400	Mon	9:30 P
Hopewell	WHAP*	1340	Tues	7:00 P
	WHAP**	1340		
Newport News	WACH*	1270	To be announced	
	WACH**	1270		

Norfolk-	WVEC-TV**	15	Sat	5:30 P
Hampton				
Richmond	WMBG*	1380	Fri	7:30 P
Roanoke	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun	3:00 P
Staunton	WAFB*	900	Sun	5:30 P
Suffolk	WLPM*	1450	Sun	7:45 P
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	To be announced	
Win-				
chester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 P

WASHINGTON

Colfax	KCLX*	1450		
Colville	KCVL*			
	KCVL**			
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Thurs	9:30 P
	KSEM**	1450	Sat	8:30 P
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 P
	KOFE**	1150	Sun	2:00 P
Spokane	KHQ-TV**	6	Sun	2:30 P
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 P
Walla Walla	KUJ*			

WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield	WKQY†	1240	Mon	9:30 P
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 P
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon	9:30 P
Morgantown	WJMR†	1230	Mon	9:30 P
New Martinsville	WETZ*	1330	Fri	10:00 P
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV**	4	Tues	10:00 P
Ronceverte	WRON*	1400		
	WRON**	1400		
Wheeling	WKWK*	1400	Sun	7:45 P
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	9:30 P

WISCONSIN

Appleton	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
Jamesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon	8:30 P
La Crosse	WLCX†	1490	Mon	8:30 P
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	12:15 P
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 P
Portage	WPRD*	1350	Sun	4:00 P
Reedsburg	WRDB*	1400	Sun	6:15 P
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	Sat	7:30 P
Sturgeon Bay	WDOR*	910	Sun	
	WDOR**	910	Sun	
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced	

WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 P
Cody	KODI*	1400	Sun	7:15 P
Lander	KOVE†	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

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes May 1

Yes No

- ☐ ☐ Should the sacred doctrine of States' Rights be destroyed?
- ☐ ☐ Should parents help to select textbooks used by public schools?
- ☐ ☐ Should we have mass medication of drinking water?
- ☐ ☐ Should we have a national traffic law?
- ☐ ☐ Should more curbs be placed on consumer credit?
- ☐ ☐ Will Russian victories in Olympics turn into powerful Communist propaganda?
- ☐ ☐ Would enforcement of curfew reduce juvenile delinquency?
- ☐ ☐ Is government controlled by big business?
- ☐ ☐ Would the U. S. benefit by a third major political party?
- ☐ ☐ Should clergy take sides in political, social and economic questions?
- ☐ ☐ Should we increase defense spending in the guided missile program?
- ☐ ☐ Should all men in service get free education?
- ☐ ☐ Is pay-as-you-ride a fair method for financing federal highways?
- ☐ ☐ Are we on the brink of war?

Remarks

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

NO. AND ST.

CITY AND STATE

• PLEASE NOTE: 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.

☐ Send me FACTS FORUM NEWS for 1 year. I enclose \$2.00.

MARCH POLL RESULTS

% Yes

- 12 Is the Soil Bank Plan the answer to the farmers' problem?
- 89 Are closed union shops an infringement of civil liberties?
- 90 Would teaching more history and government bestir patriotism?
- 86 Is compulsory integration fundamentally wrong?
- 77 Are labor unions a menace to the American people?
- 10 Would you be in favor of a four-day week?
- 8 Does free foreign aid really aid the U.S.A.?
- 90 Should judicial experience be a prerequisite for Supreme Court justices?
- 4 Should any security risk be allowed to keep a government job?
- 92 Should a party be held more accountable for its platform commitments?
- 6 Will U. S. foreign aid stop the spread of communism?
- 75 Shall we aid Chiang Kai-shek if he attacks the China mainland?
- 56 Will higher fines cut down our terrible traffic death toll?
- 24 Should the Social Security age be lowered?

SLOGAN FOR MAY, 1956

READ, DISCUSS, DECIDE, VOTE

Submitted by
L. L. DIXON
Harlowtown, Montana

Poll Question Winners for May

An award of \$10.00 each has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

1st question: AGNES AKANA
P. O. Box 788
Brooklyn, New York

2nd question: DON C. BENTLEY
5942 Doulton Drive
Houston 21, Texas

3rd question: VINCENT CALLAHAN
8611 Colonial Road
Brooklyn 9, New York

4th question: R. W. CARR
1016 Seventeenth Street
Parkersburg, West Virginia

5th question: MRS. K. E. CARVER
120 Soledad Drive
Monterey, California

6th question: WM. CUNNINGHAM
10855 S. Maplewood
Chicago 43, Illinois

7th question: META L. FLOCK
Maxwell, Nebraska

8th question: MRS. CHARLOTTE HOPKINS
2745 Edwards Street
Butte, Montana

9th question: J. KONKELL
Route 1, River Road
Missoula, Montana

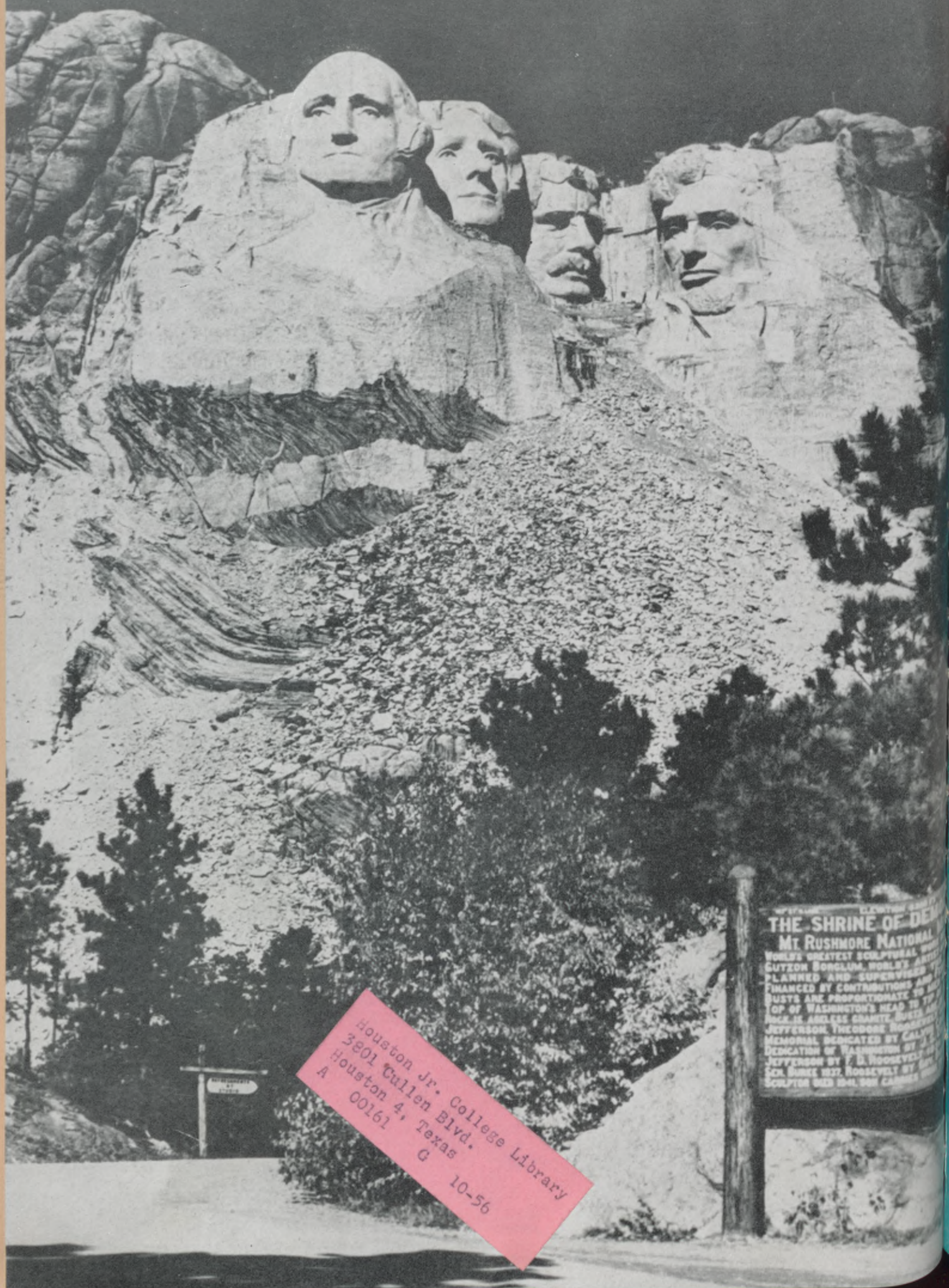
10th question: MRS. LOUISE MAYFIELD
Andrews, Texas

11th question: HARRY MOORE
814 Walnut Street
Cairo, Illinois

12th question: DORIS PARSONS
326 Hamilton Blvd.
Kenmore, New York

13th question: MRS. H. G. THURMAN
31-B Oglethorpe Apts.
Macon, Georgia

14th question: MRS. WILLIAM WILSON
2020 West 62nd Street
Chicago, Illinois



WORLD'S GREATEST SCULPTURAL MONUMENT
THE SHRINE OF DEMOCRACY
MT. RUSHMORE NATIONAL MEMORIAL
WORLD'S GREATEST SCULPTURAL MONUMENT
GUTZEN BONDUM, WORLD'S ARTIST
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FACE IS ANGLES GRANITE BUSTS ARE
JEFFERSON THEODORE ROOSEVELT
MEMORIAL DEDICATED BY CALVIN
DEDICATION OF WASHINGTON BY J. P. MOHR
JEFFERSON BY F. D. ROOSEVELT
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