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FACTS FORUM

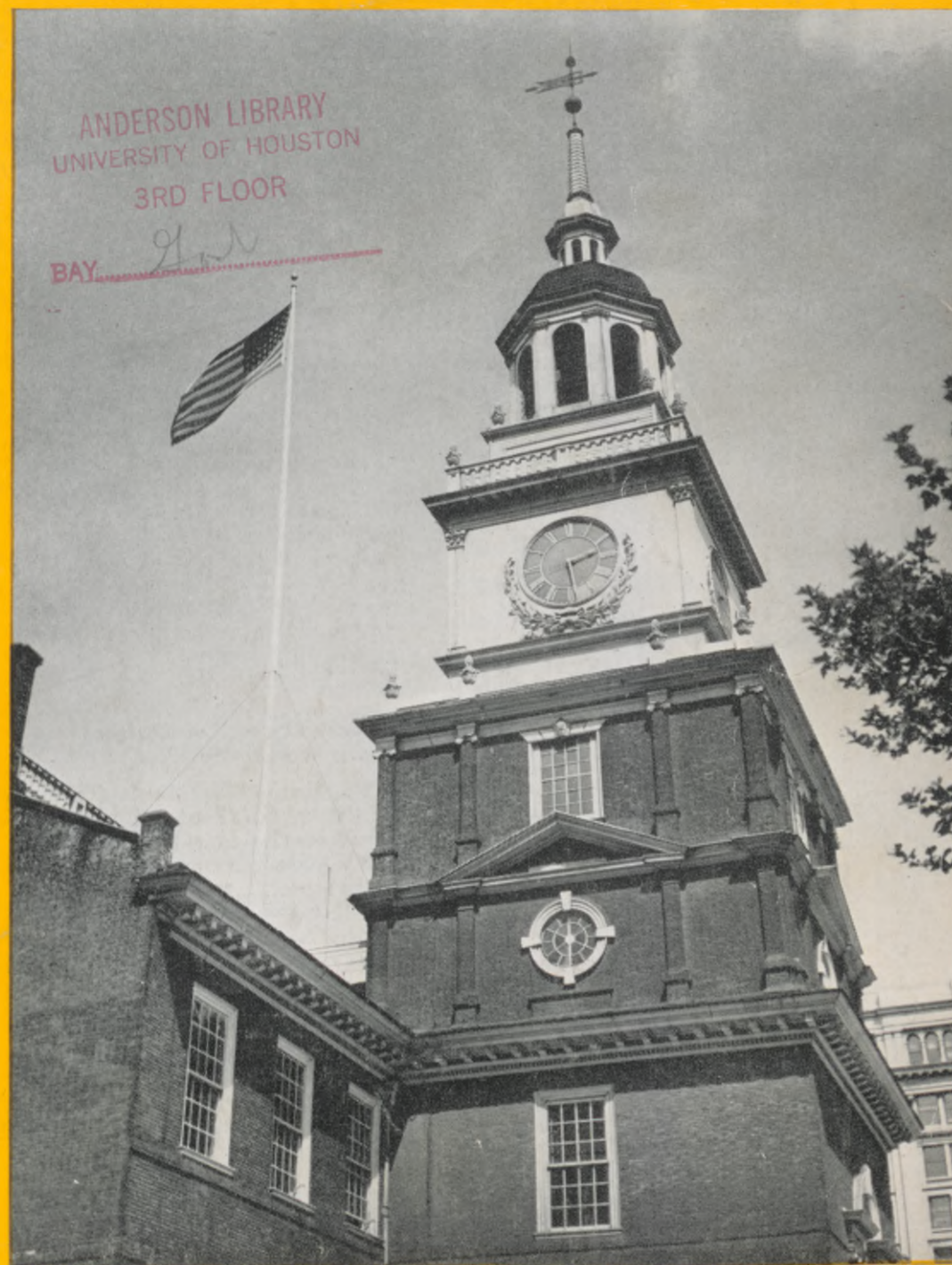
NEWS

America's Most Thought-Provoking Magazine

The Southern
Manifesto

Defended and Condemned

The Communist
in the
Classroom



Will Income Taxes Destroy Capitalism?

READERS REPORT

When We Do Not Exercise Our Rights

A recent annual school district meeting at Concord, New Hampshire, drew the attendance of only 225 citizens, according to an editorial in the *Manchester (N. H.) Union Leader* entitled "Mighty Poor 'Economy.'"

At this meeting a motion to restore high school driver-training, which had been sponsored by the Concord Safety Council, was discarded.

The editorial asks "What would have been the decision if there had been a reasonable turnout of voters?" pointing out that death and destruction cost a great deal more than the expenses of the driving course would have cost — and not in dollars alone.

Here is a "grass roots" example of what can happen on a national scale if you and I fail to speak up for the philosophy of government in which we believe.

A Sentence to Learn — and Teach

According to the *Borger (Texas) News-Herald*, when a 17-year-old boy of Concord, N. C., pleaded guilty to speeding, Judge Clyde L. Propost, Jr., fined the youth \$35, and also sentenced him to write a five-page essay on safe driving, plus lecture his Sunday School and high school English classes on the subject.

Judge Propost's sentence, in all its simplicity, seems to represent the true American ideal of justice.

Defeating the Attack on Youth

A reader has sent us an account by Dr. George W. Crane of constructive action being taken by Reverend Philip Lee, the Chinese pastor of the Community Christian Church in Chicago's Chinatown, and Mrs. Lee, in educating toddlers between the ages of 3 and 5, teaching them English so that at the age of 5 they will be able to enter the Chicago kindergartens and understand their teachers as well as their American classmates. Both the children and their parents are attracted to the church by this means.

Rev. Lee saw his high school classmates lured to Russia from China on

all-expense-paid scholarships, and has seen none of them since 1924, but observes that now their names appear on the roster of Chinese Communist delegations to the United Nations and other international assemblies.

Rev. Lee's philosophy is that "If Christianity is to defeat atheistic communism, we must certainly be as farsighted as the Communist leaders and start with the children."

Congress of Freedom Seeks Exposure of Communist Pressure Operations

As a result of the meeting of the Congress of Freedom in Dallas, Texas, April 5 to 7, the U. S. Congress has been petitioned to undertake, investigate, and disclose to the American people before it is too late a full-scale public inquiry into the techniques and operations of the well-established pressure patterns designed and employed for the paralysis of anti-Communist activities in Congress, as already demonstrated and documented by the experiences of Congress.

American Council of Churches Warns Southern Baptists

Meeting in Fort Worth, Texas, April 25-27, the American Council of Churches called upon Southern Baptists vigorously to protest and object to the reception and appearance before their convention of five Baptist leaders from Russia, pointing out:

Alexander Karev, the General Secretary of the Evangelical Christian Baptist Union of Moscow, was a leader in the Revolution of 1917 and has, himself, been identified by Latvian Baptists as a member of the GPU, secret police, and he has personally been responsible for the carrying away of Baptist pastors to concentration camps. The Christian church in this hour of compromise and confusion must stand firm and lift its voice everywhere against doing business with the Reds, including their Red clergy.

The trip of Dr. Louie D. Newton, former President of the Southern Baptist Convention, to Russia several years ago has been exploited

by the Communists, and the American Russian Institute, declared subversive by the Attorney General's office, has circulated Dr. Newton's report throughout the churches of the world.

Indiana P-TA Revolt

Seven Marion County, Indiana, units have seceded from the Indiana P-TA, as reported by the Educational News Service, P. O. Box 231, Fullerton, Calif.:

"Keep to the Issues, Ladies" was the heading of an *Indianapolis Star* editorial of April 14th. The *Star*, in a previous editorial, had charged that a "self-perpetuating hierarchy" controls the P-TA and directs its legislative program. "We suggested that there was an absence of democratic rule in P-TA," continued the April 14th editorial. The editorial then proceeds to demonstrate the failure to permit local rule despite the claims of the president of the Marion County Council. The editorial further suggests that "the State Assembly investigate Communist influences in all educational groups and organizations influencing educational groups in Indiana. We will submit ourselves as first witnesses, if they like."

American Principles and Traditions Fostered

Mr. Norris J. Nelson, Executive Director of the Republican Educational Foundation of Ripon, Wisconsin, has written that the name of that organization has recently been changed to "The Foundation for American Principles and Traditions." According to Mr. Nelson, the name "Republican" often caused the Foundation to be identified by the press and the public in general as being connected with the Republican party, or as a foundation engaged in political propaganda.

Senator William Knowland has endorsed this foundation, saying:

The Foundation for American Principles and Traditions seeks to restore to American thinking, by reaching the minds of our present and future citizens, all of the basic understanding of free enterprise and sound progress on which the nation was founded.

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FRONT COVER: Independence Hall, Philadelphia, where on July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed to Congress and read to the people assembled on Independence Square. The Continental Congress assembled here, and Washington was here chosen Commander-in-Chief in 1775. The building is now a museum of early Americana.

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Don't Miss . . .

IN THE
Next Issue

OF

Facts Forum News

A condensation of
**Franklin L. Maier's recent book,
World Peace by Covenant**

An attorney looks at United Nations as an international organization for securing peace. His treatment of this complex subject is profound, objective, and scholarly, being derived from a background of wide practice in international law and other legal fields. The message of this book is timely and of vital importance to all thinking Americans.

* *

**Do We Need
Electoral Reform?**

With party conventions scheduled for a lion's share of the spotlight in coming national events, what better time to focus attention upon the intricate workings of the electoral system? Do you know how the President and Vice President are elected? Does your vote really count? If you don't like the present system, what changes would you make? In the August issue we take a good look at the electoral provision in the Constitution, and also examine various proposals for reform.

* *

**Is the U. S. Immigration
Policy Fair?**

Some say our present immigration policy reflects suspicion toward all and bigotry toward some. They insist this is not in keeping with the principles which made America a citadel of freedom and a haven for the oppressed. Others protest that any relaxation in immigration policy would be disastrous and pose a threat to the American way of life. Read the arguments of both sides next month.

THE Southern Manifesto . . .

DECLARATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

(THE SOUTHERN MANIFESTO)

THE unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law.

The Founding Fathers gave us a Constitution of checks and balances because they realized the inescapable lesson of history that no man or group of men can be safely entrusted with unlimited power. They framed this Constitution with its provisions for change by amendment in order to secure the fundamentals of government against the dangers of temporary popular passion or the personal predilections of public officeholders.

We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the federal judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the states and the people.

The original Constitution does not mention education. Neither does the Fourteenth Amendment nor any other amendment. The debates preceding the submission of the Fourteenth Amendment clearly show that there was no intent that it should affect the systems of education maintained by the states.

The very Congress which proposed the amendment subsequently provided for segregated schools in the District of Columbia.

When the amendment was adopted, in 1868, there were thirty-seven States of the Union. Every one of the twenty-six states that had any substantial racial differences among its people either approved the operation of segregated schools already in existence or subsequently established such schools by action of the same law-making body which considered the Fourteenth Amendment.

As admitted by the Supreme Court in the public school case (*Brown v. Board of Education*), the doctrine of separate but equal schools "apparently originated in *Roberts v. City of Boston* * * * (1849), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a state constitutional guarantee of equality." This constitutional doctrine began in the North — not in the South, and it was followed

not only in Massachusetts, but in Connecticut, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other northern states until they, exercising their rights as states through the constitutional processes of local self-government, changed their school systems.

In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in 1896, the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the Fourteenth Amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the states provided separate but equal public facilities. This decision has been followed in many other cases. It is notable that the Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, a former president of the United States, unanimously declared, in 1927, in *Lum v. Rice*, that the "separate but equal" principle is "within the discretion of the state in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment."

This interpretation, restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the states and confirmed their habits, customs, traditions, and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and common sense, for parents should not be deprived by government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children.

Though there has been constitutional amendment of the act of Congress changing this established legal principle almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the Court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the states principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

Without regard to the consent of the governed, outside

Has the Supreme Court violated states' rights?

or . . .

Does the Southern Manifesto undermine our judicial system?

Defended and Condemned

Alarm has been expressed over decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, which some believe reflect a dangerous trend toward ultimate judicial usurpation of all states' rights. Out of this has come the Southern Manifesto, signed by 19 senators and 82 representatives, decrying the Supreme Court's encroachment on rights reserved to the states and to the people. Included here with the manifesto are statements and articles both for and against it.

agitators are threatening immediate and revolutionary changes in our public-school systems. If done, this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the states.

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.

We decry the Supreme Court's encroachments on rights reserved to the states and to the people, contrary to established law and to the Constitution.

We commend the motives of those states which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means.

We appeal to the states and people who are not directly affected by these decisions to consider the constitutional principles involved against the time when they, too, on issues vital to them may be the victims of judicial encroachment.

Even though we constitute a minority in the present Congress, we have full faith that a majority of the American people believe in the dual system of government which has enabled us to achieve our greatness and will in time demand that the reserved rights of the state and of the people be made secure against judicial usurpation.

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

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

Signed by:

Members of the United States Senate: Walter F. George; Richard B. Russell; John Stennis; Sam J. Ervin, Jr.; Strom Thurmond; Harry F. Byrd; A. Willis Robertson; John L. McClellan; Allen J. Ellender; Russell B. Long; Lister Hill; James O. Eastland; W. Kerr Scott; John Spark-

man; Olin D. Johnston; Price Daniel; J. W. Fulbright; George A. Smathers; Spessard L. Holland.

Members of the United States House of Representatives:

Alabama: Frank W. Boykin; George M. Grant; George W. Andrews; Kenneth A. Roberts; Albert Rains; Armistead I. Selden, Jr.; Carl Elliott; Robert E. Jones; George Hudleston, Jr.

Arkansas: E. C. Gathings; Wilbur D. Mills; James W. Trimble; Oren Harris; Brooks Hays; W. F. Norrell.

Florida: Charles E. Bennett; Robert L. F. Sikes; A. S. Herlong, Jr.; Paul G. Rogers; James A. Haley; D. R. Matthews; William C. Cramer.

Georgia: Prince H. Preston; John L. Pilcher; E. L. Forrester; John James Flynt, Jr.; James C. Davis; Carl Vinson; Henderson Lanham; Iris F. Blitch; Phil M. Landrum; Paul Brown.

Louisiana: F. Edward Hébert; Hale Boggs; Edwin E. Willis; Overton Brooks; Otto E. Passman; James H. Morrison; T. Ashton Thompson; George S. Long.

Mississippi: Thomas G. Abernethy; Jamie L. Whitten; Frank E. Smith; John Bell Williams; Arthur Winstead; William M. Colmer.

North Carolina: Herbert C. Bonner; L. H. Fountain; Graham A. Barden; Carl T. Durham; F. Ertel Carlyle; Hugh Q. Alexander; Woodrow W. Jones; George A. Shuford; Charles R. Jonas.

South Carolina: L. Mendel Rivers; John J. Riley; W. J. Bryan Dorn; Robert T. Ashmore; James P. Richards; John L. McMillan.

Tennessee: James B. Frazier, Jr.; Tom Murray; Jere Cooper; Clifford Davis; Ross Bass; Joe L. Evins.

Texas: Wright Patman; John Dowdy; Walter Rogers; O. C. Fisher; Martin Dies.

Virginia: Edward J. Robeson, Jr.; Porter Hardy, Jr.; J. Vaughan Gary; Watkins M. Abbitt; William M. Tuck; Richard H. Poff; Burr P. Harrison; Howard W. Smith; W. Pat Jennings; Joel T. Broyhill.¹

¹84 Congressional Record, p. 3948 (1956).

DEFENSE

The following statements represent viewpoints of congressmen opposed to the Supreme Court's decisions

SENATOR STROM THURMOND OF SOUTH CAROLINA:

The action of this group of senators in signing and issuing a Declaration of Constitutional Principles with regard to the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, is most significant. The signers of this declaration represent a large area of this nation and a great segment of its population. Solemnly and simply we have stated our position on a grave matter so as to make clear there are facts that opposing propagandists have neglected in their zeal to persuade the world there is but one side to this matter.

In suggesting that a meeting of like-minded senators be held, it was my thought that we should formulate a statement of unity to present our views and the views of our constituents on this subject. My hope also was that the statement issued should be of such a nature as to gain the support of all people who love the Constitution; that they would see in this instance the danger of other future encroachments by the federal government into fields reserved to the states and the people.

.....

If the Supreme Court could disregard the provisions of the Constitution which were specifically designed to safeguard the rights of the states, we might as well not have a written Constitution. Not only did the Court disregard the Constitution and the historical evidence supporting that revered document; it also disregarded previous decisions of the Court itself.

.....

I reject the philosophy of the sociologists that the Supreme Court has any authority over local public schools, supported in part by state funds.

The Court's segregation decision has set a dangerous precedent. If, in the school cases, the Court can by decree create a new constitutional provision, not in the written document, it might also disregard the Constitution in other matters. Other constitutional guaranties could be de-

stroyed by new decrees.

I respect the Court as an institution and as an instrument of government created by the Constitution. I do not and cannot have regard for the nine justices who rendered a decision so clearly contrary to the Constitution.

The propagandists have tried to convince the world that the states and the people should bow meekly to the decree of the Supreme Court. I say it would be the submission of cowardice if we failed to use every lawful means to protect the rights of the people.²

REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD W. SMITH OF VIRGINIA:

... In the life of a nation there come times when it behooves her people to pause and consider how far she may have drifted from her moorings, and in prayerful contemplation review the consequences that may ensue from a continued deviation from the course charted by the founders of that nation.

The framework of this nation, designed in the inspired genius of our forefathers, was set forth in a Constitution, born of tyranny and oppression in a background of bitter strife and anguish and resting upon two fundamental principles:

First, that this was a government of three separate and independent departments, legislative, executive, and judicial, each supreme in, but limited to, the functions ascribed to it.

Second, that the component parts should consist of independent sovereign states enjoying every attribute and power of autonomous sovereignty save only those specific powers enumerated in the Constitution and surrendered to the central government for the better government and security of all.

When repeated deviation from these fundamentals by one of the three departments threatens the liberties of the people and the destruction of the reserved powers of the respective states, in contravention of the principles of that constitution which all officials of all the three departments are sworn to uphold, it is meet, and the sacred obligation of those devoted to the preservation of the basic limitations on the power of the central government to apprise their associates of their alarm and the specific deviations that threaten to change our form of government, without the consent of the governed, in the manner provided by the Constitution.

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

Therefore, when the temporary occupants of high office in the judicial branch deviate from the limitations imposed by the Constitution, some members of the legislative branch feel impelled to call the attention of their colleagues and the country to the dangers inherent in interpretations of the Constitution reversing long-established and accepted law and based on expediency at the sacrifice of consistency.³

The article appearing below also condemns recent Supreme Court decisions

The Manifesto and the Supreme Court

By REPRESENTATIVE E. L. FORRESTER (D-Ga.)

★ ON MARCH 12, 1956, there was submitted to the Senate and the House of Representatives a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" signed by 19 senators and 82 representatives, which is now commonly referred to as "The Southern Manifesto." The word "manifesto" is perhaps not fully un-

derstood by everyone, and consequently some confusion has arisen as to its meaning. However, the word "manifesto" simply means a group declaration of principles.

That so-called manifesto was a declaration of our constitutional rights. I sincerely wish that every citizen had

²Ibid., p. 3949.

³Ibid., pp. 4003-4.

a copy of it. It is an immortal document, and as sure as the sun shines it will take its place as one of the greatest classics, and future generations from all sections of this country will be glad that someone spoke out for their fundamental and constitutional rights. I did not have the privilege of assisting in the preparation of that instrument, but I did have the privilege of signing my name thereto, and thereby telling posterity that I endorsed every word in it. That declaration was by senators and representatives from the section of our country that, more than any other section, wrote and gave us our Constitution.

Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, George Washington and the other framers of that Constitution suffered at the hands of a government possessing centralized and complete power. Those men understood the tyranny that naturally and always follows all-inclusive power. The present generation, the beneficiaries of the work of those great men, has not had the experiences concerning the intoxicating qualities of unlimited power in the hands of human agents entrusted therewith. They have not personally experienced the fact that history indisputably proves, that human beings have always become tyrannical when all power is placed in their hands.

Framers of the Constitution labored for months; they strove to form a Union, giving that Union only the necessary powers to operate successfully, reserving to the states and our people all the rights not delegated to the federal government. Fear of tyranny, fear of unlimited power and fear of the loss of liberty were the influences operating in the minds of those great men. Those men were determined to preserve the rights won by patriots who risked conviction for treason to obtain those rights. Everyone should see that original document, and take note of the fact that they diligently sought to use the right words. The deletions, erasures and substitutions of language completely illustrate that they intended our Constitution to be the judicial skeleton of our laws and the foundation of our government.

They did not intend for these foundations to be wiped out because of clamor, hysteria, treaty law or by judicial decree. On the other hand they did anticipate that the future and changed conditions might make some

changes and additions necessary.

They intentionally provided in our Constitution the machinery therefor. They did not intend to make these changes or additions impossible, but they certainly did not intend to make these changes or additions so easy that they could be accomplished without the knowledge of the people, and without the people having the opportunity to reflect thereon and to work their will. Inasmuch as our Constitution has been amended 22 times, the



Representative E. L. Forrester (Dem., Georgia), one of the signers of the Southern Manifesto.

argument of some that amending imposes impossible requirements falls to the ground. Likewise, the position that our Supreme Court has taken to the effect that our Constitution must be interpreted "in the light of the times" or on "changed conditions" or that the Court has learned more about "sociology" since our Constitution and amendments thereto were adopted, becomes a usurpation of power which belongs — and, despite any United States Supreme Court decision, will always belong — to the people.

Decisions usurping these powers can be found in the words of Justice Frankfurter in *Wolf v. Colorado*, 338 U. S. 2527, and in the article of Justice Douglas on stare decisis, and in *U. S. v. Classic*, 313 U. S. 316, 319 and in the five cases known as the school cases, decided in May, 1954, and reported in 347 U. S. Reports. Regard-

ing the school cases referred to, the Supreme Court said, in approaching the questions presented to the Court: "In approaching this problem we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the law." What that court was actually saying was that it would not construe the Fourteenth Amendment, the basis of these decisions, according to the intentions of the lawmakers when that amendment was adopted in the Congress and that they would not construe the questions according to the intentions of the people who ratified that amendment. They were, in effect, saying that we will interpret the Constitution as it appears to us to be in harmony with our belief today, and if our beliefs change tomorrow, or a few days from now, we will again interpret that constitutional amendment as we wish it to be. In other words we will make the Constitution a chameleon, changing its color according to our moods and fancies, and as we please.

I wonder what the architects of our Constitution would think. I ask the American people, what would Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Mason, President Washington and those other great men have said if some dreamer should have said to them while they were laboring over the creation of this instrument, "You need not be so careful in selecting the proper language for this instrument, for it will mean one thing today and another thing tomorrow." Everyone knows that under that hypothesis there would have been no Constitution.

If our Supreme Court has the right to change the meaning of our organic law whenever it sees fit, or to deviate in the slightest from the meaning and intent of our people who ratified that document, then actually we have never had a Constitution. Further, it also means that what we understood were the bulwarks of our way of life have become an ambush to law-abiding citizens who planned their businesses upon the decisions of that court yesterday. It is surprising

and doubtless shocking, but the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that there is no restraint placed upon it that is not self-imposed. Under these declarations just quoted the Supreme Court is endowed with the powers of a dictatorship. Irrespective of what the Supreme Court says, there are restraints placed upon it. The framers of our Constitution saw to it that there were checks and balances. The Constitution itself is a restraint. Further, our Constitution provides that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court on all constitutional questions shall be subject to such exceptions and regulations as Congress might make.

Restraints Known

Restraints upon the Supreme Court are well known to many who would like to remove those restraints. S. 44, introduced in the 83rd Congress, completely proves that these restraints were known to be in existence. S. 44 provided that the Supreme Court would have appellate jurisdiction on all constitutional questions, leaving out the present constitutional provision that Congress would have the right to make exceptions and regulations. Had S. 44 passed and been adopted, the Congress of the United States would have surrendered the power to make exceptions and regulations, and would have deprived the people from upsetting any of the erroneous decisions (and there are many) rendered by the United States Supreme Court, and no agency of the government would have any power whatever save the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court would have been completely free to interpret the Constitution belonging to 165 million Americans, without any lawful restraint. I will always be humbly grateful for the privilege that was mine to lead the fight in the House Committee on Judiciary and kill S. 44. I feel certain that the rank and file of our people do not know that there was ever a bill like S. 44, which by its terms would have deprived the people of any power whatsoever regarding the Supreme Court.

Some have said the southern senators and representatives had no right to issue that declaration of principles concerning the Supreme Court. Some have said that we took an oath to support the Supreme Court. I am aston-

ished over such statements. We never took an oath to support the Supreme Court. We did take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and that oath carries with it the duty to criticize any branch of this government that has violated the Constitution. That oath also carries the duty to do everything possible to preserve the Constitution. The arguments are ridiculous. Our history abounds in criticisms toward the Supreme Court.

President Jackson criticized the Supreme Court severely. Indeed, one of the contributing causes of the war between the states was the refusal to accept the Supreme Court decision in the *Dred Scott* case. See Beveridge's "Abraham Lincoln," Vol. IV, pp. 157-158, stating that in 1858 the Republican leaders in the Senate accused the Supreme Court of being engaged in a scheme to spread slavery over the country. According to that book, the Republican party joined that criticism in unity. Page 157 of that volume says that Senator Trumbull described the *Dred Scott* decision as the "odious and infamous opinion of a slave-driving court" and that court must be "wholly and totally revolutionized." See Nicolay and Hay, "Lincoln Works," Vol. I, p. 229, where Mr. Lincoln chided Judge Douglas for saying that no criticism or resistance should be made against a Supreme Court decision. Mr. Lincoln reminded Judge Douglas that he had applauded criticisms of that court in the past and remarked, "It would be interesting for him to look over his recent speech and see how exactly his fierce philippics against us for resisting Supreme Court decisions fall upon his own head." Everyone remembers the harsh and continued criticisms of the Supreme Court by President Franklin Roosevelt. President Roosevelt referred to that court as nine old and tired men, and endeavored to get rid of those justices in every conceivable way. If we have lost the right to criticize the Supreme Court, Congress, or the president of the United States, then one of our greatest protections of constitutional government has been lost.

It was the combination of the school cases decisions and many other decisions that inspired a declaration of principles. For the last twenty years the Court has shown little respect for the rule of stare decisis, although that rule is hoary with age and indispens-

able as a rule of law. Stare decisis simply means "to stand by decided cases; to uphold precedent; to maintain former adjudications." The doctrine rests upon the sound principle that law by which men are governed should be fixed, definite, and known, and that when the law is declared by a court authorized to do so, such declarations, in the absence of palpable error, be accepted by the public as the law until changed by the legislative branch of the government. The Supreme Court has made many decisions holding that stare decisis is peculiarly applicable to constitutional questions, but unfortunately it has also many times ruled that stare decisis is not applicable to constitutional questions. I think the public will agree that the rule of stare decisis should apply with more force to constitutional questions than perhaps any other legal question.

President Made Agreement

Another case that we do not like is *U. S. v. Pink*, 315 U. S. 203. In that case monies in a bank in New York were taken charge of by the courts of New York and that court was proceeding by well-settled law to administer those assets in a legal way. The president of the United States made an agreement with Soviet Representative Litvinov regarding those monies, and though this agreement was made only by the president and was never submitted to the Senate for approval, the Supreme Court held that the president's agreement, like a treaty, superseded our Constitution and the laws of New York, thus saying that with one stroke of a pen the president could annihilate our Constitution and state laws.

In the case of *Missouri v. Holland*, 252 U. S. 416, the Supreme Court held that a treaty made with Great Britain made a law which had theretofore been held unconstitutional completely valid, by ruling that this treaty was superior to our Constitution. Those rulings are not law, and have never been the law, and we reserve the right to criticize them. Thomas Jefferson said: "If the treaty power is unlimited, we have no Constitution." As a result of such decisions, the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947 proudly pointed out that while our Constitution did not convey delegated powers to protect civil rights, that this could be overrid-

den by means of treaties, and that the doctrine regarding treaty law had obvious importance in the field of civil rights legislation. That report said further that the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations was working on an international bill of rights, and if that was accepted by the United States, a strong basis for congressional action under the treaty power may be established. It is amazing to realize that for 120 golden years our Supreme Court held that our Constitution was supreme and that a treaty could not override its provisions; see *New Orleans v. United States*, 10 Pet. 662, decided in 1836.

In *Shelly v. Kramer*, 334 U. S. 1, the United States Supreme Court held that restrictive racial covenants in deeds were unenforceable, although for many years there was an unbroken background upholding racial covenants. It is true, of course, that these usually provided that the property conveyed would never be deeded to one of African descent. It necessarily follows, however, that any persons of African descent had the same right to incorporate in their deeds that the land could never be conveyed to any other race.

Submerged Lands Were Property of States

The result of the decision destroying these racial covenants was to cause damage to the property owners in this country exceeding the expense of some of our wars. It is a well-known fact that property in a neighborhood inhabited by mixed races immediately and seriously declines in value. The people suffering those terrific damages had relied upon the Court's former decisions that such covenants were valid and enforceable. When the United States Constitution was adopted, the states brought into that union their lands and their seacoasts, and throughout the ages it had been recognized that while the government had a highway over the seas, the submerged lands were the property of the states. The Supreme Court a short time ago upset that ruling, and held that the United States owned those submerged lands. It took an act of Congress to destroy that erroneous decision. If those lands belonged to the government, then the fish, shrimp and all marine life belonged to the

government, and our citizens had been taking marine life from the sea unlawfully. Businesses built upon land that was a part of the sea would have automatically become the property of the government.

Certainly the decisions regarding the five school cases aroused the interest of the senators and representatives signing the manifesto. It would have been news to Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens, the two most rabid on civil rights, when the civil rights laws and the Fourteenth Amendment were passed, that their bills touched public schools. Both confessed many times that their legislation did not. In the middle of the debate of the Fourteenth Amendment Congress paused to pass a bill conveying property in the District of Columbia for the sole use of colored children; 14 Stat. 342 (1866). Segregated schools were established in the District of Columbia in 1862 when the war between the states was raging, and segregated schools continued in the District until after the decision of the Supreme Court in 1954. Everyone knows that the District of Columbia, the seat of our government, is and has been the guinea pig for all social experiments.

Stevens and Sumner knew schools were segregated in the District, and would have stopped them if they had had any legal basis therefor. In 1871 Senator Sumner tried to pass a law outlawing school segregation in the District of Columbia, but he was unable to do so. See S. 1244, 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., *Cong. Globe*, 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1053-61. In December, 1875, President Grant recommended to Congress a constitutional amendment to require all states to maintain schools for all children, irrespective of color. That recommendation was not followed by Congress. Had not segregated schools been the law in the District of Columbia and the majority of the states in the Union, there would have been no necessity for creating Howard University in the District of Columbia for the purpose of educating colored children at the expense of the taxpayers. Certainly if the intention had been to integrate the races, there could have been no justification for such a school. When the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, there were 37 states in the Union. Twenty-three of those states had segregated schools, while some of the states had

no public schools at all. There will be found no mention of education or schools in the Fourteenth Amendment or civil rights legislation, or in the Constitution of the United States. Public schools were and continue to be specifically reserved to the states by the Tenth Amendment.

Senator Quoted

Even Senator Trumbull is quoted in *Cong. Globe*, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., (1872) 3189, as saying: "The right to go to school is not a civil right and never was." In construing the former Supreme Court decisions regarding the Fourteenth Amendment and the civil rights statutes, one must remember that the Fourteenth Amendment did provide for voting rights, sitting on juries, and other rights, implemented by civil rights legislation. Any rights covered by the Fourteenth Amendment or implementing statutes come within the purview of the Supreme Court's jurisdiction. Any rights not covered in that amendment or implementing civil rights statutes are not questions for the Supreme Court to consider. In 1896 the Supreme Court decided the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U. S., p. 537, involving transportation facilities, a field coming within the Fourteenth Amendment and implementing legislation. That court held that separate but equal facilities satisfied the Constitution. It is true that Justice Harlan, a relative of the present Justice Harlan, dissented in that case. Nevertheless, many state courts, including New York, Ohio, Indiana and California had theretofore ruled that separate but equal facilities were sufficient.

The ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* was to the effect that the Fourteenth Amendment and the implementing civil rights legislation were complied with, though the facilities be separate, if equal. Justice Harlan's dissent in this case was never intended as a dissent on the question of schools. In *Cummings v. Board of Education*, 175 U. S. 528 (1899), Justice Harlan wrote the opinion. That was a case involving schools, and in that case he said that separate but equal facilities satisfied every constitutional provision and law, and the Court unanimously agreed with him. The reasoning of Justice Harlan is plain: in the *Plessy* case he felt that the Constitution and

implementing legislation covering transportation was very different from school questions because schools were not touched by the Constitution or by legislation. A great distinction, to be sure, *Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U. S. 78 (1927), was written by Chief Justice Taft for a unanimous Court, and page 86 shows the holding to the effect that the question presented was one "within the constitutional power of the state legislature to settle without any intervention of the federal Courts under the federal Constitution."

In that case, Lum, a Chinese, demanded that he be allowed to attend a white school rather than a colored school. The Court said that if the facilities were equal, the Constitution was satisfied. The 1954 decisions of the Supreme Court in the five school cases were virtually sterile with regard to precedents. That Court did refer to the slaughter-house cases (1873) and *Strauder v. West Virginia* (1879). Any lawyer can certainly understand that those cases involved questions specifically covered under the Fourteenth Amendment and enabling legislation, and therefore could never be authority on a question completely divorced from the Fourteenth Amendment and implementing legislation.

Psychology Has Place

The other cases cited as authority were decided in complete harmony with the separate but equal doctrine. It is shocking that in the 1954 school case decisions the Supreme Court held that psychological knowledge at the time of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case might not have been as great as modern authority. Psychology has its place, but psychology can never substitute for law. We respectfully maintain that the separate but equal doctrine is the only doctrine that makes good sense. Under these recent decisions one would assume that a male student would be within his constitutional rights to insist that he be enrolled in a school exclusively for females, and be permitted to share their dormitories, based on the contention that this all-girls' school had a better faculty than the male or co-educational school he was attending, and he was thereby deprived of his constitutional rights.

The senators and representatives signing the Southern Manifesto felt,

and we believe many all over the United States are beginning to feel, that every vestige of states' rights is being rapidly swept away, that our public schools have been the flowers of our democracy because they have been locally controlled. It is shocking to know that in the case of *The Board of Education v. Barnette*, 319 U. S. 624, the Supreme Court struck down as unlawful a state requirement that school children salute the American flag. It is our opinion that the local authorities making that requirement were clearly within their rights and that the Court decision was completely erroneous. It is amazing that a state furnishing education to children cannot at the same time ask a little loyalty to the flag that made that privilege possible.

State Could Not Legislate

We have a right to be discouraged concerning the rights of the states. On April 2, 1956, in the case of *Pennsylvania v. Nelson*, the Supreme Court by a split decision held that the state of Pennsylvania could not legislate against sedition, and upset a conviction by a court of Pennsylvania of an acknowledged member of the Communist party for a violation of the Pennsylvania Sedition Act. That reversal was predicated on the ground that where the government has legislated on that subject and occupied that field, any state law on that subject is superseded. That decision points out that 42 states, plus Alaska and Hawaii, have statutes prohibiting advocacy of the violent overthrow of our government. Apparently, that decision has wiped out the laws of those 42 states and Alaska and Hawaii. The federal law which the Supreme Court held was exclusive and prohibited state action is the law known as the Smith Act, Title 18, USC. No one was more startled over the decision of the Supreme Court than was Congressman Smith of Virginia, the author of that law.

That decision was rendered despite the fact that Section 3231 of Title 18 of the United States code provides: "Nothing in this title shall be held to take away or impair the jurisdiction of the courts of the several states under the laws thereof." Pennsylvania is one of the great states of our Union, and it follows that any at-

tempt to overthrow the government of the United States is also an attempt to overthrow the government of Pennsylvania and the government of every other state in this Union.

Pending before the House Committee on Judiciary now is H. R. 3, the same Congressman Smith being the author thereof, and it simply provides that no act of Congress shall be construed to exclude state laws on the same subject, unless the act contains an express provision to that effect. By all means the people of this country should rise up and insist that H. R. 3 be speedily enacted. It is not expedient to try to pass a law to remedy only one Supreme Court decision. H. R. 3 would cover all congressional laws not containing the provision that state laws are excluded. On April 9, 1956, the Supreme Court in the case of *Slochowera v. Board of Higher Education of the City of New York*, ruled in a split decision that said school board could not discharge Slochowera as a schoolteacher because, when he was testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, he refused to answer questions concerning his membership in the Communist party during the years 1940 and 1941 on the ground that his answers might tend to incriminate him. The Board of Education acted under Section 903 of its City Charter, providing that an employee of the city claiming the privilege against self-incrimination to avoid answering a question relating to his official conduct would have his employment terminated. The majority opinion of the Supreme Court says that no sinister meaning can be imputed toward a person asserting his rights under the Fifth Amendment. We do not agree with that statement.

Fifth Amendment Protects

The Fifth Amendment does say that no person shall be compelled to give evidence against himself, and protects the individual from being convicted on such compelled testimony. It certainly does not mean that a person exercising that privilege can insist that he continue in the most sensitive area of our country, the school room, and that the city is helpless to discharge him. Perhaps the public does not know that the same section 903 has been invoked many times against policemen in the city of New York, and that

policemen claiming the Fifth Amendment have been discharged.

So long as the states are permitted to legislate and to exercise their rights retained in the Tenth Amendment, we have no fear for our country. We will stake our destiny upon our faith in the majority of the states of our Union. But, when our states are not permitted to legislate on subjects covered by the federal laws, then we see grave danger to our way of life. One United States attorney general, entrusted with the destiny of our entire Union and our liberties by reason of the fact that he alone is charged with enforcement of those laws, by his failure to act, his lack of sympathy with our ideals or even his lack of ability, could bring disaster upon our heads. Without reflection upon any attorney general, past or present, a disloyal one could wreck our cherished institutions and destroy our liberties. Anyone familiar with Communist activities knows that their strategy is to infil-

trate our most important government agencies and our finest private institutions.

The signers of the declaration of principles have no apologies for their criticism. We support the Constitution of the United States. We recognize the powers belonging to the states and to the citizens of our Union. We have never asked the Supreme Court to "turn back the clock." We simply ask them to keep their hands off the clock and not attempt to keep time for America, that being the inalienable right of our 165 million American citizens. We know that good people all over our land share our views. No section has a monopoly on patriotism or loyalty. The American people are waking up. We do not wish to divide our people. We know that we are facing the most relentless enemy of human history. We want and expect to win this battle, both within and without our gates. America will stand up and be counted.

sentatives cannot evade responsibility simply by inserting the phrase "lawful means" in their outrageous manifesto.⁴

SENATOR HERBERT H. LEHMAN OF NEW YORK:

... I address myself to the challenge which has been and is being offered to our constitutional processes, to law and order, and beyond even that, to the basic propositions of democracy in our country. . . . This is how I react, as an individual American citizen, and as a senator of the United States from New York, to the overt defiance which has been and is being publicly offered to the decisions and decrees of the Supreme Court of the United States in regard to segregation in the public schools.

... None of us is without an underlying sense of guilt in the present situation. Each of us, both in the North and in the South, bears in his secret heart a sense of responsibility for the fact that there has been denied and there continues to be denied to a major share of the population, the basic human rights we pretend, in our Constitution, to assure to all, without distinction on the basis of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

And so today, we have a crisis, a crisis which some have suddenly recognized, although this crisis has been brewing for a long, long time.

But now there develops a concerted move to defy those decisions and decrees of the Supreme Court, and to persist in acts which the Court says are repugnant to the Constitution. Under these circumstance, I say . . . that the very bedrock of our nation, and of our particular form of government, is being attacked. Shall each individual in our nation have the right to say that he disagrees with the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution and, therefore, will not abide by the supreme law of the land, as laid down by the Supreme Court? Obviously, that would be anarchy, and our nation would collapse in chaos and disorder.

To deny and defy the interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court is to deny and defy the federal

⁴Ibid., p. 4146.

CRITICISMS

The following statements represent viewpoints of congressmen who defend the Supreme Court's decisions, and denounce the Manifesto

SENATOR PAT McNAMARA OF MICHIGAN:

... Never before in my brief tenure in the Senate have I had occasion to be profoundly shocked by the actions of some of my colleagues. Defeats on certain legislative matters which I hold dear naturally have disturbed me, but I have recognized such defeats as an occasional result of parliamentary warfare.

But . . . the declaration of 19 members of the United States Senate presented in this chamber Monday is a matter so shameful that it will forever be a dark page in American history.

To fight for one's personal convictions in legislative debate; to argue one's position before the courts of this land; to disagree with the final outcome — is a basic right insured and guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

The use of the Senate by 19 senators — many of whom I hold in the highest esteem — to proclaim and urge defiance of the decision of the Su-

preme Court in the public-school cases is an act that cries out for condemnation. This declaration may not be outright sedition, but it certainly is subversive in its intent to undermine the integrity of the judicial system of this nation.

That the 19 senators felt very strongly about their position to use the Senate chamber for a sounding board for their prejudices — I have no doubt. But in the heat of their passion, I fear these senators have begun a tunnel under the foundations of our government. The ramifications of the move will go far beyond the question of segregation in public schools.

No amount of phrasing in this declaration — such as the pledge to use lawful means to reverse the Supreme Court decision — can dim the hatred and open defiance of law and order poorly hidden within. How will the people of these states react — when their representatives to the highest legislative body of this land set an example of this nature? These repre-

government. The Supreme Court is, as every schoolboy knows, the keystone of the arch of the judiciary, which is one of the three arches which make up the federal government. The Supreme Court is coequal with the Congress and the Executive. In its sphere it is supreme.

By the very terms of the Constitution, the Supreme Court is supreme over the states in matters of legal interpretation, and has on numerous occasions declared provisions of state constitutions to be null and void because of conflict with the federal Constitution. There can be no supportable challenge to the supremacy or competency of the Supreme Court in deciding what is and what is not constitutional, as strongly as some might disagree with the High Court's findings. It would be absurd, if it were not so deadly serious and so highly dangerous, to hold otherwise.

This week there was read into the *Congressional Record*, both in this body and in the House, a manifesto signed by 19 member of the Senate and 77 members of the House of Representatives, on this subject. That manifesto pledged its signatories to undertake to overturn the Supreme Court decision in the school-segregation cases. That manifesto was certainly not inflammatory in tone, but its effect was surely to support the doctrine of nullification which has been enunciated, in one form or another, by the legislatures of the states of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia.

That manifesto, that action by these of our colleagues, cannot go unchallenged. It cannot go unanswered in full measure. And it will not be permitted to.

... The manifesto calls for the use of all lawful means to overturn the decision of the Supreme Court. But these words are in support of action in some states to defy the law and to prevent its enforcement. That is not lawful action.⁵

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY OF MINNESOTA:

I do feel ... once the Supreme Court of the United States has spoken, not merely upon statutory law, but upon constitutional law, that the presumption is, and should be, that the

⁵Ibid., p. 4373.

order of the Court and the rule of the Court is the law of the land — to be obeyed and upheld.

While I do not profess to be an expert in constitutional law, I am familiar with the development of the doctrine of the power and the right of the Supreme Court of the United States to encompass within its jurisdiction the responsibility for ruling upon the constitutionality of state statutes which may or may not be in conflict with the Constitution, the power and the responsibility and the right to rule upon federal statutes which may or may not be in conflict with the Constitution, and finally the power of the Supreme Court to interpret and to apply the language of the Constitution itself.

... If ever there was a time when every citizen of the United States needed to be guided by compassion, kindness, understanding, tolerance — yes — with love, it is now. Nothing could be worse for our republic than to have a conflict between the races. Nothing could be worse than for North and South to become divided.

... If ever there was a time when senators and members of the House of Representatives should be calling upon the people of their states to work together, to build together, to reason together, it is now. Once the Supreme Court has ruled, arguments over law will yield little or no results, except to arouse passions and encourage delay and obstruction.

The task is to plead for persevering patience to proceed to the fulfillment of human equality, to encourage compliance with the law. No man in his right mind wants violence or force. What we seek is orderly progress, systematic progress, in the spirit of friendship and helpfulness.

I have been pleased to see the great progress that was being made in the South toward equality amongst the peoples and the races. The Supreme Court decision should be a stimulant for further orderly progress. It requires that people of good will continue working together day after day. ... If governors, senators and members of the House of Representatives will take a stand for the fulfillment of equal rights under the law, progress

will become orderly, steady, and certain. By holding back we merely impede the fulfillment of what is inevitable — namely, the rule of law under the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution prescribes that there shall be no denial to citizens of the United States of equal privileges and rights under the law. This is the law. Our constitutional system is fixed, and can be changed only by alteration of the Constitution.⁶

SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE OF NEW JERSEY:

... I wish with all my heart that the senators and members of the House had not felt impelled to issue their manifesto on the Supreme Court's decisions in regard to integration in the public schools. That it is responsive to the present feelings of many people in the southern states, I do not doubt. That the feeling of the moment will pass, I am equally certain.

For it is inconceivable at this point in our history that the American people should refuse to accept the determination of our Supreme Court on a question involving the interpretation of the Constitution. And it is inconceivable also that the American people can fail to recognize the essential rightness of these decisions from the standpoint of simple justice and good conscience.

Yet, despite its expressed appeal for moderation, the effect of the manifesto can only be to incite further resistance and inflame a situation already difficult.

Obviously, the period of adjustment to the Court's decree is a time for all Americans to demonstrate the fullest measure of patience and understanding. Instead, this trying period has been made immeasurably more difficult by intemperate statements by persons on both sides of the argument and by extremist actions. Economic reprisals, job dismissals, work stoppages, and even threats of mob violence, have fed the fires of discord. Ours is a nation under law. There is no room for violence in our land.

My heart goes out to the decent, moderate men and women of good will who have recognized the magnitude of the problem and have en-

⁶Ibid., p. 3950.

deavored to meet it in an earnest way. These people are being caught in a squeeze from both sides. And, if the pressures continue, if men of moderation are forced into silence while the extremists take over, the consequences will be tragic for us all, white or Negro, North or South.

Whatever our individual views, we are all agreed, I am sure, that nothing would be more harmful to the interests of the country as a whole, nothing more destructive of the whole fabric of our way of life, than for extremism to gain full sway. And I submit that there has been a dangerous trend in this direction.

The problems that preoccupy some of our southern states are real. The answers will not be easy. But I do not believe the problems are inherently insoluble.

Our children, wherever they live, and whatever their color or race, take the same pledge of allegiance to "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Implicit in this, I believe, is our pledge not just to refrain from overt defiance of the law, but to accept in good faith the workings of our constitutional processes.

As a closing word, let me urge that we — on both sides of the aisle — give this problem the earnest, dispassionate attention which it deserves. Let us each, in every way open to us, make clear that the extremists will not have their way, that men of good will and moderate temper can and will work out the problems involved in complying with the law if they really want to do so.⁷

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE OF OREGON:

... I think too many of our southern colleagues want to take the position that because some of us may live in the North, we have no appreciation of the problems of the South. That is contrary to the fact. But we have reached a point in our history when the Great South once again will have to determine whether we are to be governed by law or whether we are to be governed or subverted by the interposition doctrine, which is the doctrine of nullification.

... On the basis of the arguments of the proponents of the declaration of principles just submitted by a group of southern senators you would think today Calhoun was walking and speaking on the floor of the Senate.

I think that, as patriots all, those of us representing areas outside the South, need to sit down with our brethren representing the South, and see what we can do to solve, by reasoned discussion, the great problem which the Supreme Court decision has created. But I first want to say I think it is a correct decision that was long overdue.

I say, respectfully, the South has had all the time since the War Between the States to make this adjustment. That is why I am not greatly

moved by these last-hour pleas of the South, "We need more time, more time, more time." How much more time is needed in order that equality of justice may be applied to the blacks as well as to the whites in America?

A historic debate must take place on the floor of the Senate in the not-too-distant future, because in the weeks immediately ahead the Congress will have to determine whether or not we and the people of the United States shall follow the Supreme Court decision, and recognize, as was laid down in *Marbury* against Madison, the supremacy of the Court in protecting the American people in their constitutional rights.⁸

One Hundred and One Congressmen vs. the Nine Justices

By ALEXANDER M. BICKEL

★ As it comes to all words which fall upon days of unceasing and indiscriminate use, a form of senility has come to the word "moderation." It no longer responds sharply and clearly when called. It tends now to shuffle along uncertainly, vacantly, sadly in need of a new birth of meaning. And we ourselves need badly what was once known as moderation, in the use of the word moderation.

Fashions being what they are, it was not at all surprising that the Declaration of Constitutional Principles attacking the Supreme Court's school segregation decision, which was issued on March 11 by nearly the full membership of the Southern Congressional delegation — 82 representatives and 19 senators — 101 in all — should have been immediately labeled as moderate. In a sense, the term is, of course, applicable. The manifesto was not the action of a mob on the campus of the University of Alabama. It has not the sound of the usual public utterances of one of its signers, Mr. James Eastland of Mississippi. It bears the names — to mention but a few — of relatively forward-looking men such

as Senators John Sparkman and Lister Hill of Alabama and J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas and Representatives Hale Boggs of Louisiana, Jere Cooper of Tennessee and Wright Patman of Texas, and of equally respected conservatives such as Senators Walter George and Richard Russell of Georgia and John Stennis of Mississippi. The declaration enters, on the part of the South, a universe of discourse different from that in which the South's men of violence and demagoguery dwell, and into which they have been trying to draw us. Communism, for example, escapes any mention.

This much should be said, and credit given for it, although it is really no more than one was entitled to expect. And this pallid quality of the southern statement is conveyed by the adjective moderate. But for the rest, the declaration, as the saying goes, invites analysis. Upon analysis, it becomes apparent that it is not so much a moderate as it is a negotiated document, and that in the negotiations, the "moderate" victory was limited, on the whole, to shadow, while the fire-eaters won on substance. Dis-

(Note: This article reprinted from the April 23, 1956, issue of *The New Republic*.)

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 3950.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 4275.

order and lawless acts are condemned, to be sure. But there are other passages which, if not incendiary, are certainly combustible. The Supreme Court's decision, we are told, had "no legal basis." It amounted to a substitution of "personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land." It was usurpation of power; an exercise of "naked judicial power," which, whatever it may mean, is presumably distinguishable from judicial power dressed to the teeth and consequently tolerable. The signers reaffirm their "reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land" — a statement which in context is pregnant with the suggestion, tenable only academically or by force but not in law, that there exists a Constitution distinct from the one the Supreme Court expounds. Finally, resistance "by any lawful means" is warmly commended.

Compromise Seems Plain

The compromise of which the declaration is a product seems plain. The harsh, realistic, spade-calling views held by a man such as Mr. Eastland were deemed unseemly by others among the signers, who wish the segregation decision weren't so, but who don't know what can be decently done about the fact that it is very much so. But a recognition that, disagreeable as it may be, the segregation decision is the binding verdict of a tribunal empowered beyond the shadow of a doubt to render it, that it represents, like taxes and other sectionally or generally unpleasant burdens, the price of deference to the national will which the South must pay for being neither a province nor an insignificant principality but an integral part of the greatest and richest civilized power on earth — that recognition could not be wrung from the more radical element, and probably comes very hard indeed for most if not all southern office-holders. And so recourse was had to disingenuous euphemisms like the phrase "lawful means."

The Supreme Court itself provided the lawful means for delayed and gradual implementation of its decision, in wise deference to the age and tenacity of the custom which it must eventually displace. But there are no lawful means to resist the decision altogether. Lawful disobedience of the law is nonsense. So is whatever

may be meant by interposition, of which the signers of the declaration imply approval. It is one thing to propose, according to law, a constitutional amendment annulling the decision, or to try before the Court which made it to obtain its reversal. Chances of success in this direction are slim, as the southern congressmen surely know. Resistance, the other course they suggest, is quite a different thing, and is not compatible with lawful conduct.

When, in 1857, in the *Dred Scott* case, a majority of the Supreme Court went out of its way to sustain the nationwide legal status of slavery and



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to interfere with the compromises which had been the work of the pre-Civil War generation, the North was profoundly shocked. It was faced with the prospect of the spread of the detested institution into new territories, and much vehement language was directed at the Court. Defending the decision in debate with Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois said: "Whoever resists the final decision of the highest judicial tribunal aims a deadly blow at our whole republican system of government." It would behoove southern statesmen to think hard about Lincoln's reply, which was straightforward and law-abiding. Lincoln said: "We know the court that made it, [sic] has often over-ruled its own decisions, and we shall do

what we can to have it to [sic] over-rule this. We offer no resistance to it." This is an understandable and easily stated position. There is no echo of it in the Southern Declaration of Constitutional Principles of a century later.

The negotiated ambivalence and the euphemisms of the Southern Declaration of 1956 are supported by a legal argument so naive that it is difficult to charge the able and experienced lawyers among the signers with genuine confidence in it. There are, in the declaration, the bare bones of a different sort of discussion, dealing with the wisdom of the Supreme Court's decision in terms of the federal balance which is the genius of our system of government. But the chief reliance is on the contention that the Court lacked power to act at all. As a matter of historical fact, the argument runs, it was not the intention of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment, pursuant to which the Court's segregation decision was made, to affect in any way the practice of segregated education. The Court itself sanctioned the practice in the past. Therefore segregation is "the established law of the land," and the Supreme Court was without authority to change it. Only a constitutional amendment could have legally done that.

Ideas of Justice Applied

This line of reasoning rests on a silent premise of thoroughly inadmissible implications, to which we shall come in a moment. But it is important to note first that the declaration's assertion of historical fact will not quite hold water. Precisely the opposite and equally blunt assertion, namely that the framers intended to abolish segregation in educational institutions, has been made, and supported by some show of scholarship. The truth lies in between. It appears reasonably clear that an explicit provision abolishing segregation would not have mustered the necessary two-thirds majority in the Reconstruction Congress which proposed the Fourteenth Amendment for ratification by the states. Nor would it have been possible in that Congress to carry many another explicit provision achieving results which have since been held to be ordained by the Fourteenth Amendment. But, not unlike the members of the original Philadelphia Con-

vention, the men who framed the Fourteenth Amendment were aware that they were writing an organic law intended for permanence, and they deliberately chose broad language capable of growth and application to matters and in circumstances not foreseeable in 1866. Rejecting an elaborately explicit provision, they chose phrases which had scope and a ring to echo in the national memory of libertarian beginnings. They gave us, as has been said, a mood, a freshened reminder of ancient ideas of justice, and a mandate to go forth and apply these ideas of justice in light of our own experience.

The premise from which the argument of the southerners' declaration proceeds is that the specific intent of the framers of a constitutional provision, being ascertainable, is forever and specifically binding, subject only to the cumbersome process of amendment. There are no doubt some relatively technical provisions of the Constitution with respect to which this notion holds true. Nothing but a disaster, however, could result for government under a written Constitution if this notion were generally accepted with respect to such broad precepts as that of "due process of law" or "equal protection of the laws."

Change Is Process of Growth

The statesmen and judges, including the framers of the Constitution, who have shaped our national existence knew and taught us that the only abiding thing is change. It is all around us, in the private affairs which the law influences only remotely, in legislation, state and federal, and in the life of the Constitution. Change, to be sure, must be a process of growth. The coloration of the new must not clash with that of the old. Change must not come about in violent spasms. Government under law is a continuum, not a series of jerky fresh departures. Because we must have continuity as well as change, the past is relevant, and the Court itself in the segregation cases directed the attention of counsel to historical evidence, if any, of the intent of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment. The matter was extensively canvassed in the briefs and arguments presented to the Court, and the evidence seemed to the justices incon-

clusive at best. But, whatever they might show, these materials could not be, such materials have in the development of our constitutional law seldom if ever been, decisive. The Court's action had to be based on the moral and material State of the Union in 1954, not 1866.

As Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes had the occasion to say in a celebrated case decided better than twenty years ago:

If by the statement that what the Constitution meant at the time of its adoption it means today, it is intended to say that the great clauses of the Constitution must be confined to the interpretation which the framers, with the conditions and outlook of their time, would have placed upon them, the statement carries its own refutation.

Complaint is made that the change which is now decreed is sudden and revolutionary. But the congressmen who signed this declaration must know better. As has so often been true in the Court's work, a lengthy process of erosion of the old preceded and heralded announcement of the new constitutional doctrine. The Fourteenth Amendment had for some decades been gradually extended, to protect more and more Negro rights.

In education itself, the Supreme Court had held that separate but equal physical facilities for graduate studies would not do. The public-school-segregation decision was the culmination of a perfectly normal constitutional development, not a bolt out of the blue. The extraordinary thing about it, which the southern congressmen do not deign to mention, was the majestic deliberateness which the Court brought to its task, the unanimity with which it at last reached its decision, and the unprecedented allowance it made for the practical and emotional adjustments the new doctrine will entail.

Signers Protest

In tones of outrage which would be comic if the surrounding circumstances were less serious, the signers of the Southern Declaration protest that the Constitution "does not mention education." Therefore the federal government may not concern itself with any aspect of it.

Of course the Constitution does not mention education. Nor does it mention an Air Force, but the president's

title to the command-in-chief in the air as well as on land is not consequently the less. Nor does the Constitution mention minimum wages; nor collective bargaining; nor traffic in narcotics; nor parity in the market place at 80, 90 or 100 per cent; nor a thousand other subjects with which the national government has dealt as we have grown to nationhood and power and moral maturity. What would Senators Hill and Sparkman think of an employer who pledged to resist the Wages and Hours Act, or the Federal Employers' Liability Act or the Pure Food and Drug Act "by any lawful means"?

It seems fitting to end by quoting for the benefit of the southern congressmen a definitive statement on the life of our Constitution made by James Bradley Thayer, a great constitutional lawyer, at the turn of the century, when the issue which agitated the country concerned the proper relationship between the federal government and the insular possessions obtained as a result of the Spanish-American War. Thayer wrote:

And so it happens, as one looks back over our history and the field of political discussions in the past, that he seems to see the whole region strewn with the wrecks of the Constitution—of what people have been imagining and putting forward as the Constitution. That it was unconstitutional to buy Louisiana and Florida; that it was unconstitutional to add new states to the Union from territory not belonging originally to it; that it was unconstitutional to govern the territories at all; that it was unconstitutional to charter a bank, to issue paper money, to make it legal tender, to enact a protective tariff—that these and a hundred other things were a violation of the Constitution, has been solemnly and passionately asserted by statesmen and lawyers. . . . The trouble has been, then as now, that men imputed to our fundamental law their own too narrow construction of it, their own theory of its purposes and spirits. . . . That instrument, astonishingly well adapted for the purposes of a great, developing nation, shows its wisdom mainly in the shortness and generality of its provisions, in its silence, and its abstinence from petty limitations.

END

The mass of citizens of the United States mean well, and I firmly believe will always act well whenever they can obtain a right understanding of matters.

— George Washington



IT is not sufficient for only a relatively few to defend the United States. In our present peril, people everywhere must unite in the fight against militant international communism, or any other threat to our American way of life.

What is this American way of life of which I speak? You know it and I know it. We have lived it and enjoyed its benefits. But how can we define something so nebulous?

Language is sometimes a peculiar thing. Sometimes it plays tricks on us. The word freedom has far different meaning when spoken from Communist lips. And in American speech, that word may become so loosely used that its meaning begins to wear thin and to become vague.

It has become increasingly apparent to me since World War II that men and nations who want to remain free must understand freedom and be able to explain it — by their example as well as in their own words.

It is obvious the Communists have made amazing gains, largely because they know what they believe, why they believe it, and can explain it. They are educated in it and completely versed in it.

On the other hand, we who are free have many times been incoherent or have lacked the verbal ability to explain or defend completely what our way of life really is. We must know what we mean by it. We must be convinced that it presents the very best way of life in today's world — and I think we are. But we must be able to explain this conviction to others.

The Mind and the in National

I

My own understanding of the American way of life is manifold. First it is freedom and liberty.

Freedom began with a belief in human dignity, and it grew with the history of the world. Often it came in conflict with tyranny and despotism. Often it was knocked down, but always it arose to fight again. It would fight, and lose, and then fight again.

We learned this in history when Moses stood before Pharaoh and said: "Let my people go." We read it again when the barons stood before King John and the Magna Charta was embodied into law. We lived it still again in the epic of Valley Forge.

Our Founding Fathers were adept at choosing the right words to explain the meaning of our way of life. Thomas Jefferson called it "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Patrick Henry summed it up when he said: "Give me liberty or give me death."

All of you know well the other meanings of our freedoms. They are all part of the American way of life: freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, and many more. We have lived with these freedoms so long, and have enjoyed them so much, that we are prone to take them for granted.

II

A second primary ingredient in our American way of life is faith. Faith is essential. We must have it.

The New Testament calls faith "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." (Hebrews 11:1.) Let me repeat that. Faith is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

Faith is our belief in the equality of man in the sight of God. It is our belief in what Alexander Hamilton referred to as "the sacred rights of mankind." Far beyond the point of lip-service, we must all believe that each and every human is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These are the "substance of things hoped for."

That cold winter at Valley Forge was truly an ordeal. The suffering from freezing and starvation almost led American troops to abandon their cause. Faith in their God; faith in their great leader, George Washington; and faith in the righteousness of their cause inspired the courage with which these men were victorious in their hour of trial. These are the "evidence of things not seen," to return again to the words of the New Testament. . .

III

Now, faith in the principles upon which this nation was founded automatically implies a third important ele-

th Spirit nd Security

By ADM. ARTHUR RADFORD

ment of the American way of life, namely, the individual acceptance of responsibility to defend these principles against any threat.

To the young person growing up in a country such as ours, it is too easy to consider the rights of man as accepted facts rather than as prizes to be won. The world can too easily seem his for the taking, without personal effort.

The lessons of history, however, teach us otherwise. History is replete with instances to prove that nations who take their liberty for granted are apt to fall prey to tyrannical forces, from within as well as from without.

For every freedom there is a corresponding responsibility. If a person denies his responsibility, he runs the risk of losing his freedom. If he accepts his responsibility, he can do much to perpetuate freedom for generations to follow.

In this same vein, teaching a person to recite the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights by memory, line by line, word for word, is not enough, for you could teach a parrot to do that.

Instead, teaching him to understand the meaning of liberty is much better. It is all important. We should always give him a "Bill of Responsibilities" to go along with his "Bill of Rights," and at the same time, instill in him a spirit of service to God and country.

IV

Having established faith, responsibility, and freedom as the three elements of the American way of life, I am concerned with relating the whole to the concept of the mind and the spirit in national security. How do we go about perpetuating this American way of life, for us today and for our children tomorrow?

An important feature in the multifaceted Soviet threat has been their conviction and complete command of their doctrine. Their successes have been achieved in great part by the subversive appeal of an artful logic, effectively spread by organized zealots. They have denied spiritual values and pretended to show that following the Communist system is the dynamic way to economic security for the masses. They have associated the United States with status quo powers whose only motivation is to hold onto the bounties they already possess.

Thus, the free world, in spite of its greater resources and spiritual values, has been sometimes outmaneuvered. Too many times we who are free have seemingly lacked the understanding conviction with which to defend our way of life.

The answer lies in the heart, the mind, and in the spirit



of all Americans. We must teach a better understanding and appreciation of the American way of life; we must rebuild the conviction that our path is the closest to that which God would have us follow, that it is truly worthy of personal sacrifices.

We must spread the word, both at home and abroad. We must call on the good offices and influence of the home, church, school, and armed forces, to develop the sound minds and dedicated spirits upon which our national security is fundamentally based. We can take our cue from Nathan Hale, who, when asked by his captors if he had any last words, simply said: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country. . . ."

Through your patriotic dedication, you can rekindle the fires of understanding conviction so that all Americans will proudly dedicate themselves to the words of our Founding Fathers in the Declaration of Independence:

"And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

This is the mind and spirit in our national security.

... a true story by a high school teacher who was drawn into the Communist web. Obediently and deliberately he indoctrinated his immature pupils before he finally realized the true meaning of communism and found the courage to sever his bonds. Although all details of the case are known to the proper officials, the author necessarily remains anonymous.

A Communist in the Classroom

Reprinted, with minor deletions,
from *The New England Teacher* (Feb., '56)

John M. Barry, schoolteacher, writer, and publisher of *The New England Teacher*, has taken a leading part in the fight against communism. The story, "A Communist in the Classroom," first appeared in his magazine for educators last year, and the reaction was so extraordinary and so many requests for copies flooded his office that he was prompted to re-run the story in full. Following the second printing in February, publisher Barry received about forty phone calls, all between 2 and 3 a.m., warning him to "quit writing stuff about the Communists." One night last April, after a "last warning" phone call, a brick was thrown through a window of the Barry home, narrowly missing the educator's head. He had been writing an article for his magazine when the rock crashed into the room, and would have been hit had he not leaned forward to retrieve a book from the floor.

Mr. Barry, a graduate of Boston College, has been teaching in the Boston public school system for 25 years.

THERE is one type of professional person the powers in the Communist party are very much interested in recruiting as members of the party — the teachers in our public and private schools. I know this to be true on the best, personal evidence.

I was at the same time a teacher in a public high school and a member of the Communist party.

That was in the past. Some time ago I resigned my job as a teacher, at the same time I left the Communist party. Since that time I have moved to another city hundreds of miles away, where I earn my living in a non-teaching job. . . .

In order to make my position quite clear, I shall answer an unasked question — my background activities in the Communist party are known in full to the proper authorities. They have been for a long time.

My background, I suppose, could be considered as pretty much typical, middle-class American. Neither of my parents was educated beyond high school. My father was a quiet, retiring type, well-respected in our neighborhood surroundings and in the office where he was employed as a book-keeper. The salary he brought home went directly into the family budget. It was adequate, but there were never any luxuries. We never owned a car, nor did we go away on summer vaca-

tions. The latter meant nothing to me. I always managed to find a job of some sort, and in my spare time I read everything I could find in the public library.

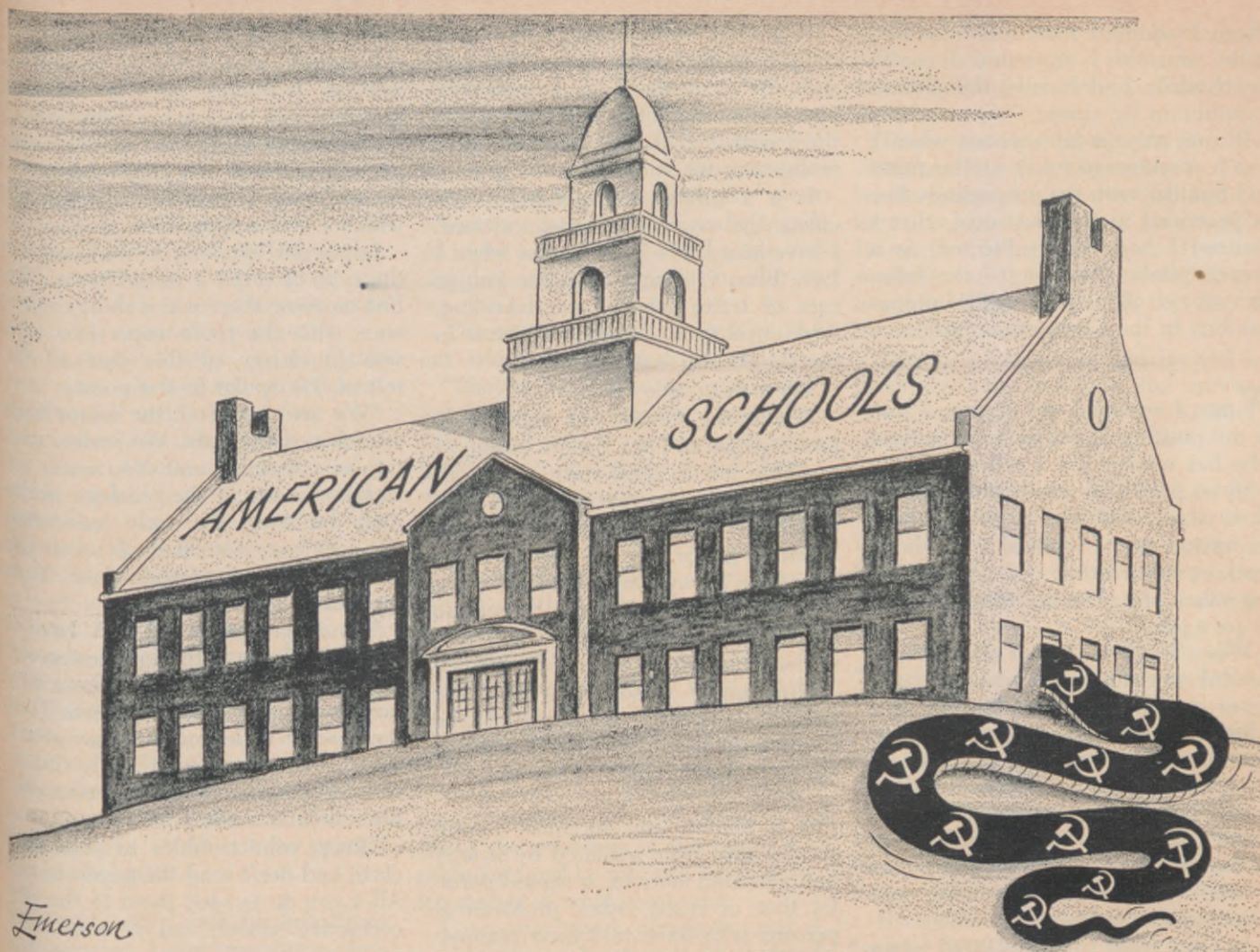
There was one quirk in my father's beliefs that set us off from the rest of the children in the neighborhood. He never went to a church of any denomination, nor would he permit me to attend one. He believed that a parent should not lead a child into any religious belief — that it was proper for a child, when he attained maturity, to choose the church he wanted.

The status of not being a member of any congregation and not going to any church set me off among the other children. Whether they actually attended church regularly or not was not important to them. They belonged to something. I did not.

The days of religious celebrations and observances were just dates on the calendar to me. Christmas was a time for the giving of gifts in our home. There was no mention of the Christ Child. Easter was just a Sunday in spring when a person wore a new suit. The word "resurrection" meant nothing.

There will be persons who will read a significance into this childhood void of religious belief. Perhaps they are right.

Certainly, knowing no God I was an



TAKE HEED, AMERICA!

apt subject for initiation into a group that admits no God.

After I had been graduated from high school, I enrolled at the large university near my home. There was no great change in my life. I simply left the house in the morning and turned in a different direction to get the street car. When classes were over, I came home and studied. I was a number in a vast university that boasted an enrollment of more than 20,000 who did not know each other, nor cared to.

The one cohesive force in the university was the football team. When it was a good one, college enthusiasm was a wondrous thing. School dances were thronged with students. The college dramatic club offerings played to overflow audiences. The college newspaper stories of the weights, heights and varied skills of the football players were read with interest.

But when the football team was poor, the cohesive force lost its power. The student activities were poorly attended, and the physical education

department which mothered and fathered the football team was reviled as a breeding ground for illiterates.

I had always liked history, and it was natural that I should choose it as my major. Every course that was offered I took, and I moved easily through them all. My liking for history may have been due to my habits of reading. There were more outside reading assignments than in any other course except English.

The type of professor giving the history lectures appealed to me. As a group they seemed more worldly-wise than in any other course. It was a period of debunking the great names of history, and some of the professors entered the game with enthusiasm. They uncovered the clay feet of the historically respected, and they rattled their bones. If good or bad could be said of them, they chose the bad and enjoyed it.

Religion of any kind was another favorite target for a few of them. Nothing was sacred. If a student was offended by the comments from the

platform, then he was at liberty to stand and argue his beliefs. The others enjoyed that form of classroom baiting. It was only a sad and misguided person who would venture his powers against those of the professor. No matter how mature he might consider himself, he was badly mismatched when pitted against a man who had spent his life on a lecture platform emphasizing the negative.

It was amusing then, but now I am shocked at the extent to which some of the sadistic lecturers went.

I suppose as a later Communist I should mention here that I joined groups that were considered as liberal, free-thinking, intellectual, pink — that it was among these groups that I had my first baptism into the ways of the left.

It wasn't true. I didn't join any group. Had I been asked at the time I received my degree if I had been subjected to communistic propaganda during my undergraduate days, I would have given an honest answer that I had not been. The two men

whom I admired most and who had given courses I considered really worthwhile had hardly mentioned communism by name.

It was only in later years, when I was a working member of the party and familiar with the propaganda line as practiced in the classroom, that I realized I had been subjected, as a young, pliable student, to the influence of two of the most skillful propagandists in the Communist party.

* * *

WHEN I received my degree, I was in the position of the average student who has worked for a college degree with no particular aim vocationally. I liked what I had seen of the teaching profession, and I realized I had been working toward that goal without being aware of it. The question was how to get a job.

When I told my father of my plans, he did something at which I have never ceased to marvel. He put in a telephone call and arranged an appointment for me with the man in charge of placing substitute teachers.

The interview was apparently satisfactory, because I was assigned to one of the city's largest high schools where I would teach history, civics, and American government.

In September I found I fitted into a place in the high school easily enough. It was not all smooth sailing. I was facing a situation that confronts all new teachers. The pupils recognized that I was new, and they tried all the tricks that have been common practice among generations of school children. I found all the soft, gentle instructions that were given to me in the education courses valueless. I recognized the fact that until a teacher can maintain almost complete control of his classes he is helpless to go on with the actual teaching of the subject matter.

I began a period of two years of substitute work while I worked for a Master's degree and prepared for the permanent appointment examinations. They were the most pleasant years I spent as a teacher.

In time I earned a place on the rating list and received a permanent appointment to a high school that was of a far different type. Here the pupils not only did not want to learn. They were determined that no one else in the class would learn either.

* * *

There is one topic of discussion to which I listen with considerable interest.

Why does an American citizen join the Communist party and ally himself with the elements of an international conspiracy, which has as its stated aim the overthrow of the American government as we know it?

It is a subject that seems to fascinate the average American citizen. I have heard it in living rooms when I have been visiting and in the lounge cars of trains when I am traveling. And once in a heated argument in the stands at a baseball game.

There is no one reason.

Whittaker Chambers' motivating factor seems to have been a confused reaching for an ideal state. Elizabeth Bentley maintains that a year in Italy under the Fascist regime was a contributing factor. Harvey Matusow declared he always wanted to be a big man, one who would be in the public eye. Matusow achieved his ambition of being notorious, at least for a time.

How many reasons are there for persons becoming members of the Communist party? Perhaps as many as the imagination could summon.

As a teacher my foremost reason should have been actuated by strictly humanitarian motives; it should parallel that of many other professional persons who have told their reasons: that they were disturbed at the poverty and misery during the depression period . . . business, they felt, had failed to take care of the economic necessities of millions of persons . . . there was too much wealth in the hands of a few persons . . . the government was unable, or too inflexible under its capitalistic structure, to aid the poorer classes . . . the only organized group in our society, they felt, that seemed to have any feeling and compassion for the sufferings of the workers and producers was the Communist group.

So, they said, they joined the party.

In my case the remote cause had nothing to do with humanitarian considerations. I was first turned toward the Communist party because of a series of experiences in the classroom.

* * *

My permanent appointment was to a city high school that offered all courses to the pupils. The courses prepared the student body for college, a business career or a trade. I was in this last division. Although a part of the high school, it was housed in a separate unit. The actual instruction in the trade was carried on in a build-

ing resembling a huge garage. The classwork was done in portable wooden buildings, each a separate unit in which the teacher held classes.

The pupils alternated in two-week periods between the shop and classroom. Thus, I had two groups for which I was responsible.

I was not left long in doubt about the type of pupil I would have. The first morning there was a short conference with the trade supervisor who was in charge of this part of the school. He spoke to the point.

"We are a part of the major high school in name only. We really function as a separate unit. You won't get to know many of the teachers in the main building. The only connection you will have with them is when you are assigned to cafeteria duty. Then they let us in.

"I might as well let you have it straight. We have the toughest group of kids in the city. They're here only because they are under sixteen. They don't want to learn, and they won't. They'll blame you for their having to come to school, and they'll make your life a hell on earth.

"Keep your troubles in your own class, and don't send the pupils to me. All I can do is send them to the city corrective school, and it won't take any more pupils from us. Just one thing. Cover your room at all times. Don't leave them alone. That's all. Good luck."

When I crossed the yard and entered the portable, the pupils were just filing in, all dressed alike in dungarees and blue shirts.

I thought I would start them off in a quiet, orderly way, and I told them to stand and salute the flag. They stood readily, and I turned with my hand over my heart to face the flag. Their voices boomed out strongly behind me, and the thought crossed my mind that the supervisor had been joking about the discipline trouble.

The flag salute finished, I turned to the class. They were all drawn up at rigid attention, but they were not saluting the flag — they were thumbing their noses at me.

They held the pose for a moment before they broke and relaxed. Had they burst into laughter, I would have understood that this was an unusual trick schemed in advance. But they didn't. As though no one were in the room, they melted into their seats and began to talk to each other in loud, shouting voices.

That morning I began a struggle that was to last for almost two years, and would end only when my health was broken.

If this is read by classroom teachers who know only quiet, orderly groups of pupils interested in learning Latin, bookkeeping or English, it will be beyond their understanding. Unless they had actually been through it, no stretching of their imaginations could bring out a reasonable picture.

The volume of noise and confusion in the room rose and fell according to how they felt or how tired they were. There were times when I talked to the class about American history, and it was like standing on the sands talking against the roar of the surf. A short time later the confusion would die down. They would sit there then, lolling back in their seats, looking in my direction, but not listening to me. They were simply tired of talking and strolling around the room. They wanted to rest before they began again.

It was as though I were not in the room.

When it pleased them, they would shout comments toward the desk. Their remarks could not be printed in this publication.

ONLY once did I look for help from the supervisor. I was teaching a class in history when I noticed a group had got up and were standing around a desk in the back of the room. When I walked down, I found they were playing poker, the stacks of coins on the top of the desk.

In sudden fury I ordered the five to come with me to the supervisor. When we were standing before him, I told him the story. He sent the pupils across the shop and turned to me.

"I told you once," he said coldly, "I can't do anything for you. I tell you again I can't, and I won't. If anything happens in your class while you are out, you are responsible. You'd better get back."

I went back. Nothing had happened. They were tired and were sitting back resting.

Why didn't I quit and get something else? I tried but there was no other teaching job of any kind. There was illness at home, and I needed the job desperately to pay bills. I couldn't quit. It was a grim struggle through the year to the summer vacation.

It was one afternoon during the second year that I left the building at the close of the day and went into a cafeteria that was around the corner from

the school. I had come to depend upon that cup of coffee to get strength to start home.

I sat there thinking and wondering how long I could last. My health was showing the effects of the struggle. My weight was down to the point where my face was thin and peaked. At night I would lie in bed tense and sleepless, still going over the day in my mind.

The chair opposite me was pulled out, and a young man sat down.

"They're really beating you down, aren't they?" He smiled at me. "You don't know me. We work in the same building. I'm in chemistry and physics in the college course."

He mentioned his name. It wasn't Leve, but that will do.

"I can tell you fellows a mile away. You're all the same. You walk with your head turned to see if they're sneaking up on you. Relax. Don't you know you're part of the great American system? You know the motto, 'Educate them even if it kills you.'"

We talked for a while. He had gone to the university and knew some of the men I studied under. He knew a lot about the workings of the school department, and he told me light, amusing stories of what went on.

Leve was good company, and I could feel myself relaxing. I had found little in common with the shop instructors in the trade school, but this fellow talked my language.

He got up suddenly. "I have an appointment. Got to rush. I'll see you tomorrow afternoon and buy you coffee. Remember now." He grinned. "Be true to the Board of Education."

THE next day we met again and we talked for a long time. Sometimes it was general, but we always went back to shop talk about education. He had a vast background knowledge about the history of education. Not the dull type I got in the university courses, but case histories of experiments that had to do with the weeding out of pupils in a school, using the better ones for concentrated study, putting the others to work as apprentices in trade.

We met every afternoon for weeks, and it was always the same — a pleasant break after the confusion of the day. One afternoon he mentioned casually he was meeting with a group of teachers that Friday night at a friend's home. Would I want to come?

That Friday night I enjoyed myself. They were all teachers. Men and

women. They were bright, quick, and informed. Most were from the city schools, but there were a few from outside.

There was one keynote in the discussions — one that I agreed with. The whole system of present-day education was bad. It was built on a faulty foundation. What was required was a separation of the capable from the incapable. There was talk of doing something constructive.

Leve announced he had invited a prominent educator from the university who would give his off-the-record views on American education.

WHEN the man walked in, I recognized him with real pleasure. It was Robens, one of the two professors I had admired at the university. He shook hands with several of the group and called me by name.

"I remember you well," he said. "You were one of my best students. What are you doing now?"

I told him, and he shook his head. "That's a shame. You have real ability. It's a waste."

His words affected me. After what I had been going through, it was like food to a hungry man. I was pleased that he had remembered me.

He spoke briefly and stirringly, and he held the attention of the group.

When he had gone, Leve spoke to the teachers. "I have a suggestion to offer. By ourselves we can do nothing. The only way is through the Board of Education. If we could elect a man who thinks the way we do, we would get somewhere."

"Who would it be?" someone asked. "And what could one man do?"

"I know a man. He's going to run for the Board. If we could get behind him, he'd have a chance. He has courage, but no money and no organization." He stopped for a moment and continued angrily, "And don't talk about what could one man do. He could do plenty. Look. Before we began to meet, there was nothing, nobody. Now we have a dozen persons interested. A thing like this grows. Look at what happened in Russia. First, there was nothing. Then a few people got together who had courage and they talked and they worked, and they threw people out of office just as we are trying to do. They built up discipline and organization. If they could do it, we can do it."

Leve's voice rose. "Look at what the French people did when they wanted a voice in government. You know

what the American colonists did when they wanted representation in the government. They got out and fought and got it. Now the school board runs the schools. What do they know about education and classroom discipline? In the meantime, the schools go down and fall apart. Will you work together to bring about better conditions in education in the city?"

Leve began to lay out a plan to follow, and he fitted the blocks into place.

THAT night I had insomnia again, but it wasn't the same. It had nothing to do with my classes in the portable. I thought of what Leve had said. A small determined nucleus grows into a force for good. The American colonists had done it. The French people had made their strength known. The Russian peasants had found freedom.

I didn't recognize it that night as I lay in bed, but my ready adoption of the examples and arguments Leve had used meant one thing — the views I had held in the past of Russia and the Communists were gradually being pushed from my mind. I had been given the first treatment in the process of brainwashing, and it had taken successfully.

* * *

The next day the telephone rang early. It was Leve, his voice crisp and businesslike.

"Come down to Dave's apartment right away. We're going to get started."

I recognized a new tone of authority, of command in his voice and it pleased me. It meant that this would not be a desultory movement of a group of wishful-thinking amateurs. It would be business and hard work from the start. In the apartment his words confirmed my first impression.

"Last night we decided to back a candidate for the Board of Education. Enthusiasm is fine, but it means nothing without work. We are going to get to work right now. Now, I'll give you the background on the candidate. His name is Randers. His father operated a large, prosperous business before he was forced out of business by a merger of large companies. Now Randers works like the rest of us for a week's pay. You'll meet him later."

He took a paper from his pocket. "You will be divided into groups of three." He nodded to me. "You will head your unit on research and special publicity among teacher groups." He

went on giving out assignments. Each unit had a typewritten breakdown of its duties, all laid out to the last detail.

The thought occurred to me that, since we had come to the decision only a dozen hours ago, Leve must have stayed up all night to prepare the unit work assignments.

Later, long later, I realized that Leve had had the program laid out weeks before. He had held them until he had done the preliminary work of organization.

My job was a specialized one. I spent my time on research to dig out facts that would have a personal appeal to teachers of different subjects. Then a personal letter would be prepared for that group, and individual letters would go out to the teachers incorporating the facts dug out. Just as an example, letters to science teachers would mention Archimedes' discovery of the principle of leverage. The story would bring out the point that a compact, unified force could move many times its weight.

Leve was emphatic about one point — he refused to push himself into public attention. Instead, he appointed committee heads who got all the publicity. His name was known only to us.

Although the pressure of my work was great, I did manage several times to get away to hear Randers speak. He was a mild-mannered, colorless person who hardly seemed strong or forceful enough to command attention as a vote-getter. He had a deep-rooted hatred for large corporations that took itself out in the storm of invective he directed against them. It became a problem to turn his remarks back to the subject that interested us — education.

Leve seemed to enjoy Randers' attacks on the corporations. He explained his amusement by saying that it would draw the attention of labor to him — that no one loved a corporation.

* * *

THE day of the election we organized carefully. Workers were placed at all the city's polling booths. The vote was a small one and that encouraged us, because only those who had a real interest would vote.

That night we waited late for the returns. There had been other contests, and the Board vote was last.

From the first it was apparent it was hopeless. Randers ran poorly in every ward in the city.

The workers left the apartment and only Leve and I were left. He was

tired and pale, but his spirits seemed strong.

"Well, that's that," I said.

"Yes, that's that," he said coldly "and I suppose you mean that now you've taken your little fling at something worthwhile you are going to quit. You're going back to your little job in that hell-hole of a trade school. Every day you'll go into the room and take a solid beating all day from kids who should never be in school, and you'll drag yourself out to get ready for another beating the next day."

"What did we gain in these . . ."

"What did we gain?" he mimicked. "We gained plenty. We showed that the little people still have the guts to band together and fight. So we took a beating. Do you think the whole history of the French Revolution is bound up in those who triumphed? No. The ones who made it possible were the ones who first banded together and were cut down by the king and the nobles. Remember! The colonists *didn't* win at Bunker Hill. They lost, but they were the forerunners. The Communist government rests on the glory of those who first fought for the common people. That's what we've gained — a place on the first step."

"You talk like a . . ." I started.

"Let me finish it. I talk like a Communist. Why, you don't even know what communism is. You think," he said sarcastically, "a Communist has a long beard and a curved sword. Well, listen to this. So communism believes that large corporations should not band together monopolizing industry and squeezing out the little businessman. So does the attorney general who works against unfair monopoly. Is he a Communist? The Communist believes in the rights of the working man. So did Al Smith. Was he a Communist? This clergyman who fought for social justice. Was he a Communist? It didn't take long for big business to smother him."

He stood before me looking down. "If having an interest in you as a teacher means I'm a Communist, then I am one. If I feel sorry that a small businessman is squeezed out of business by a concentration of wealth and power, then I'm a Communist."

"Sure. I'm a member of the Communist party, but you don't see any whiskers or bombs. I'm an American Communist, and I'm proud of it. There's one thing I want you to do — think of what I've said tonight."

When I got home that night, I

into the living room and I thought of what Leve had said.

There were a lot of things he had said and done in the past weeks that fell into place. He was a Communist. He had admitted it and explained why. The examples he had mentioned multiplied in my mind. Lincoln had compassion for the slaves and had fought to free them. Perhaps the plantation owners in the South had questioned his motives. Woodrow Wilson had tried to organize the League of Nations. They had called him names.

That night when I went to bed my fatigue had left me. I felt as though something new and fresh had washed my mind of my troubles.

* * *

It was a short time later that the incident occurred in the classroom.

The teachers were assigned to duty in the cafeteria for two-week periods, an irksome job they disliked. The cafeteria was crowded, hot, and noisy with the excited voices of several hundred pupils. There was no place for the teachers to sit, and they walked around to keep order while they tried to eat a sandwich.

The end of the lunch period was a tense time. The orders were to clear the cafeteria of pupils before we left. Yet the standing order always is that a teacher must be in his classroom to maintain order when the pupils enter the room.

This day, when the bell rang, I started to clear the stragglers from the cafeteria. They were slower than usual, and it took a full two minutes. Then I hurried to the lavatory in the teachers' room. By the time I had crossed the sixty yards to my portable the bell had rung for the start of the next period.

I was relieved to find the pupils quiet and orderly, sprawled back in their seats. When I took the attendance, I found one missing.

"Where's Gagnon? Anyone know?"

No one answered, and I started to make out a "cut" slip for the supervisor.

I didn't hear the knob turn, but the movement of the pupils' heads drew my attention to the door.

Gagnon stood at the threshold, holding to the door for support. His eyes were closed and his face was a mass of cuts, the blood streaming down his cheeks to his shirt. What was left of his glasses hung from one ear by the bow, but the lenses had been smashed. He swayed back and forth before he

slipped to the floor.

There was confusion in the room. I sent for the supervisor while I tried to help the boy. In a few minutes the supervisor was there, then the principal. The nurse came, and with her the doctor who had just come into the building.

WHEN the boy had been removed in an ambulance, the principal turned to me.

"What happened?" he asked.

"I don't know."

"Were you in the room?"

I shook my head. "No."

"Go up to my office and close the door. If any reporters come in, say nothing."

When he came into the office, he closed the door.

"Now," he said, "begin from the beginning. Everything."

I told him the story. Cafeteria duty. The delay at the end. The trip to the lavatory. The boy standing at the door.

He nodded. "There was blood on the ground behind the portable. They must have used brass knuckles on him."

He telephoned school headquarters, and while he waited for the superintendent he looked out the window.

"You supported Randers. They'll crucify you for this."

When he had finished talking to the superintendent, he walked to the closet for his hat.

"We're going downtown. Come on."

It doesn't take long for news of that sort to travel. There were several clerks idling in the corridors who glanced in curiosity at us as we passed.

THERE had been a meeting of the Board of Education that noon, and they were waiting for us in the superintendent's office.

I thought of the work I had put in trying to elect a new Board member, and I was not surprised at the hostility in their faces.

The superintendent nodded to me, and I told them the story as I had told the principal. When I had finished, there was a moment's silence.

One of the Board members leaned forward.

"Then it was while you were in the teachers' room smoking a cigarette that this boy was assaulted?"

"I lighted a cigarette. Yes. And I smoked it while I washed my hands."

"You were wasting time smoking

and washing your hands while you should have been in your classroom?" a Board member asked.

"You knew you were violating a city ordinance by smoking in a school building?" a third asked.

The questioning continued. I told my story again and again. The faces around me were angry and hostile. Only the superintendent remained aloof. I had a feeling he felt sorry for me. They were trying to get me to admit that I had been derelict in my duty. I wouldn't say the words they wanted.

Finally the chairman of the Board stood.

"I think we have enough facts. There will be a formal Board meeting tomorrow night to try this young man on neglect of duty."

WHEN I left the building, I wasn't surprised to find Leve waiting for me. He hardly spoke, but took me to an office in a building nearby.

"This is the lawyer, Mr. Greene, who will defend you."

Greene's first question surprised me.

"Have you ever mentioned or discussed communism in your classes?"

When I said I hadn't, he nodded.

"Good. There's no angle there they can work from. Now tell me just what you told the Board group."

The only point that seemed to interest him was the time allowed for filing between classes. A few questions, and Leve and I left.

"Don't worry," Leve said. "He's a good man. And by the way, Greene defends Communists when they get in a jam." He added sarcastically, "Perhaps you won't want him now?"

At the Board meeting the next night the charges were laid out. Neglect of duty. Idling in the teachers' room and not on duty. Smoking in a school building.

Greene stood when the reading was finished.

"There are four minutes between classes. For two of those minutes this man was in the cafeteria on duty. He left to go to the lavatory — surely any man has that right. Then he hurried to his class and was a little late. The distance between the main building and the portable classroom is sixty yards. Under the circumstances of assignment to cafeteria duty, until you can find a way to have a man in two places at once, you'll have classes without the teachers present. About smoking in a public building, may I point out that two of the Board mem-

bers are smoking now. It is not a classroom building, but it is under the jurisdiction of the school department. You gentlemen have no case. None. I suggest you throw these charges out."

It was as simple as that. The charges were dropped.

That night in his apartment Leve stated the case bluntly. I had been in trouble and no one had offered to help me. Only the group he belonged to. The Communist party. They were the only ones who were interested in the average person.

My views, he said, about the party and its members were wrong. They were progressive in their thinking about social conditions and education, interested enough in the problems of the worker to do something constructive.

We talked late into the night. At two o'clock when I left, I told Leve I would sign an application to join the party.

THAT night marked a turning point in my life. The Communist party begins immediately to dull the power of free will and choice in its members, and I underwent that process of turning from an individual to a number in a group. My time was no longer my own. It belonged to the party. The preliminary period of attending classes for indoctrination into the principles of Marxism took my evenings. In whatever spare time I had I concentrated on absorbing the background I needed by reading assigned books. I found my personal interests would involve a time requirement that I was no longer able to spare. I dropped them all.

My acceptance into the party coincided with the welcome news that I would be transferred to the classical high school in the city school system.

Leve was elated. The training I was getting in the party was directed entirely at classroom propaganda. In the trade school I would have been of little value, but in this school I had the cream of the city's brightest students who were preparing for college. These were the students the Communist party was most interested in.

The average person has no comprehension of the workings of the Communist party and the duties of its members. He may believe that all are engaged in a tremendous cloak-and-dagger operation, that there is present at all times a breathless excitement

stemming from participation in a conspiracy.

That may be true to some extent in certain phases, but for the average party member life falls into a dull routine of work and study.

Even more confused is the common conception of a classroom teacher who is a Communist.

Many persons believe such a teacher takes part in the aggressive promulgation of the principles of Communist doctrine in his classes, that he wages an active campaign to recruit members for the party. I think I had that idea at first.

Those two basic duties are there but any open, aggressive tactics are avoided. I learned that night after night at



the education meetings I attended. Here a group of us was taken in hand by expert instructors.

The first principles were dinned into our minds:

"Never mention communism in the classroom. Never praise communism or the Communists. Never criticize openly and adversely the American form of government."

A Communist teacher is one of the most valued members of the party. Nothing must be said or done to arouse suspicion that a teacher is a member.

The reason for such a teacher's value is obvious. A high school teacher meets about 180 pupils every day, perhaps more. He is in an excellent position to direct and guide the thinking of those pupils. Truly, one equals 180. And if there are ten such teachers in a community they have a controlling power over more than 1,800 pupils who go home every day to 1,800 homes. They can by slow, careful methods introduce a slanted opinion into those homes. And if persons are inclined to scoff at that statement, then they are guilty of a common American weakness of underestimating the cleverness and thoroughness of the Communist reasoning power.

I mentioned that a well-drilled

Communist teacher never violates the rules laid down. This is an example. A short time ago a teacher was called before a group investigating infiltration into the schools. In an indignant voice he declared that his honor had been impugned, that as a matter of principle and ideals he would invoke the protection of the Fifth Amendment on every question other than his name and address. He declared that he had never even mentioned communism in his classes and that he could prove it by the pupils he had had in school.

In the days following, the newspapers were filled with angry letters from pupils he had had in class through the years. All voiced the same thought — the teacher had never mentioned communism in any class.

What the investigating committee did not know was that they were questioning a teacher who had been thoroughly and expertly grounded in classroom methodology. He had been taught and drilled *never* to mention communism or to praise it.

The pupils were telling the truth. They had sat before him through a school year, had had their views on current events deftly twisted toward the party line and had never realized it.

Proof? A study of his home room and subject class rosters showed an extraordinarily high percentage of his former pupils had refused to register for military service.

THAT was the instruction we were given — how to sway a class into thinking along the proper lines without being obvious. Every step was laid out carefully. The aim was not to force upon them a blanket belief but to introduce a slanted thought in such a way that the pupil might think it had been his own. It was the touch of the rapier, not the blow of a broadsword. A teacher might spend a few minutes for several days in general conversation just to induce a pupil to make a statement.

At a meeting one night we were told to introduce a line of directed thought into our classes. The war with Japan was over, and it was imperative that American soldiers be returned to this country from the Pacific area. There had been considerable agitation among the general public that this be done, and we were ordered to work among the high school students so that they in turn would influence their parents.

I had, of course, a full knowledge of the background and history of each pupil in my classes. I knew about their families, what their fathers did, and if their brothers were in service. One morning in a current events class I spoke to a pupil, following a carefully laid out line. The propaganda emphasis is in italics.

"Have you heard from your brother in the army, Fred?"

"We had a letter a few days ago."

"Did he have any good news about coming home? *Or will the generals keep him there for a while?*"

"He says he'll probably be stuck there forever. He hates the country. Why do they have to stay? The war's over."

"Well, I don't know why. *But it's certainly a rough break to have him away when the war's over. Your mother's been sick. Probably worrying over him. If he could come home, she'd probably get better.*"

Another boy: "It's probably the generals keeping them there. They're the ones to blame."

"Oh, I don't know. Of course, *that's the business of a general — to fight a war.* In a way, they're like doctors who study surgery in college. If they have no patients after they go into practice, they can't practice operating. And teachers. We study how to teach, but if we didn't have classes it would be no use. *I suppose generals are the same way. If there's no war, they don't know if the lessons on tactics and strategy they studied are any good.*"

"I think generals are the ones who want wars."

ANOTHER boy: "Isn't there any way to get the general to send them home?"

"Now you're asking questions. That's my job. Is there anyone who can answer that question?"

Another pupil: "Sure. If you want anything, write to the President or Congress. That's what they keep telling us. So the thing to do is to write to your senator and tell him what we think."

"Well, we've talked enough. Let's get back to the lesson."

Now, in that "directed discussion" there was nothing that could be used against me as a teacher. I defended indirectly the necessity of leaving the army in the Pacific. At the same time I planted the seeds of distrust in the military by mentioning their educational training for war and the thought they might want war.

To have tried to check whether the pupils mentioned, at home, writing to their senators would have been a risk, but since the country was aroused to have the soldiers sent home, the chances are that some did mention it.

Eventually there was so much pressure that the troops were withdrawn, leaving only a token force. Had they not been withdrawn, the North Koreans would never have taken the offensive.

* * *

Another propaganda phase was called simply "Vocation." It was designed to capitalize on the duty of a classroom teacher to discuss the pupils' futures. The hidden aim was to build up agitation in the pupils' minds (and consequently at home) against any form of compulsory military training.

The seniors were given a home assignment to write a theme about their future. They were read the next day in class. The discussion that followed was important. Again the italics stress the party line of propaganda.

"I congratulate you on the papers you wrote about your future plans. Is there anyone who doesn't have any?"

"Anyone who doesn't hasn't heard of a draft board."

"That's one problem you have that we didn't. *When I was in high school, life was pretty placid. No worry. No uncertainty.* We went to college, got a degree and started our life work right away. *But you fellows have it really rough.* You finish college and go into the army. *In the two or three years you're away you probably forget a lot of what you studied. That means you're set back in getting set for a career.*"

"Isn't there anyone who wants peace? Does there always have to be war?"

"I guess *the average person all over the world wants peace — people like you and me.*"

This was a "risk" point where a further answer might bring a direct quotation outside the classroom, something to be avoided.

Those few lines seem innocent enough, and many, many persons in the country have said them, but the constant repetition built up a feeling of uncertainty and resentment in the pupils. And resentment against military training was the aim.

There's a further duty the classroom Communist has — to spot pupils who might in the future be turned toward the party.

Such a teacher notices a boy who, in classroom discussions, has shown a deep resentment against military service. The boy may show an aggressiveness in arguing the subject. It may be that he has a feeling (even though it might be envy) against the rich. All these points add up to a favorable prospect. But the teacher says nothing to the boy and makes no overtures.

He checks his home life, popularity with other pupils, his hobbies and particular subject skills. Then he turns in a report on the boy and forgets about it.

In time that boy is approached by a youth group and invited to a party. He is made to feel welcome and important. All the time he is being screened by experts on judging future party timber. If he measures up, a campaign is mapped out to work him in.

The popular conception that the Communist teacher takes an active part in the recruiting is wrong. The teacher is too valuable to risk being exposed.

* * *

There are two processes by which a Communist voluntarily relinquishes membership in the party. They are perhaps best described as the "slow" and the "quick."

In the first, the Communist is one day touched by a doubt on a point he has absorbed in his indoctrination in Marxist-Leninist principles. Invariably, he fights against that first doubt, and he tries to rationalize against it, using the arguments he has learned. If he fails to dislodge that doubt, others creep in and secure a hold until there gradually builds a wall of doubt in his mind. When the wall is strong enough, and it very often takes a long time, the first rebellion against the unyielding party discipline manifests itself. On the surface he still follows orders with no visible evidence of reluctance, but he finds it harder to do.

THE first open display of dissatisfaction is when he fails to attend a set meeting without the slightest attempt to justify his defection. Unless party discipline is able to reassert its power over him, he is on his way out.

Mine was the second, the "quick" process when an unexpected incident "shocks" a person to the point where the discipline that has held his mind is shattered, and he is able to review his past actions from the perspective of cold, empirical observation.

There still held over in the city's educational system a practice of observing "visiting day." Once a year each teacher was allowed a full day to visit another school and to observe the teaching methods of a teacher of his own subjects. Needless to say, all the teachers took advantage of the privilege, selecting if possible a school near his home.

I decided on a day and informed my immediate superior so that he could arrange to have other teachers cover my classes in their unassigned periods.

When it came time to select a school, I decided to visit Professor Robens, whom I had had at the university and who had spoken that night at Leve's apartment. I telephoned to ask his permission, and he told me he would be pleased to have me in the lecture hall.

Although it was party practice to keep the various cells and units separate and unknown to each other, I knew Professor Robens was a staunch party member and a highly skilled propagandist.

THE next morning when I entered the lecture hall, he shook hands and told me he would try to make the lecture interesting.

"Since this constitutes your 'visiting day,' I must try to make this worthwhile so that you can take something away with you." There was a significance in his words which I did not miss. "However, I doubt that much of what you hear you will be able to use in your high school classes. This will be a little advanced."

Roben's lecture had to do with the need for the members of the human race to come together and live in community groups. After he had mentioned the background of the early tribal units, he traced the continuance of such tendencies to the Middle Ages and the feudal system, discussing the close relationship between the lord and vassal.

He was a good lecturer, linking each important fact with a human interest story that would fasten it into the student's mind.

I listened with interest because I knew Robens would not be content with a routine lecture. He would show me how to attain a propaganda objective.

Robens passed over several topics I would have included and I knew he was cutting down factually to build up a time reserve for discussion. He

mentioned the covered wagon trains in this country which traveled to the West. "All living in close community relationship, bound together in discipline by a common interest, and under the authority of one man."

He mentioned also that idealists have tended toward a communist form of organization to avoid the deficiencies and weaknesses of private ownership. He cited as an example Plato, who advocated such ownership of property. In this country he mentioned the Shakers and the Harmonists. He described in detail the American communistic society at Brook Farm outside Boston, stressing such supporters as Horace Greeley, Hawthorne and Emerson.

I knew Robens had come to his climax, and I listened attentively.

"Thus, we see that the word 'com-



munist,' which has come to mean something evil to so many persons, actually enjoyed the active advocacy and support of respectable persons throughout the ages." He paused and then added carelessly, "Why, even the Catholic church has groups that live as communists today."

I knew this was the point toward which Robens had worked all through the lecture, and I was sure when he paused to pour a glass of water from a thermos bottle. His delay was intentional to let the point stay suspended until there would be a reaction from the students.

One of the students stood. I could see he was a freshman, perhaps 18 years of age. He was young, earnest and angry.

"Sir," he said, "I question that statement about the Catholic church. Will you give us an example?"

Professor Robens smiled. "Of course, but first let us clarify the point at issue. Will you give me your definition of communism?"

The boy thought a moment. "Communism is a movement where the members live under the discipline of one person or a group of leaders." He

spoke slowly, thinking his way carefully. "Communists do not practice or believe in private ownership of property. They plan to conquer the world by evil means — that definition seems to sum it up, sir."

"Then, young man, I cite my example to which you objected — the Jesuit order."

"No, sir. I disagree . . ."

I could see Robens was enjoying himself.

"Ah? Then, let us take the points in order." He ticked them off on his fingers. "First, there is one person in direct authority over all Jesuits. I think you will concede that. The members of the order take a vow of poverty. That is something we all know. Now . . ."

"But the third point," the boy said quickly, "about conquering the world by evil means. That is not true."

"If you study your history," Robens said drily, "I think you will find that the Jesuits were expelled by the English, the French, the Germans, and others. There must have been reasons."

An adult would have detected immediately the intellectual dishonesty in the perverted use of the word "evil," but the boy missed it.

As Robens went on, it would have been apparent to anyone that this was an unfair contest. It was a mature, trained mind against a young boy. It was a highly-skilled boxer against an awkward, inexperienced beginner.

The young student, as an individual, was not a personal target for Robens. He was only a means by which Robens could penetrate the minds of the other students with the propaganda of the Communist party.

I TURNED and looked at the students hurriedly writing in their notebooks the half-truths and distorted statements Robens was giving them. I found myself looking at them calmly and objectively.

These boys were being sent to college at great expense by their parents to get a broad, well-rounded education. And for their tuition they were being fed by Professor Robens a straight diet, no matter how skillfully prepared and concealed, of Communist party propaganda.

I thought of the number of times I had heard Professor Robens speak to large groups in public about the necessity of academic freedom in education. Yet, the professor himself was incapable of practicing academic

(Continued on Page 38)



Former Commissioner of Internal Revenue T. Coleman Andrews (left) and Governor of Utah J. Bracken Lee (right). Andrews believes the 43-year-old federal system of personal income taxes should be eliminated. Governor Lee has refused to pay his 1955 income tax, stating he considered it unconstitutional for the federal government to tax its citizens to support foreign nations.

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Opposition of persons high in public life has focused attention on the income tax question. In the tradition of Facts Forum, differing viewpoints are considered. Presented first in this article are the arguments of those who would give an affirmative answer to the question . . .

Will Income Taxes Destroy Capitalism?

THE year 1913 saw the beginning of the tiny lesion which has developed into the income tax malignancy of today. Since that time taxes have come a long way the wrong way — UP, that is, in order to satisfy the insatiable appetite of a tax-hungry government. Unbalanced budgets are rapidly unbalancing taxpayers.

But, to go back to the beginning of the present system, President William Howard Taft was of the opinion that income taxes would be useful in case of great national need — war, most likely, or some other such disaster. An amendment to the Constitution seemed the logical thing. The proposed amendment passed both houses of Congress and went to the states for ratification. It became part of the Constitution on February 25, 1913.¹

There are those who contend that

the Sixteenth Amendment is a prime example of Marxism, that it cannot be interpreted otherwise, for it exemplifies the growth of socialism and communism via taxation. Moreover, these people maintain that Marxists sing the praises of the income tax, as well they might, for they know that it can bring capitalism lower on its knees, already calloused as a result of governmental restrictions. Additionally, they say, the unwary do not seem to understand that communism need not be a philosophy or plan or menacing way of life — it can be a small leech on the healthy arm of the American system of free enterprise, sucking the life blood of America and rendering its economy unstable.

It seems, true enough, that the income tax might be something straight from the *Communist Manifesto*, which was published in 1848. Karl Marx stated that a democracy could be de-

stroyed by taxing, taxing, and taxing — the heavier the better.

The Sixteenth Amendment, in essence, denies the citizen the right to private property. The government has an actual "lien" on his earnings. Taxes can be raised at the discretion of the government. The government can, in fact, take all if it so desires. Guarantees against unlawful search and seizure were, for all practical purposes, "assassinated" by the amendment. It seems that the government is no longer thought of as "we, the people," but is regarded as a group of clerical bureaucrats and pompous politicians, who have learned the secret of setting forth each day with a freshly-laundered conscience.

Incomes of the people are no longer their own; their private affairs are no longer private. Therefore, it appears that a proposal to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment would be a proposal to

¹John T. Flynn, *The Hand in Your Pocket* (New York, 1956), p. 8.

restore the sovereignty of citizens. Formerly, the Constitution guaranteed such sovereignty — in the palmy days before the amendment imposed a Russian bear hug on taxpayers.

Most agree that evasion of a harsh income tax is rapidly replacing baseball as the great national sport. Dishonesty has been accepted as the norm. Many a harried taxpayer, motivated by any number of reasons which he considers to be justification enough, decides that he has been trapped on the wrong side of the decimal point. Such being the case, this taxpayer, ordinarily non-larcenous, adds and subtracts on his tax return form until the imbalance is balanced. Then he files his return and congratulates himself; usually, his neighbors applaud his ingenuity.

Such is the national state of mind. Truly, America's founding fathers would spin in their graves if they but knew how the federal government has the right to tax or confiscate incomes without limitation, the Bill of Rights notwithstanding.

Calvin Coolidge once remarked, "If the government takes 20 per cent of what a man makes on Monday, 30 per cent on Tuesday, 40 per cent on Wednesday and 50 per cent on Thursday, he won't show up for work the rest of the week."²

Taxpayers Grumble

The average taxpayer grumbles all year as he wrestles with his staggering load, but it is not until the April 15 tax deadline that there is real weeping, wailing and gnashing of bicuspid. At that time, bleeding from all his financial arteries, John Q. Taxpayer files his return and makes a snide remark apropos the "Infernal" Revenue Department. Then, feeling low in his mind, he pockets his limp wallet and girds himself for another year of oppression. If asked what he is going to do about his high taxes, he shrugs noncommittally. What, he asks, can he do? His voice alone is too small to be heard. If anything is to be done, let George do it. What he doesn't realize is that his voice, together with all the other Georges, is indeed strong enough to be heard. Moreover, he is fond of saying that potentates on the Potomac think too much in terms of "Me, the people!" Such being the case, it would seem to be a propitious time, as a constituent, for him to change the

pronoun.

Catch phrases such as, "It's later than you think!" and "Wake up, America!" may be overworked, but is there not merit in them? Doubtless America's enemies rejoice at such madness in the methods of governmental taxation, meanwhile applauding from the sidelines while the United States obligingly commits national suicide.

Another complaint heard frequently is that not only has the owning of property been all but eliminated by taxation, but future earnings, which many hope to store up for their children, will in turn be all but eliminated by high inheritance taxes.

Government Grabs Liberties

Gradually, little by little, the octopus of government seems to grab with its many tentacles, subsequently feeding on civil liberties. Many believe that the country has already passed the point of no return in so far as a democracy is concerned. Others think that it is not yet too late, but that it may well be in the not-too-distant future. At any rate the tocsin has been heard.

Criticized, a smiling, beneficent government points with pride to the present standard of living, which is the highest in the world. "Granted," say skeptics. "But what good is a high standard if the government has made it impossible to enjoy it?"

Richard E. Byrd, Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, before that assembly March 3, 1919, made the following statements:

This [Sixteenth] Amendment will do what even the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments did not do — it will extend the federal power so as to reach the citizens in the ordinary business of life. A hand from Washington will be stretched out and placed upon every man's business; the eye of a federal inspector will be in every man's counting house.

The law will of necessity have inquisitorial features; it will provide penalties. It will create a complicated machinery.

Under it businessmen will be hauled into courts distant from their homes.

Heavy fines imposed by distant and unfamiliar tribunals will constantly menace the taxpayer.

An army of federal inspectors, spies and detectives will descend upon the state. They will compel men of business to show their books and disclose the secrets of their affairs. They will dictate forms of book-keeping. They will require statements and affidavits. On one hand the inspector can blackmail the taxpayer, and on the other he can profit by selling his secrets to his competitor.³

One of the chief causes of the Revolution was taxation. The words, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," may seem somewhat hollow today, in view of the heavy tax load and all-powerful government. As a matter of fact, many think that taxation *with* representation is tyranny.

Chief Justice Marshall stated, "The power to tax is the power to destroy." It is heartbreaking to many to remember that freedoms won in 1776 were partially lost in 1913, with passage of the Sixteenth Amendment.

Is not the income tax contrary to the constitutional principle, that every man has a right to be treated equally with others and not be discriminated against because he happens to work harder or to be more clever than others? Should not each citizen have the right to earn as much wealth as he is capable of earning? This incentive was what made the country great. Truly, say opponents of the tax, the Sixteenth Amendment struck a death blow to free competition, tending to drive all to a common level. For, they demand, is there a difference between the man who wants 91 per cent income tax on the wealthy and Marx, who advocated confiscation of capital?

Those who are being taxed 91 per cent of their incomes can at least take heart — for, after all, is there not some consolation in knowing that the government can take only nine per cent more of their money?

President Eisenhower made the following statement in a budget message:

We must develop a system of government revenue which will not discourage work, saving, or investment. Our system must not only provide our government with the resources to be strong for freedom's sake, but also enable our people to apply their initiative and industry fruitfully in an economy that is itself free and strong.⁴

Income Tax Helps Promote Federal Power

Few will deny that income tax has helped promote the gradual increase in power of the federal government, with subsequent lessening of the state government's power. The state and local functions of government have been moved to Washington. It appears obvious, then, that the end result of repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment would be something of a secession of 48 states from Washington.⁵ But

²Hon. Samuel B. Pettingill, "Socialism Via Taxation," *The Fifth Union Trust Co. (Bulletin)*, November, 1955.

³Richard E. Byrd, "A Tax Prophecy That Has Come True," *The Greater Nebraskan*, November, 1955.

⁴*The Christian Science Monitor*, April 17, 1956.
⁵Frank Chodorov, *The Income Tax, Root of All Evil* (New York, 1954), p. 102.

would this not, in effect, lead to "restoration" of the Union as it was meant to be?

Little by little after 1913 the sovereignty of the states dwindled. The blow was softened in part by federal patronage. However, the "take" from such patronage for the states has dropped sharply in the last few years. The states pay far more into federal coffers than is ever returned to them.

It is human to want something for nothing. In a common search for security the people seem to take to their hearts the idea that "big brother" government, with its monumental largess, really has their best interests at heart. They do not stop to realize what they are giving up for such munificence, or that somebody is having to pay for it. Government isn't an inanimate thing — government consists of people and powers. Some claim that these people have their hands in the taxpayers' pockets all the way to their elbows — and this includes the "little" man's pockets as well. Moreover, they aver, in spite of what glib politicians say to the contrary, the little man is the one who pays the most income tax, because his number is legion.

The informed say that "welfarism" may well make proud Americans into a group of panhandlers, so intent on alms that they are not worried by loss of civil rights. And, often, there would be no complaint, even should they fully realize their loss — they would consider personal integrity a fair trade for federal charity. Such, claim the informed, is the breed of national weaklings which have sprung up, like parasitic weeds, in the flower garden of democracy.

Handouts Foster Corruption

Handouts from government are cater-cousins of communism. Such handouts foster corruption, oftentimes disguised as social welfare. The result is higher taxes. A limitation on the government's power to tax the people will, of necessity, curtail governmental expenditures, of "spending" the way to prosperity.

A chicken in every pot, every man a king, *ad nauseam*. How many, ask the thoughtful, are familiar with such phony "come-ons"? For, after all, who is to pay the fiddler while everybody dances? Moreover, patriots point critical fingers at the age-old rivalry between the "haves" and the "have nots." The "have nots" unwittingly sell their democratic souls for a mess of communistic pottage. Indeed, the following



President Eisenhower poses at his White House desk. He stated, "I do not believe the wise approach to the problem of reducing taxation is through an amendment to the federal Constitution. . . ."

lines may well become their creed: *I pledge allegiance to taxation and to the communism for which it stands; one treasury, divisible, with doles and handouts for all.*

Taxes range, percentage-wise, all the way from 20 per cent of \$2,000 to 91 per cent of \$200,000. The more money that a person makes, the larger percentage goes for taxes. Call it legalized confiscation, governmental pickpocketing or what have you, this tax by any other name is still anathema, say opponents. They claim that this follows the communistic ideology, of leveling down for equality, with, of course, subsequent loss of incentive.

Evidence proves that the movement to set a ceiling of 25 per cent on income tax is gaining momentum. Proponents say that this limitation, if enforced, would restore human rights and economic freedom. It would raise industrial output; it would increase capital formation; it would increase the scales of living for all classes of people.

Democrats in Congress favor, for the most part, the lower-income group in tax-cutting plans. Republican leaders favor tax relief for medium- and higher-income individuals. Democrats maintain that tax cuts for the lower-income group would raise mass purchasing power of the consumers. Re-

publicans maintain that tax cuts for medium- and higher-income groups would help money to circulate into investments which create more jobs.

The line of demarcation, then, between election-year tax cutters might be drawn here. The issue, if it comes, would be which group would get the most tax relief. And, politics being what they are, most likely tax relief would not favor the higher-income taxpayers.⁶

Utah's Governor J. Bracken Lee stated that he was not going to pay his income tax this year, adding he thought that it was unconstitutional for the federal government to tax its citizens in order to support foreign nations.

Lee, an outspoken foe of the income tax, said he would not pay until the United States Supreme Court ordered him to do so. He planned to make a test case of his refusal.

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey wrote Lee that the government would proceed in the usual manner to collect the income tax. Lee was of the opinion that the "usual manner" might possibly take until "after" November elections. Meanwhile, the Internal Revenue Service has filed a lien in the Salt Lake County recorder's office

⁶"19 Ways to Cut the Tax Load," *U. S. News & World Report*, Vol. XL (February 17, 1956), p. 26.

against property held by Lee and his wife.

When asked how he would finance government without income taxes, Lee suggested that Congress assess the various states for their share of the federal budget, which would be based on per capita income. The states could raise their shares through any tax methods they wished.

It seems obvious that the states would be forced to substitute a tax similar to the federal income tax; however, many believe that the states would be more tax conscious, and would pare taxes more carefully.

The advantages of this plan would be many, Lee averred. Naturally, it would be possible for the states to abuse the power to tax, but on the other hand the states would be bidding for residents, and competition would help in this respect. Also, it would be hard, if not impossible, to get the states to play Santa Claus to the world. And lobbying and logrolling would be more difficult.

"At home," say opponents of the tax

program, "we need new schools and highways. Yet abroad we participate in giant giveaways, which is often tantamount to supporting foreign political parties."⁷

Some citizens feel so strongly about this that they are all for driving the moneylenders from their Washington temples. It is a matter of record that the country's foreign policy has been labeled "globaloney." Additionally, it has been said that the world is too big an egg for the American eagle to hatch.⁸ To pursue the figure further, some say that Uncle Sucker and the rest of the world are unequally "yolked."

One might think seriously of moving abroad and becoming eligible for American foreign aid. In this way he might well be able to pay his creditors at home.⁹

Former Commissioner of Internal Revenue T. Coleman Andrews has

⁷Governor of Utah J. Bracken Lee, "An Executive's Responsibility in Government," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, March 1, 1956.

⁸Pettingill, *op. cit.*

⁹Patricia Bunker, "Debt and Taxes," *U.S.A.*, February 10, 1956.

stated that he believes the entire 43-year-old federal system of personal income taxes should be eliminated. He does not propose to abolish income taxes at once. Rather, he suggests that it be cut to the bone in order that the government not be so dependent on it. Then he suggests that alternative taxes be studied; and, finally, enactment of other taxes, thus abolishing the income tax.

The average citizen thinks that the tail has been wagging the dog. He thinks, too, that the government has long been "doctoring the books."

Thoughtful taxpayers are asking, "Is it not time the books were audited by taxpayers? Would not a nonpartisan group, doing research into the tax system, be of value—better yet, have such a group on a continuing basis? Research pays off for business, so why not for government?"

In fact, to the question "Is the income tax really necessary?" the unqualified answer of a great many Americans would undoubtedly be a resounding "NO!"

**Presented next are arguments of those who feel that the income tax
is the most equitable means of accumulating revenue**

THOUGHTFUL Americans recognize the income tax for what it is — a nuisance — but a very necessary nuisance to be sure, and they regard it as such.

Elimination of the income tax would force the federal government out of business, and this applies equally to an amendment limiting the tax to 25 or 35 per cent. Alternatives would be giant increases in excise, customs and sales levies to pay for the operation of government, with perhaps a land or single tax thrown in for good measure.

Since governmental revenue must come from some source, why not let it come from income taxes? Opponents of the income tax law are noticeably lacking in constructive ideas as to how the revenue might be raised. Their proposals are nebulous and indicative of wishful thinking. Somebody must pick up the federal tab if the income tax is discontinued. It costs

money to "keep up" a republic. Debts accumulate. A billion here, a billion there — it adds up.

If one wonders where his tax dollars go, he has only to look around him — national security expenditures, veterans' benefits, highway systems, aid to farmers, etc. If there were no income tax, the states would be forced to assume the burden of such obligations. And some states would not be able to meet and co-ordinate these obligations. In fact the programs in the poorer states would have to be reduced, and it is in those states where the programs are most needed.

No one denies that the need for tax reform is urgent. The antiquated revenue system is creaky at the joints. Also, there is no denying the fact that there is much waste in government. However, to discontinue income taxes because there are defects in the system would be analogous to a patient

with an ingrown toenail having amputation of the leg suggested as a remedy.

The complaint against the income tax voiced by many is that the tax, if levied at all, should be administered on a state level. Thus the issue becomes not income tax at all, but states' rights.

One of the favorite arguments against the income tax is that it is communistic and socialistic. Karl Marx is quoted at random. The truth of the matter is that almost any point can be made by employing misinformation, clever semantics and quotations "lifted" from context. In fact a misrepresentation, be it big enough and repeated often enough, persuades not only men but nations. Truly, this is in keeping with the tenets of communism . . . that is, if one insists on looking at the world through "red"-colored glasses.

Too few people, viewing astigmatically communism and its attendant evils, are scarcely aware of another, equally dangerous threat to the American way of life — fascism. This danger approaches from the right instead of the left. Both are equally bad. Each leads to dictatorship, and the result is the same.

This is not to say that the country should not remain alert to communism; it is merely to say that the people should weigh facts carefully, sifting the wheat from the chaff, and look to both right and left for enemies. There is no focal point; the American way of life is beset on all sides.

Americans want neither communism nor fascism; they want to keep the capitalistic form of government which they have today in operation as a republic.

It must be admitted that the hue and cry about income taxes being communistic are somewhat out of place. According to the complaints lodged, all taxes imposed by Congress have been in line with communistic tenets.

Again, there are those who simply do not like the income tax, labeling it as so much thievery. More, they imply that the group running the country are Communists, but without naming the group. Indeed, they would have one believe that the 91-per-cent-bracket taxpayers are in such a bad way financially that they are almost down to their last million.

Repeal Would Favor Wealthy

The movement to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment has been called a movement to favor the millionaires. Big Labor, recognizing the dangers inherent in the movement, has worked unceasingly to keep the amendment from being adopted by the legislatures. The AFL was responsible for overturning adoption of repeal resolutions in many states. In other states repeal crusades have been accomplished in only one of the houses of legislature.

Defeat of a repeal process is regarded as vitally important — to prevent the spread of sales taxes, manufacturers' taxes and other levies which would materialize to substitute for income taxes. The AFL holds that the "millionaires' amendment" is a softening-up process, which would lead directly to a national sales tax or its equivalent. And, as for a sales tax, this might well be a scheme to help the rich by burdening the poor. No one, after carefully weighing the pros and

cons of the matter could, with clear conscience, say that a sales tax would be a good thing for the nation.

Obviously enough, this is no time for one to shirk his rightful tax responsibility. The nation's and the free world's safety is at stake. The United States is in a position which it has never before experienced — there could easily be an atomic Pearl Harbor IN AMERICA. This could well mean the destruction of large cities, the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people.

President Eisenhower phrased his opposition to the constitutional amendment to abolish income taxes in the following words:

I do not believe the wise approach to the problem of reducing taxation is through an amendment to the Federal Constitution. An arbitrary ceiling on the power to tax, without a like ceiling on the power to spend, could likely result in larger and larger deficits. . . . And the rigidity of a constitutional amendment would be a source of danger in possible future national emergencies.¹

Taxes Go for Defense

Discounting the greed motivation of many, it is thought that the primary objective of most who favor the 25 or 35 per cent tax limitation is to pare the budget, to reduce governmental spending. The greatest percentage of money received from income taxes goes for national defense. Surely proponents of such limitations do not wish to make the country defenseless? Or has dollar-mark mesmerism closed their eyes to this danger?

Say, for example, that the 25 per cent income tax limitation became effective — how then would necessary revenue be raised? One thing certain, there would be an IMMEDIATE tax of 25 per cent, and not on the net income, but on the GROSS. So those who have been paying less than 25 per cent could expect their income tax to be raised to the maximum. Moreover, deductions and exemptions would be reduced to an infinitesimal point. There might well be a permanent loss of financial equilibrium. And if the average taxpayer thought he was dizzy before, the new kind of vertigo would soon have him walking in circles.

Another thing to consider — if the federal government were no longer able to finance the expenditures of government through the usual manner of taxation, it would be forced to resort to borrowing. The loan could

never be repaid, of course. Would this not be a certain recipe for inflation? Certainly all the ingredients for inflation would be there.

The beneficiaries of a limited system of taxation could not help but be the wealthy, while the poor would suffer. There are those who maintain that the motive for the proposed amendment to the Constitution is to unload the tax burden from the rich to the poor. Certainly this is an argument well taken, for many would be protected from paying a fair share of the tax load, enjoying a veritable tax-free heaven.²

Through the years the poor in the United States have gradually become better off, with little if any hardship to the rich, in spite of the claims of some to the contrary.

Those favoring tax limitation maintain that the limitation is needful in order to boost enterprise, so that there will be more jobs and so that the growth of economy will be stimulated. As a matter of fact, the country's economy is attaining stability and balance. Capital formation is at an all-time high. And production capacity has increased enormously. There are vast amounts of capital in banks and insurance companies. No other country in the world begins to approach the United States in this respect.³

The movement to limit the income tax to 25 per cent is hardly that at all. More correctly, it is a movement designed to eliminate the income tax altogether — and without proposing new tax laws to take its place. Moreover, no one has offered a workable solution for the problem. It would seem that those who oppose the present income tax system would at least offer a positive and sensible solution.

America Threatened

All thinking people realize the need for taxes to maintain the government and protect the country, to prepare America for the threatened Armageddon of democracy and communism. And what better or fairer tax is there than the income tax? It is based on ability to pay, both for corporations and individuals. And, facetiously, no other tax can make that statement.

One cannot help wondering whether opponents of income tax have really taken time to consider carefully the

¹Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, "The Question of Curbing the Federal Power to Tax and Spend," *Congressional Digest*, Vol. 32 (January, 1953), p. 11.

²E. N. Griswold, "Can We Limit Taxes to 25%?" *Atlantic Monthly* (August, 1952).

³183 *Congressional Record* 5604 (1954).

inevitable disaster which would follow the repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment. Since revenue must come from some source, the alternatives are few. As stated previously, an excise tax would be one possible source, with a national sales tax a must. It requires no soothsayer to predict the result. And if the poor were poor before, a national sales tax would certainly necessitate their taking up notches in an already slack belt.

The proposed constitutional amendment to limit federal income taxes to 25 or 35 per cent is gaining momentum. A petition before Congress would force it to submit a tax-limiting amendment. South Carolina was the last state to approve this petition. A total of 31 states have approved it. If one more state approves, Congress will have to call a national convention to prepare the amendment for submission to the states. Then, if 36 states ratify it, the amendment will become a part of the Constitution.

The kindest thing to be said about the proponents of such a bill is that they undoubtedly know not that which they attempt to do. If they should succeed, there would be, literally, a government of the rich, by the rich and for the rich.

Federal Credit at Stake

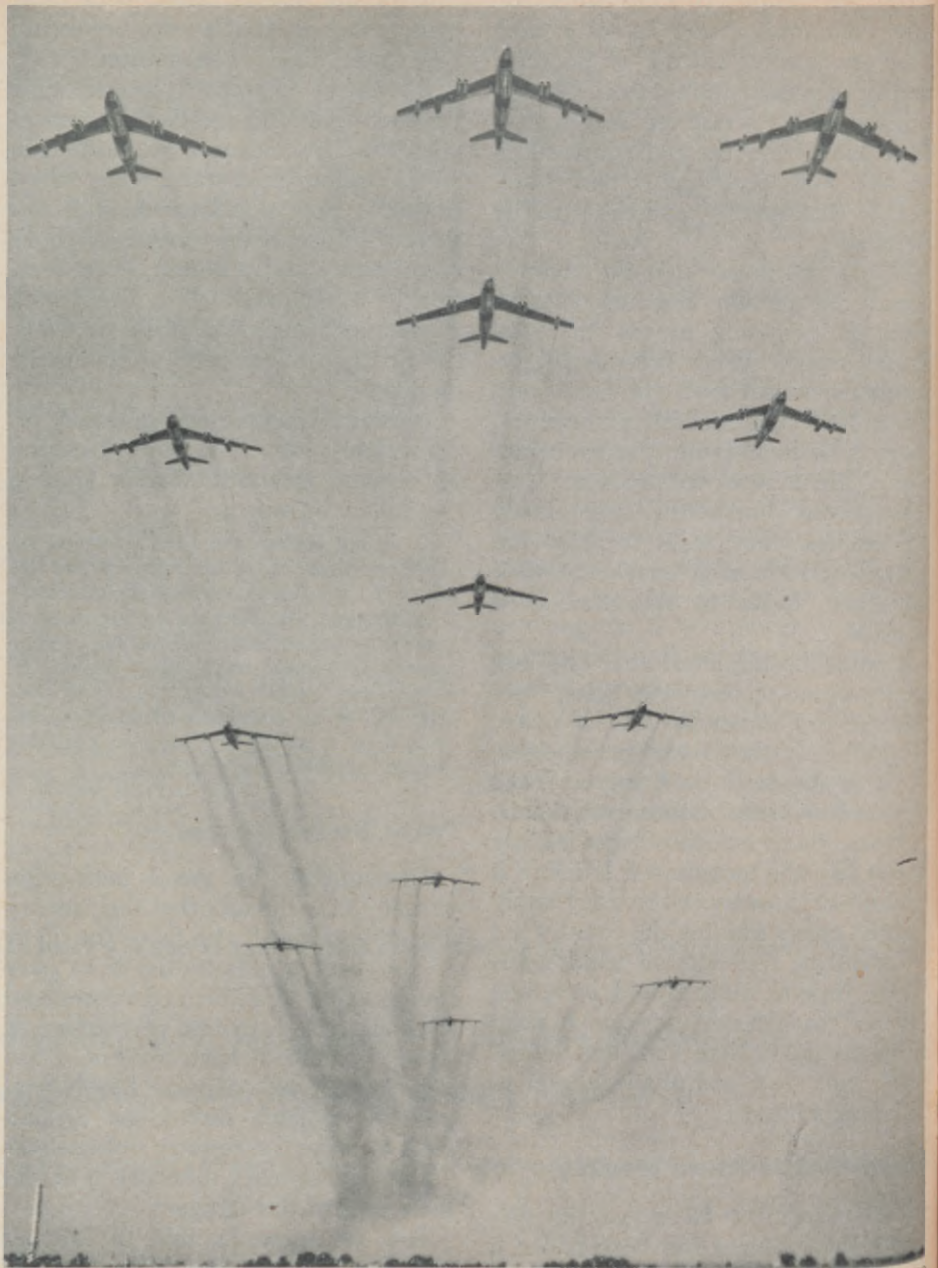
Limiting federal taxation would also damage federal credit. And, if the public lost faith in federal securities, both state and local securities would suffer. This, like a rolling snowball, would grow and pass the shock on to banks and credit institutions. And let it not be forgotten that the federal government supported local and state governments during the bleak depression years. Moreover, the confidence in state and local securities which investors now enjoy is due primarily to the fact that investors know federal credit is always in reserve.

So long as the government functions, it is necessary to tax the people to pay for cash outlays. Solvency and the well-being of economy demand it. It should be fairly obvious, then, that the tax-cut craze is short-sighted and would be deficit-making.

The tax burden should be shared proportionately by all able to pay. Not only is that the fair thing, but also there will be more interest in keeping government good if all citizens have a financial stake in it.⁴

A particular virtue of income tax is that it is straightforward. A man must

⁴Memphis Press-Scimitar, March 20, 1954.



A formation of Boeing B-47 Stratojet medium bombers displays sleek lines. Such expensive weapons of peace require taxes for purchase and upkeep, to prepare the U. S. for a threatened Armageddon of the free world against communism.

pay it himself; his customers and his employees cannot be made to pay it for him. There are loopholes, to be sure; however, there is considerable satisfaction in knowing that those who crawl through such loopholes cannot pass the tax on to others.

The present income tax is graduated in proportion to ability to pay. The system is based on taxing a man according to how little a dollar is worth to him.

This may seem at variance with the Horatio Alger tradition, which is for a man to advance as far as he is able through the use of his own intelligence and initiative. For, if high-bracket incomes are taxed heavily, will this not discourage the making of more money, with the Treasury getting less from

high rates than from moderate rates? This is known as the law of diminishing return. And it has been said that there is a need for tax brackets far above the point of diminishing returns.

The Horatio Alger tradition is no longer a part of the American culture, however, and *not* because of a socialistic or communistic trend, as some opponents would have one believe. As a matter of fact, the new-type Horatio Alger of today, with their amassed fortunes, would buy control of American business if they could. Independent businesses would fold, forced out by chains and syndicates.

Taxation is both the badge of freedom and its bulwark. Free men tax themselves in order that they may stay

free. The power to tax is not the power to destroy; rather, it is the power to save, to fulfill a higher destiny.⁵ Taxes are the country's first line of defense.

Corporations and big business could well become a danger to other, smaller businesses, or even to the American way of life; high taxes, therefore, keep large corporations in the "straight and narrow." It must be remembered that big business is not a person, a life and blood thing; big business is not an individual, subject to the usual rights and wrongs. It is like a locomotive, which has to be kept on the track if it is to perform a public service. In fact the Constitution could be amended to set forth that the Bill of Rights is not concerned with big business, but with flesh and blood.⁶

Corporations Have Power

Small businesses have little power, and can do little of themselves to destroy freedom. Large corporations have great power, and may override the government. This is the reason for the graduated corporation income tax. Taxes on large incomes are not so much for revenue as for restraining purposes — to control the floodwaters of money, and to channel such floodwaters into harmless streams.

If small incomes are taxed too heavily, spending declines. If large incomes are taxed too heavily, savings dry up and new investment declines — this for the simple reason that much of the larger incomes are saved, as a rule. It is a "ticklish" matter to strike a proper balance, one which will encourage both spending and investment.

Income taxes should be fair, of course. When one person is benefited, another should not be burdened. For this reason all loopholes should be closed if possible. And administration of the present laws needs to be strengthened.⁷

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said, wisely, that taxes are a privilege, not a burden.⁸

Discrepancies in Program

Perhaps there are many discrepancies in the tax program, but the entire program is not an extravagance. The Supreme Court of the United States has said that perfect uniformity and

perfect equality of taxation, in all the aspects in which the human mind can view it, is a baseless dream.

In this manner the Court expressed a kind of warning against thinking that the country will ever have anything remotely resembling the ideal with regard to taxation. It is self-evident that no institution built and maintained by humans can ever attain perfection.

Income taxes cannot help contributing to stability of the nation's economy. When business is good, the nation's tax system is a safety valve for inflationary pressures; it absorbs a high percentage of personal income. When business is not so good, the tax system takes a small percentage of personal income. The results can be altered by

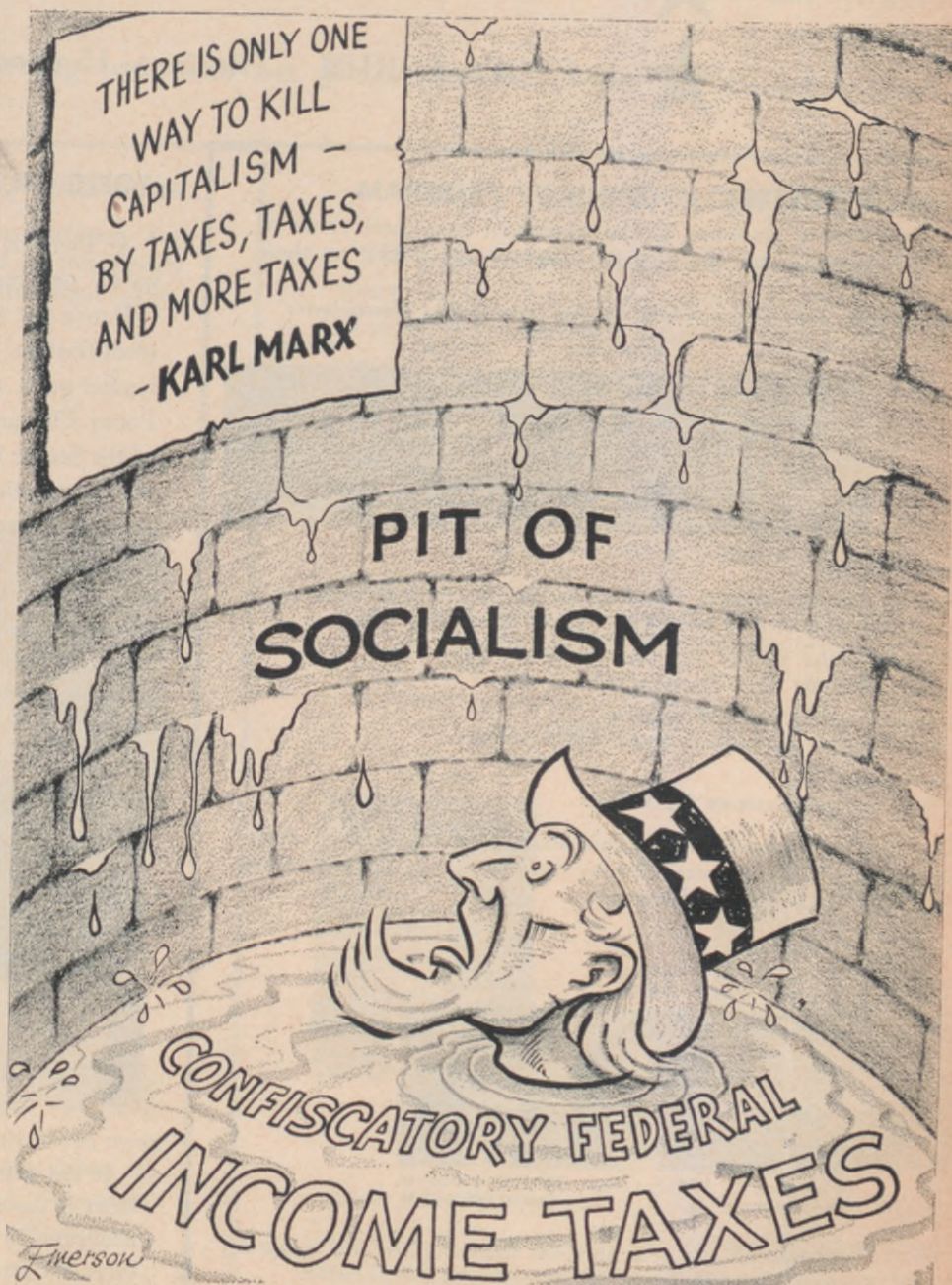
stop-gap aid if necessary, changing all of the exemptions and rates.

Let the people remember that they could not even pay the interest on the national debt without an income tax. An income tax is necessary if the country is to temper inflationary booms and cushion depressions. Today the American economy is the marvel of the modern world. Abandoning the present taxing system would create chaos and bring upon the nation conditions worse than those experienced during the great depression.⁹

More than the Sixteenth Amendment is at stake — the financial stability of the nation hangs in the balance.

⁹"Income Tax Amendment," *Facts Forum News*, Vol. 4 (March, 1955), p. 64.

END



SOMEBODY THROW HIM A ROPE!

⁵Randolph E. Paul, *Taxation for Prosperity* (New York, 1947), p. 418.

⁶D. C. Coyle, *Why Pay Taxes?* (Washington, D. C., 1937), p. 77.

⁷Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

⁸Coyle, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

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A Background for PEACE and WAR

"In peace, as a wise man, he should make suitable preparation for war." — HORACE, 65-8 B.C.

By RUSSEL B. REYNOLDS

Major General, United States Army

Although our nation is at nominal peace with the world, it is in a position fraught with anxiety and uncertainty. The hope that war is a cold, extinct volcano is tempered by the fear that hot lava may momentarily erupt. A parallel situation existed about the time when the youth now ready to cast his first vote was a new arrival on the American scene.

In 1936 the author of this article, who was then a Major in the U. S. Army and military instructor at Ripon College in Wisconsin, prepared and delivered it as an address at a public forum sponsored by the college.

Two decades and two major wars have intervened, yet in this carefully-weighted thesis there is a relevance to current problems that is startling. General Reynolds himself says of it, "In my own evaluation of the mountains of subjects I have developed . . . I accord this essay as my best product."

By special permission *Facts Forum News* reprints, in slightly abridged form, the article as it appeared in *The Officer's Guide* (third through eighth editions), published by the Military Service Publishing Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and now in its twenty-second edition.



ALL nations of the world unite in declaring their love of peace, their hatred of war. Man continues to seek some formula by which war may be eliminated as an instrument of settling disputes. Despite his oft-affirmed good intentions, and the undoubted sincerity of his ideals, the nations which mankind has created resort to war with undiminishing frequency. Threats of war are recurrent. One by one, when put to the test, agreements set up to avert the causes

of foreseeable conflicts are ignored or openly denounced. Despite protestations of their will to peace, some nations of the world make war upon their weaker neighbors for reasons which, to them, seem sufficient.

The peoples of all nations avow their desire to find a way to cause the lion and the lamb, in harmony, to lie down together. They grope for un-found solutions to their difficult problems. Acclaiming war as the greatest scourge of mankind, they embrace it

under predictable conditions. As covetous eyes gaze over and beyond their own national boundaries they visualize that better day if only this — or that — were in their possession.

Saint Augustine defined peace as "the tranquillity of order." A common definition states it to be "freedom from war or disturbance." It is possible that wars recur because of some inner urge of man to strive to improve his lot and, while preferring peaceful means, to take any method which promises attainment of his aims. It is a strange occurrence. It defies logic. Its explanation may be found only in an understanding of the reactions of man to basic aspirations.

PEOPLES continue to hope that international agreements, councils, or treaties may solve disputes which otherwise might lead to war. They note with wonder and sorrow the regularity with which these important agreements are openly denounced or quietly voided. They see solemn agreements cast aside and the small or weak nations of the world dismembered or subjected to restrictions not of their own choosing. Still, the chief hope for a long period of peace, in this or any future age, seems surely to lie in the method of discussion of problems and agreement as to solution. It may be the one true hope.

We may even hazard some conclusions why many agreements have not functioned as hoped or intended: *Treaties are ignored or voided which serve to bind people permanently to conditions which they find abhorrent, the result of which they could not have foreseen when they affixed their signatures; neither the acts of others of a dead past, nor the agreements of discredited leaders will ever bind a people free to choose when disaster is the alternative. Further, no agreement imposed by force can be perpetually effective — unless the relative strength of the adversaries remains unchanged through the succeeding years. The conclusion can be safely defended that no international agreement will remain in effect, except by force or the threat to use force, unless the terms of the agreement remain mutually beneficial to its signatories.*

All mankind loves the intangible which he calls freedom. He abhors the imposition by others of conditions intolerable to his national or individual ideals, his habits or his standards. The great nations and peoples of the world, almost without exception, have first

fought to secure and then to maintain their freedom. The subject-peoples to large extent have recoiled from fighting or in so doing have gone down to defeat. The cause of freedom has always been considered as a justification of resort to war.

Men and nations are covetous. When their lack of those things which they deem necessary for their very existence can be obtained by seizing the territories or resources of others, an aggressive leadership may cause the step to be taken. Man will accept the sacrifices of today if there is hope held out to him that tomorrow will provide the Utopia of his dreams. That all too often the goal proves worthless when attained, or unattainable after his sacrifice, does not weaken the appeal of the initial argument.

Nations will fight to maintain rights which may be idealistic; but ideals are as profound a heritage as the materialistic resources which furnish bread and meat. All these are reasons why men fight or stand ready to fight. War cannot be abolished until solutions are found to satisfy these human needs and desires.

FUTURE wars are not inevitable. It is quite possible that nations will find solutions for difficult problems, thus reducing the number of wars, or deferring them, or eventually eliminating them entirely. That is the goal and the ideal. While not held to be inevitable, wars are liable to recur. The reason for this conclusion may be found in the statement: *As long as racial strifes and jealousies exist, as long as people of one nation are denied good things which are freely enjoyed by others, the forward surge of that which we choose to call civilization will carry with it the seeds of discontent and envy, and of hatreds.* These are the seeds which germinate war. These are the problems which must first be solved.

There are the facts which confound the modern world. In part, they may be abhorred, but disapproval does not dispose of them. Nations as well as men have interests and ideals for which they will fight rather than surrender. The causes of wars are deep-seated and their origins hard to recognize. Like cancerous growths, early discovery may lead to a simple cure; unobserved, they grow, become malignant, and then incurable. The roots of the [first] World War trace directly to 1870, but the jealousies, hatreds, and suspicions which may have been

its unseen but actual cause were old before Napoleon, before Frederick, before the nations which now carry the torch of strife were fully constituted.

The roots of our own Civil War trace back to the first embittered argument over the respective rights of the several states and the federal government, even to the arrival of the first unfortunate slave. From little misunderstandings disastrous catastrophes are born. Man may well wish that "foresight could be as discerning as hindsight," that "wisdom could be made hereditary," that "youth could know what age might tell."

Thoughtful citizens who analyze the past will see no special anomaly in the events which have rent the world during the twenty years and more since the close of the [first] World War. We may have blinded ourselves with trifles of day-to-day events, thus failing to see that steps adopted hopefully by modern peoples have never led elsewhere than to the shadows of war. A hundred and fifty years ago our ancestors experienced great social conflicts, aggression, war, defeat and victory. Indeed, they may have understood from observation and contact the phenomena which we have allowed ourselves to forget.

Is it possible that the great social changes brought about by the Magna Charta, or by the French Revolution, are closely akin to the stupendous events of modern Europe? The future holds the answer. Waterloo and the Marne are separated only by one short century. The world does not change so fast. Dishonesty, thievery, trickery are not developments of the modern age, nor have we found ways of preventing them. We of this century are not the first to proclaim ideals. There is a relation between the events of the past and the tremendous problems of today and tomorrow.

IN light of these conceptions it is possible to analyze the United States and our own people including what we have, the things we want, the way we think, and how we may ourselves react to conditions which confront us. None should dispute the statement that we have a profound love of peace, order, liberty and for the chance to pursue individual happiness. Rich in resources, well provided with far-reaching portions of the arable surface of the world, in this particular period of our national existence we are not covetous of the possessions of others.

If the division of nations into the "Haves" and "Have Nots" is accepted, we are certainly in the former classification.

While admitting the necessity for international cooperation, we reserve the right to remain aloof from the disputes of nations beyond the seas. Military alliances have always been shunned, and are regarded with no less disdain today than in earlier days of the Republic. We elect to stand alone and unencumbered. We do not seek to avoid the responsibilities of a great nation in its relations with others, but insist on settling each question as it arises and on its merits rather than on general agreements.

We are violently partisan as a people, but insist with equal vigor that the national government remain neutral. We do not say, "It is your fight and we will have none of it, in any way, on either side." Instead, we say to the one of whom we collectively disapprove, "It is your fight and we will have none of it. But during the process of imposing your will on your adversary we express the sincere hope that you will get thoroughly licked in the process." It is both an eccentricity and a source of potential danger.

THIS nation provides liberties for the preservation of which it is a certainty that our people will undergo any sacrifice. It is a universal conviction of our people that these liberties are worth preserving and protecting and that no cost is too great, even the cost of war. Primarily, our government provides the means by which the people may secure for themselves, if they choose to do so, the conditions of life and living which they want, provided only the same things are wanted by a preponderant and abiding sentiment.

The power to change our form of government, our rights and privileges, the conditions under which we live and work, all lie in our own hands by use of the power to amend the Constitution. In the past we have availed ourselves of this privilege as we shall do again and again in the future. But when we make these changes, if they are made at all, it will be by the will of the people and not the imposed conditions of powerful leaders.

Our form of government insures the preservation of individual liberties. Under our Constitution we are guaranteed fair trials, in just tribunals, of the "due process" clause in the protection of life, liberty, and property. We have the right of free assembly, a free

press, the right to choose our individual forms of worship, and the privilege of freedom of speech. These liberties are far from universal in the world of today. Other peoples and other nations have forsaken them for reasons acceptable to them if unacceptable to ourselves. It was their problem and theirs the choice. Our guarantees stand between the people and the application of arbitrary power. Well and thoroughly do our people recognize and cherish these rights. For the retention of these privileges it is a safe assertion that our people would fight.

IT stands clear that the citizens of this nation have material resources and individual liberties which, in the opinion of all the people, are worth preserving and protecting. These conclusions are basic. But our rights and privileges extend beyond the continental limits of the nation. We cherish the freedom of the seas and the right to pass freely over the oceans of the earth in the pursuit of our commerce.

We stand as guardian against external aggression over the nations of both Americas, and the Monroe Doctrine has been affirmed time and again. For all of these things the probability exists that our people would insist upon a firm and direct action which, if not satisfied, might lead to war.

Many people believe that our greatest hazard is that of remaining neutral during a general war entangling especially those nations most harmonious to ourselves. For this enigma solutions may need to be found. Many are proposed, some contradictory to others and each stoutly defended by its proponents. The answer to this problem has not been found. There may be no answer. In a world more beset with troubles than usual, the problem of remaining neutral may well become the most serious threat to our continued peace.

It should be accepted without dissent from any citizen that our heritage of material resources and our individual liberties are worth protecting, if the need arise, and that they are worth any cost their preservation may require. Our citizens must also realize that in the congress of nations we have responsibilities as well as rights; we must stand ready to protect both Americas within the framework of the Monroe Doctrine, and we may not be able to remain neutral in a general conflict. For the United States, war is not inevitable. We shall take every

action consistent with honor to ward off the chance of war. But the fact that war may recur is inescapable. We must be ready for it.

We know that weak nations invite their own destruction. During the centuries the map of the world changes in kaleidoscopic fashion as nations expand, contract and disappear. Wars and threats of wars make most of these changes. It may well be true, as some contend, that no nation ever won a war. But there are plenty of ex-nations which are mute evidence that wars can be lost. If we maintain existing policies, weakness shall not again carry us into a war which strength might have warded away. We can and will eliminate the chance of aggression from others. We intend to remain strong.

Our own strength ashore and afloat poses no threat to other nations. Neither our national policy nor the will of our people would tolerate such action. But this self-protective use of power is not universal. *Armament is power. It may be the greatest power in the hands of men. It requires no great philosopher to realize that power of any kind may be abused. When a nation is committed to a policy of imperialism, determined at any cost to secure more territory, or impose its will on other peoples, the possession of great military power may make such nations a genuine threat to the peace and tranquillity of the world. When strong nations are "on the make" the self-satisfied had best beware. Such conditions are rampant today. The policies of great nations, combined with their possession of great military power, are constant threats to peace. They force other nations to meet a condition for which there is no other recourse.*

THE conclusion is that the possession of military strength is a threat to war, or a promise of peace, depending entirely upon the policy of the nation possessing it. For the United States, as long as we follow our policy of non-imperialism, our strength is a guarantee of the peace we mean to maintain and insurance against the wars which weakness might force upon us. It is our first of two important reasons for maintaining our armed forces.

Notwithstanding our will to peace, we may become embroiled in war and forfeit our peace. The reasons have been presented. Wars can be lost. We cannot afford to lose a war, for we

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It Could Happen Again!



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Woodrow Wilson was still heavily dependent on his wife when the above picture was taken in 1922, shortly after his office expired, and more than three years after he had collapsed while on a western speaking tour.

By WALTER TAYLOR

ON SEPTEMBER 26 the news came — the President was taken ill in Colorado. The year was 1919, and the President, an avid golf fan, was Woodrow Wilson, but the circumstances of his attack closely parallel those under which Dwight Eisenhower was stricken on September 24, 1955. We can be thankful that the subsequent events were not repeated also.

It was 36 years before, almost to the day, that Woodrow Wilson collapsed near Pueblo, Colorado, and was unable to continue his 8,000-mile western tour during which he had spoken for over an hour on more than 30 occasions, speaking on behalf of the Versailles Treaty with its League of Nations.

There followed one of the most unusual periods in American government. For almost a year and a half the United States was virtually without a President. And it could happen again, because nothing was done to close the loophole which allowed it to occur the first time.

On the evening of September 25, 1919, in the crowded new auditorium at Pueblo, Colorado, though he still had another year in office, Wilson delivered the last address of his public career to a cheering, emotion-stirred audience. As the presidential train roared through the night toward Wichita, Kansas, the President was

feverish and unable to sleep. The train was stopped to permit him and his wife to take a walk in the fresh air. It was only with the aid of a narcotic to ease his painful headache that he finally found rest.

The next morning he was unable to rise. Though he protested vehemently at first, the necessity for cancelling the five remaining speeches quickly became apparent, and within 48 hours the train, curtains drawn, had raced halfway back across the continent to Washington and the seclusion of the White House.

During the next week the President improved, and medical reports were encouraging. Then on the morning of October 2, Wilson complained of a numbness in his left hand when he got up. While Mrs. Wilson was telephoning for Dr. Grayson, his personal physician, the President fell unconscious on the bathroom floor. After the doctor arrived and made his examination, he stepped into the hall, out of earshot of the patient and exclaimed, "My God, the President is paralyzed!"

The complications of indigestion and a prostatic infection made life even more uncomfortable and precarious. In the first of many important decisions which she was to make during her husband's remaining months in office, Mrs. Wilson decided that the doctors should not operate to relieve the urethra obstruction which threat-

ened him with death from uremic poisoning. Almost miraculously the condition cleared up in three hours, and the crisis had passed.

It is feared by historians that all of Mrs. Wilson's decisions concerning her husband were not so wise. It was her task from then on to decide what and whom the President should see. Nothing must excite or annoy him in his delicate condition. She took it upon herself, with Dr. Grayson's aid, to go over all incoming letters and select those which needed personal attention. Some she answered herself; some she sent back unopened. Official papers she read and digested so as to be able to present them orally to the patient, his reactions being noted on scraps of paper. To add to her difficulty, she could only approach him with business on his "good days."

Unfortunately the presidential assistants had not been trained to function on their own. Twenty-eight bills became laws without the President's signature. The Cabinet rarely met. Ambassadors waited in vain to make their necessary first visits. Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall was little more than a message carrier between the White House and the Capitol.

Senators tried to reach Wilson to persuade him to compromise with the opponents of the Treaty on certain of its articles, but only a few ever

reached him. Those few found him alert but unyielding. Interestingly, the Senate Democratic leader, 72-year-old T. S. Martin of Virginia, was also ill at the time, so the party was without a strong leader.

Some people said the President was insane. His handwriting was so altered by the illness that some even doubted the signature on the bills he did sign. It was shouted that the country was being run by a "Woman President."

In effect Mrs. Wilson did run the country, if anyone did, during those last 17 months of Wilson's second term, for through unavoidable personal bias in presenting matters and through her decisions regarding mail and visitors, she could not but in a large measure direct the nation. Had the President been more completely incapacitated, he might have resigned; had he been less severely afflicted he would have been able to give more attention to pressing matters. As it was, the shut and locked gates around the White House secluded a man who was little more than President in name only.

Why did Wilson not resign? Mrs. Wilson says that she was advised not to let him resign. It was feared that having to resign would take away his will to live. It is probable that he was not informed of the real seriousness of his illness. Wilson greatly feared being called a "quitter" by his opponents, both Republican and Democratic.

It seems clear that Wilson was unable "to discharge the powers and duties of the said office," under the terms of the Constitution, which calls for the Vice-President to take over when the President is disabled. But the decision was left to Mrs. Wilson, and she was afraid that the resulting despondency might kill this man who, as she put it, was "first my beloved husband . . . after that he was President of the United States."

Nothing was done to prevent a recurrence of this situation, even though it is well known that the presidency is a killing job. Several resolutions were introduced in Congress, some going so far as to recommend amending the Constitution against another such difficulty. It was proposed, for instance, that a jury of congressmen be set up to pass on the fitness of the President, but the people were indifferent. They wondered, jokingly, who would judge Congress' fitness.

The problem of who is to decide when the President is unable to carry out his responsibilities is still with us.

Perhaps, with the advice of doctors, a jury made up of senators, congressmen, and justices, elected by their fellows, could decide the question when it arises. A jury of medical men alone might decide. Certainly some implementing legislation is needed before we forget again. END

A Communist in the Classroom

(Continued from page 24)

freedom of thought and speech. He was a member of the Communist party. He was bound to think and to say only what others had ordained he could think and speak.

And then the shock came to me, for a feeling of contempt had crept into my mind for a person who could at the same time think one thing and say another.

What Professor Robens was doing in this college class, I was doing in my high school classes. There was only one difference. These students could defend themselves somewhat. Mine were defenseless.

* * *

I got up suddenly and moved toward the door. As I passed Robens, I saw that he was looking at me coldly. Leaving in the manner I did while he was talking was almost a breach of discipline.

When I reached home, I went to my room to think of what I had done. I stayed there the rest of the day. Breaking out of a mental strait jacket that has bound a person for years is not easy.

That evening, still in my room, I glanced at the clock. It was 7:30. There was an education meeting I had to attend at eight o'clock. I must be there.

As I crossed the room and opened the door, a thought came to me. Why? Why *must* I be there?

I came back slowly to the chair and I sat looking down at the street. I felt strange and uneasy. Something was pulling at me to leave that room and go down the stairs, but I was resisting that pull.

* * *

I didn't realize it then, but I would never go back. END

A Background for Peace and War

(Continued from page 36)

have too much to lose. If our peace becomes forfeit, for any reason whatever, we will wish to have it restored. More than that, we will wish to restore it under conditions dictated by our own government. Accepting without a qualm the dangers of oversimplification of an abstract proposition, this is the second and final reason for maintaining a strong national defense system in our nation.

In summary: This nation elects to face facts as they exist, not alone as we may wish them to become. We recognize the reasons which encourage men and nations to wage aggressive war; that leaders may resolve to "rule or ruin." Tangible wealth and natural resources are ours to use and enjoy, to preserve and protect. Liberties purchased with blood have been handed down to us; those too we shall preserve. Our form of government is to our liking and, save at our own desire, may not be changed. *Because of these needs we provide our system of national defense. First, we intend by our strength to ward off the attacks of others which weakness might again invite. Second, if our peace becomes forfeit, we will wish to restore it to the very hands of those from whose grasp it was allowed to slip, and under conditions dictated by our own people.*

Thoughtful citizens should inform themselves as to exactly what we have for our national defense. It is the people, through their elected civil leaders, who determine whether under any conditions resort shall be made to war. War is declared by the Congress with the approval of the President; the armed forces merely restore the peace. It is our civil leaders who determine whether the army and navy shall be large or small, strong or weak. Members of these forces are national servants who carry out, as best they may, decisions of the national government. Our people and our civil leaders must never forget that untrained men, poorly equipped and poorly led, cannot hope for victory. They must know that war is ever an intricate art. Good leadership, sound policies, adequate facilities, a sufficient supply of the best armaments, are necessary. The penalty of ignorance is death and defeat.

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Good Fences

A FELLOW does a lot of thinking while he cultivates his corn and tries to beat the weeds.

He has a lot of time to think as he goes up and down the rows, trying to hit the weeds and miss the corn.

Each time he gets to the end of a row he looks up and shakes the kinks out of his neck. As he looks up, his eyes wander over the fields where the green grass meets the blue sky, and it makes him feel good.

It makes a fellow proud to know that this belongs to him and it's his to take care of and protect.

A fellow who gets his knuckles dirty, the back of his neck sunburned and wears the same pair of shoes two years in a row doesn't worry too much about what the government is going to do for him. Maybe one reason is that he hasn't got time to worry.

The thing that makes him fighting mad is that some fellows — who never sat on a milk stool or tried to feed a dozen hungry hogs or teach a stubborn calf how to drink milk — try to tell him how to run his farm — what to plant and what to sell. The closest some of these fellows have gotten to the soil is to brush the dust off the tops of their bureau desks.

We farmers may not smell sweet all the time, and we may be dirty part of the time. But I'll say one thing — most of us are clean inside, where it counts.

A fellow gets to liking his freedom, and he doesn't want anyone to steal it from him. Each time the government tells him what to do or gives him something he hasn't earned, it's taking part of his freedom away — the same as it does when it tells a teacher what to teach or a businessman how much he can get for what he has to sell.

There's an old saying that goes, "Good fences make good neighbors."

There's only one way to keep your cows and hogs out of your neighbor's garden, and that is to put up a good fence.

Well, it's the same way with the government — you've got to fence it out to keep it from eating everything you have.

A bunch of fellows got together a long time ago to build a fence. Some of them were farmers, some were preachers, some were lawyers, some were businessmen — but all of them were AMERICANS.

They wanted to build a fence to keep the government out of their gardens and away from their sugar bowls.



They wanted to protect what they had and to make sure that they could keep what they earned.

They spent a long time working on this fence because they wanted it to be strong.

They set the posts firm, and they pulled the wires tight.

When they were finished they had something to be proud of, because it was good.

It still stands today — protecting us — protecting our rights and our beliefs. Some of the wires have gotten a little loose — that's because every once in a while our government sticks its head through and reaches for something that doesn't belong to it or takes too much interest in our business.

We've all got the same things to worry about. For some reason the grass always looks greener on the other side of the fence. It's the same way with our government — whatever we have looks better to it than what it has.

If we don't keep our fences tight, the government will be in our gardens eating our potatoes and stepping on our beans.

This fence was built to protect all of us. That's the reason why it's up to all of us to keep it in good shape.

When a man becomes President of this country, the first thing he does is to promise to take good care of this fence.

He puts his hand on a Bible. This is what he says:

"I will to the best of my ability protect, preserve, and defend the Constitution of the United States, so help me God."

That's it — the Constitution of the United States.

That's the fence our forefathers built to protect our rights and our property. They had lots of experience with big government.

They knew that if they didn't build a strong fence around their personal property and their personal rights, they wouldn't have any left.

They divided our national government from our state government, and then protected us against both of them.

They built a government of laws and not of men to start with. They knew that men sometimes get hungry for power.

Our Constitution is today as it was then, the people's protection against their government — the same as my good fence is my protection against my neighbor's cows.

Good fences make good neighbors. A good Constitution makes a good country.

Our Constitution is our protective fence. It belongs to each one of us. It's up to all of us to take care of it, to protect, preserve and defend every word of its substance.

END

What's the hullabaloo about

MENTAL HEALTH?

The reading audience is cordially invited to attend this presentation, which features:

The Alaska Mental Health Act

The Story of Ron B. Ramsey

The Case of Manuel and Lucille Miller

The Case of the Fabulous Finns

SEVERAL months ago a strangely familiar phrase, "mental health," began to register itself on the public consciousness. The subject had already become a popular one for discussion by luncheon and service clubs, as well as by industrial organizations, but it did not "come into its own," so to speak, until last January.

The immediate reason for all the hullabaloo was that on January 18 this year the U. S. House of Representatives approved by voice vote and sent to the Senate the Alaska Mental Health Act, H. R. 6376, authorizing a \$12,500,000 mental health program for Alaska. No drums were beaten in advance. Rather it came upon us like Carl Sandburg's cat—and we might still be a bit foggy about it except that the passage of this bill by the House seemed to be the signal for the band to strike up and the curtain to rise on a fast and furious mental health act.

Villainous Plot Charged

The *Santa Ana Register* in California immediately blared forth with headlines, "NOW—SIBERIA, U.S.A!" and an editorial which hinted rather loudly that this legislation would place every resident of the United States at the mercy of the whims and

fancies of any person with whom they might have a disagreement, and who might cause a charge of "mental illness" to be placed against them. According to the editorial, this could result in immediate deportation to a concentration camp for political prisoners in an Alaskan Siberia.

It seems that many Californians consider themselves well informed on the subject of mental health legislation, inasmuch as 44 such bills have been introduced into the California state legislature during the past several years. Out in the Golden West, many have come to view anything labeled "mental health" with a wary eye.

The passage of H. R. 6376 was just the overture of the mental health "play" throughout the United States. Immediately countless mimeograph machines in the country began going at a breakneck speed, and home typewriters pounded away at a rate that must have affected seismographs all the way to Moscow. Mail trains to Washington must have visibly slowed their paces with the back-breaking burdens of protesting letters en route to senators, congressmen, and commentators in Washington, D. C., as well as to newspapers all over the country.

The act is labeled simply enough, "A Bill to provide for the hospitalization and care of the mentally ill of Alaska, and for other purposes." Of course, the "other purposes" could mean anything. However, if one reads the bill with the basic assumption that it was written by people of good will who want to help suffering humanity, it isn't hard to believe that it is perfectly all right.

Points of Controversy

No one denies that \$12,500,000 is quite a sum of money. It seems even larger when one realizes that the number of mental patients in Alaska needing care averages only 345 at any given time. It doesn't seem that the care of 345 mental patients should cost enough to justify the appropriation for this purpose of the entire income to be derived from the one million acres of land (approximately 1,562 square miles) which the bill proposes be granted to the Territory of Alaska by the United States.

Under the terms of the bill which is now being studied by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (S. 2973), the Governor of Alaska, appointed by the President of the United States, is granted power to enter into reciprocal contracts and

agreements with any state.¹ Through these agreements any state or territorial governor and the Governor of Alaska may provide for the care and treatment of mentally ill patients on a reciprocal and reimbursable basis. The Governor is empowered to designate where any mental patient will be hospitalized, and make transfers at any time he sees fit.

Commitment of the proposed patient may be in a number of ways. It may be upon "written application of an interested party"; or it may be by "any health, welfare, or police officer who has reason to believe that an individual is mentally ill." Without a written authorization, such a person may take the individual into custody, apply to a designated hospital for his admission, and transport him thereto. This would do away with the present requirement in some states that a jury of six must decide upon the mental stability, or lack of mental stability, of a proposed patient.

Judicial procedure for commitment under the terms of this bill would be held under the direction of a United States Commissioner who could omit notifying the proposed patient of such a hearing, and said person would not be required to be present at the hearing. In fact, the Commissioner could exclude anyone from the hearing. Also, the Commissioner would not have to be bound by the rules of evidence, and could make commitments for an indeterminate period or for six months. Although the patient in most cases would be allowed to communicate with persons in or out of the hospital, this provision would be at the discretion of the head of the hospital.

Originally H. R. 6376 contained a section (No. 128) which related to the punishment for wilfully conspiring to cause the unwarranted hospitalization of any individual. But section 128 has been stricken from the amended bill.

New Light on the Subject

All of these provisions appear to make a strong case against the bill. However, to be completely fair and realistic, let's change seats and look at the stage from a different angle.

* * *

It has been claimed that the mentally ill in Alaska are now accorded

¹The term "State" is defined in the bill as including the 48 states, the District of Columbia, the territories and possessions of the United States, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

barbaric treatment, for which this bill would substitute modern methods of commitment.

According to the House report on H. R. 6376, "The history of federal responsibility for the care and treatment of the Alaskan mentally ill dates from the Act of Congress, June 6, 1900, which provided that the Governor of Alaska should contract for the care and custody of persons legally adjudged insane."

In 1905 the powers of the Governor were transferred to the Secretary of the Interior by an Act of Congress. Another act (June 25, 1910) provided for the construction and operation of



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Dr. Winfred Overholser, Superintendent of St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D. C., who was appointed in July, 1949, to head a committee to study Alaskan mental health problems.

detention hospitals at Nome and Fairbanks. The Nome hospital was never constructed. A two-story frame detention house was built at Fairbanks. It was used to hold patients until they could be shipped to a private mental institution, the Morningside Hospital, in Portland, Oregon. Some 25 years ago the frame building at Fairbanks burned down. Since then there has not even been a detention home in Alaska, and patients have been kept in jails pending transfer to Oregon, a distance of 1500 to 2000 miles from home and family. Patients must often of necessity be domiciled with criminals, and must be accompanied to Oregon by a United States Marshal.

It is pointed out that the cost of this care has been about \$800,000 annually for the past 46 years. There

has been only one psychiatrist at the hospital, and for at least a part of this time, only one registered nurse. The proprietor of the hospital (who is in strong opposition to this bill which would terminate his contract) has been drawing a yearly fee of \$30,000. The profit for the hospital above that fee has been \$69,000 per year. The Morningside Hospital has held this contract since 1910, the present five-year contract expiring on June 30, 1958.

Dr. Winfred Overholser, Superintendent of St. Elizabeths Hospital, the federal mental institution in the District of Columbia, in July, 1949, was appointed by the Secretary of the Interior to head a committee to study the mental health problems of Alaska. The committee recommendations, submitted February 10, 1950, were:

1. Development of a comprehensive mental-health program under the Territorial Department of Health;
2. Emergency treatment and observation centers in most of the general hospitals to be operated by the Territorial Department of Health;
3. Drafting of model legislation for Alaska; and
4. Amalgamation and unified direction of all public mental-health services under the Territorial Department of Health.

Although the Territory of Hawaii has been responsible for its own mental cases, Alaska did not have a local government in the beginning, so the federal government assumed the responsibility and passed laws prescribing the manner in which commitment and care should be carried out.

H. R. 6376 has been drafted for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations of the Overholser Committee in 1950.

Provides Needed Machinery

Those who feel that this bill is a necessary humanitarian measure drafted in good faith to accomplish exactly the purposes set forth, contend that there is nothing in the bill that would authorize sending a mental patient from any of the states to Alaska. They state that the bill would merely set up the required machinery so that a resident of one of the 48 states visiting in Alaska and requiring mental care could be transferred to his home state for care, or could be cared for in Alaska with reimbursement made to Alaska by his home state. They feel that the bill relates only to residents

of Alaska and to persons domiciled there temporarily.

With respect to grants of land, it is pointed out that one million acres represents only three-tenths of 1 per cent of the area of Alaska (365 million square miles), that 99 per cent of the land in Alaska is owned by the United States, and that there is no way for the Territory to raise taxes. Consequently, the Alaska Mental Health Act, following a custom instituted after the Revolutionary War when the Northwest Territory was opened to settlers, proposes to set aside part of the public domain to provide funds either through sale, or from mineral rights, to develop and operate a well-rounded mental-health program.

The grant of one million acres is claimed to be a modest one when it is considered that the United States has granted over 10 million acres of the public domain to the state of Arizona, nearly 9 million acres to California, 24 million acres to Florida, 16 million acres to Minnesota, and 7 million acres to Oregon.

While the bill would do away with the stringent requirement for a mandatory jury trial, whenever mental commitment proceedings are started, a patient, his counsel, or any member of his immediate family may request a jury of six resident adults. A writ of habeas corpus may be granted to any individual detained under the provisions of the bill.

Alaskans must, of necessity, turn for help with their mental health problems to the United States. The Congress of the United States treats the Alaskans as wards, appropriating funds annually for governmental activities in the Territory under the administration of the Interior Department. The United States has not granted statehood to Alaska, nor has it permitted the Territory to issue bonds for support of a mental health program and construction of desperately needed facilities. The customary sources of revenue available to states are denied to the Territory of Alaska.

The Governor of Alaska, the Delegate from Alaska, and the people of Alaska themselves urge enactment of the pending bill, and the Alaskan Medical Association on February 22 sent a resolution of approval to the Senate Interior Committee.²

Well, now, frankly, we're disap-

²Report of Shearon Legislative Service, Congressional Record, March 21 and 26, 1956, pp. A2547-48, A2628-30.

pointed. From the new vantage point gained by changing seats, we were able to see right through the villain, a shabby, weak creature who now seems to be little more than a figment of the imagination. What's the point in having a play without a convincing villain? Why all the fanfare?

This brings us back face-to-face with our original question—"What's all the hullabaloo about mental health?" It has been proved that legislation is needed for humanitarian purposes, that the provisions would seem to be in line with grants which have been made in other cases—why not Alaska?

With the villain discredited, surely the presentation could not continue. However, when we asked the lady on our right if the play were about over, she handed us her program. We noted that she had added penciled explanatory notes, which we scanned thoughtfully. To our surprise, we found that she had classed this play not as a complete entity in its own right, but only as the fourth installment of a serial play! Other papers were tucked between the leaves of her program, which it developed were also programs, and these she had marked "Part 1," "Part 2," and "Part 3." These we found very interesting, although reference by the producer linking this play with previous installments would certainly have given more authenticity to her theory.

On the program which our neighbor had marked "Part 1," we read:

THE STORY OF RON B. RAMSEY

Ron B. Ramsey, it developed, was a 16-year-old boy in Compton, California, who had a penchant for writing letters to the editors of newspapers and magazines. These letters invariably dealt with his convictions against the United Nations, and his contentions that his school teachers were using subversive material in the classes which he attended. In 1955 he was committed to a county mental institution, but was later released in the custody of his grandmother on the provision that he would not continue writing letters to the newspapers. He was given a 12-month probation.

Still looking for a possible link between Ron B. Ramsey and the Alaska Mental Health Act, we read the program marked "Part 2," which bore the title:

THE CASE OF LUCILLE AND MANUEL MILLER³

Here we learned that Lucille Miller, of Bethel, Vermont, who had long been a foe of communism, was the publisher of a mimeographed paper called *The Green Mountain Rifleman*, with an approximate circulation of 500. Lucille Miller and her paper had become widely known because of her charge that the timing of the appointment of Ernest W. Gibson to the federal court in Vermont by President Truman was designed to make it possible for Alger Hiss to be tried before Judge Gibson. She contended that Gibson's views constituted him an ideal man, from the Communist viewpoint, for the Hiss trial.

Mrs. Miller's contention was picked up by Washington columnist Westbrook Pegler and the Senate investigating committee under Senator McCarthy, which quickly made her the target for all sorts of attacks by Communists and fellow travelers.

Mrs. Miller was finally charged with violation of the Selective Service Act because she had written to young men of draft age urging them to resist the draft and the "involuntary servitude" which would follow if they were required to enter federal service without volunteering. Mrs. Miller welcomed this charge as an opportunity to test the Selective Service Act, which she felt was unconstitutional. However, before she could be brought to trial in open court, the same judge whom she had attacked, Judge Ernest W. Gibson, ruled that she should be sent to a private institution (in the judge's own home town) for mental examination.

Judge Gibson decided, after Mrs. Miller's examination in Brattleboro Retreat, that she was suffering from "manic depressive reaction, maniac type," and that she should be confined to an institution or given treatment in her own home. He referred the case to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, who issued a writ for her arrest and commitment to a Washington, D. C., mental institution.

Mrs. Miller said about this trial: "Those in the courtroom were astonished to hear these witnesses (the psychiatrists) declare that I might recover if kept from the over-stimulation of too much telephoning, excessive use of the mails, and such."

Upon resistance to arrest, troopers broke into the Miller home and re-

³Editorials, *Santa Ana Register*, May 4 and 5, 1955. *Task Force*, February, 1956.

moved Lucille Miller by force. Her husband, Manuel Miller, had not been notified in advance in order that he might put up bail. Over his protests, Mrs. Miller was taken to St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D. C.

Were it not for the newspaper coverage given this case by such nationally known writers as Westbrook Pegler, George Sokolsky and Fulton Lewis, Jr., Mrs. Miller might yet be in St. Elizabeths, but after insistent pressure by protesting citizens across the nation she was released.

However, in Brattleboro, Vermont, on August 8, 1955, Lucille Miller was given a two-year suspended sentence and ten years probation by Judge Gibson. Manuel Miller was sentenced to one year and a day in prison and a \$1,000 fine.

On April 9, 1956, Glenn O. Young, a lawyer from Sapulpa, Oklahoma, submitted a legal brief as "Amicus Curiae" in the Miller case appealing on behalf of the people of the United States that the injustices done the Millers be reconsidered. Mr. Young's contention is that the entire case has been a "planned program to punish Mrs. Miller for deviationism in her writings." His brief asks impeachment of Judge Gibson for "gross abuse and misuse of the powers of judicial office and disregard of his oath to respect and to observe the Constitution of the United States."

Our interest quickening, we reached the program marked "Part 3," and found the title:

THE CASE OF THE FABULOUS FINNS¹

This play, too, sounded most intriguing. It seems that the Finn twins, George and Charles, veterans of World War II, bought a surplus airplane from a Bakersfield, California, school. Tom Devlin, seasoned reporter for the *Los Angeles Examiner*, wrote on May 8, 1956:

Hundreds of such planes had been disposed of through the War Assets Administration since the close of World War II, many finding their way, through devious channels, to foreign countries, reportedly including those behind the Iron Curtain.

About a year and a half after the Finns bought their plane from the school, the government filed suit against them for \$198,000 and possession of the plane. Supposedly, the government had already sold the plane; and the "right, title and inter-



State troopers shoot tear gas into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Manuel Miller. Miller, armed with a rifle, had defied efforts to remove his wife, Lucille, to a mental hospital.

est" had passed to the school for \$200.

The government, through the use of a document sworn to by Federal Marshal David Hayden, seized the plane and secured an oral "order" from Federal Judge Westover, restraining the Finns from touching or flying their plane. The Finns believed the seizure to be unlawful. To test the legality of the order, they flew the plane to Nevada to an abandoned field, referred to by the press as "Shangri-La."

Charged on several counts by the government, the Finns were arrested by the FBI. Friends scraped together \$750 to bail them out of jail.

Judge Westover stated in a later decision:

If the Court had been told that the plane was not in the possession of the government, the Court probably would not have made an order relative to interference with the property. . . . I will have to hold the defendants Finn not guilty of the contempt with which they have been charged.

Nevertheless, the U. S. Attorney did not return the Finn's plane.

Their financial resources exhausted through extended litigation, the Finns were forced to study at a law library in order to represent themselves. There they learned that under California law they could make a "citizen's arrest."

U. S. Attorney Laughlin Waters admitted to the Finns that he was the individual within the government responsible for holding their plane. Therefore, one day as Waters left the Biltmore Hotel coming from a Bar Association luncheon, the Finns placed him under a citizen's arrest, called the police for transportation, and delivered the U. S. Attorney to Metropolitan Police Station. There they obtained a receipt for their prisoner from the authorities, who, although stunned, knew that to release Waters would

subject them to a \$5,000 fine.

While the Finns were detained in the L. A. County District Attorney's office, the chief of the FBI, Deputy Mayor John Erwin, the deputy district attorneys, and their assistants held a conference for about two hours in the back room. Some time during the conference Waters "escaped" by the back door. In the Finns' opinion, the officials were unable to find a means by which they could disqualify the citizen's arrest and simply allowed Mr. Waters to "escape." The Finns maintain that this was a violation of the law, for to release a prisoner without any kind of hearing when a complaint has been sworn against him constitutes dereliction of duty — a serious offense.

The Finns were then charged with "impeding, threatening and assaulting a federal officer," and U. S. Commissioner Howard B. Calverly ordered them detained in jail on \$10,000 bond, refusing to hear their charges against Waters. The government brought in Federal Judge Edward Murphy to try this case. Judge Murphy admitted Judge Westover's first order restraining the Finns from touching or flying their plane, but refused to admit his subsequent decision which refuted it. The jury was not permitted to hear what the Finns regarded as the keystone of their defense.

Judge Murphy also, in effect, ignored the citizen's arrest law, and told the jury that the Finns had impeded and interfered with a federal officer in the performance of his official duty. (The charge of assault had been dropped when a photograph disclosed that the citizen's arrest had been conducted in a peaceable manner.)

The judge stated, in effect, that a high government official is on duty all the time, liable to call in an emer-

¹Faith and Freedom, January and February, 1956.



The Finn twins, Charles (left) and George, with a longtime friend, actress Patricia Lynn, tear up legal papers in December, 1954, when the court ordered the government to return their plane. As it developed, their joy was premature.

agency, and that in the case of a high government official suspected of committing a felony, a citizen could *never* arrest him, notwithstanding the California law. The jury found the Finns guilty of (1) interfering with Waters while he was performing his official duty, and (2) conspiring to do this.

The Finns refused the judge's offer of probation on the basis that it might seem a tacit admission of guilt, and they did not believe themselves guilty of any crime. Judge Murphy sentenced them to one year in jail and denied bail pending appeal of their case. The Finns were immediately confined to the county jail. Believing they had but one weapon left, publicity by a press which had shown itself to be sympathetic to their cause, they went on a hunger strike, nearly starving themselves to death.

The newspapers came to their defense. Los Angeles has newspapers of many shades of public opinion, and *all* defended the Finns. The editor of the Hollywood *Citizen-News* wrote editorially:

To many people the sentence seems exceedingly severe. The twins were acting in good faith; they had read of the authority which the law apparently gives to citizens to make arrests, and they sought to act in accord with the law.

Only the dignity of the U. S. Attorney was hurt, and that for only a few minutes. . . . Officers of the law often make mistakes in arresting persons. They aren't sentenced to jail for one-year terms for sincerely endeavoring to follow the law.

Judge Murphy's recommendations in the case certainly warrant close scrutiny. He recommended, first, that the Finns be taught a trade. However,

Charles Finn's record shows he has a college degree in psychology, two years of medical school at McGill University, plus ten years in the Air Force as a general's personal pilot and as a highly decorated bomber pilot holding the rank of captain, with 68 missions to his credit. George Finn has a college degree in psychology and three and a half years of medical school at McGill, plus eight years in the Air Force as a flight instructor, experimental and development engineer, assistant project engineer on the ejection seat, and test pilot.

Judge Murphy's second recommendation was even more startling. This recommendation — that George and Charles Finn receive psychiatric treatment — was made without medical testimony to indicate that the Finns were mental cases or without having them examined by court psychiatrists. For the record, and at the request of the Finns, the Finns' own doctor had them examined by two well-known psychiatrists, who gave them a clean bill of mental health.

The Finns fasted on in Los Angeles County Jail for 23 days, losing a pound a day. After 23 days, the *Los Angeles Examiner* had found three federal judges who were willing to hear the Finns' plea for bail, pending appeal. The Finns were finally released, pending appeal, on bail of \$1,000 each. When freed, Charles weighed only 112 of his original 138 pounds; George weighed 111 of his usual 135.

Finally came the best news for the Finns throughout the whole story. Federal Judge William Mathes tried

the civil suit which the government had brought against the Finns for \$198,000 and their plane. He admitted the Westover decision as evidence, and ruled that the airplane belonged to the Finns. He also ruled that it had been unlawfully seized by the government, and that the government must either return the plane or pay the Finns \$50,000 cash. Either way the government was ordered to pay \$15 per day rental fee for every day the plane had been illegally held.

For a while it seemed the Finns had finally won.

Shortly after the good news of their victory in the civil suit, however, came bad news on the criminal case: the Appellate court had turned down the Finns' appeal of their criminal conviction for interfering with U. S. Attorney Waters. The U. S. Supreme Court refused to hear their case.

Several federal marshals transferred the Finns to the Federal Medical Facility at Springfield, Missouri, and the Finns were committed to the insane ward.

Declaring that they would go out of prison either with their "constitutional rights restored, or in a box," the Finns began another hunger strike. When this hunger strike lasted longer than the first one, running over 23 days, thousands of people in California wrote letters to President Eisenhower asking him to review the case. The President wrote back that the Justice Department had already reviewed it and that the Finns were in the wrong.

Thousands of friends also wrote letters to the newspapers. The editor of the *Los Angeles Examiner* wrote on April 29, 1955:

. . . There is widespread suspicion among the public that it smacks of judicial revenge to send the Finns to prison for ruffling the dignity, or composure, of a federal official.

Doubts over the administration of justice are more damaging than any temporary damage to the self-esteem of any official.

The Finns' hunger strike continued — three weeks, one month, 35 days — in the insane ward where Judge Murphy had put them.

After the Finns had starved themselves for 35 days, U. S. Senator William Langer of North Dakota appeared at the insane ward demanding to see them, and said that he would ask the U. S. Senate to investigate the Finns' charges.

Regarding the senator's arrival as a promise that their constitutional rights would be restored, the Finns ended their hunger strike.

Prior to Senator Langer's arrival, the guards had tied each of the Finns to his bed, and attempted to force-feed him by stuffing a rubber hose down his nose. Needless to say, they were treated more kindly after the senator's visit.⁵

Due to the help of Joseph Scott, famed attorney who nominated Herbert Hoover for President and who is widely known as a lay religious leader on the West Coast, the Finns were paroled, although they refused to accept any of the conditions of parole, which they felt would be the same as admitting guilt.

As things stand now, the Finns are out on parole, and the government is still holding their airplane, pending appeal.

* * *

After reading the synopsis of this play which had been marked "Part 3," the pattern of connection which some people see between the Alaska Mental Health Act and the stories of Ron B. Ramsey, Lucille and Manuel Miller, and the "fabulous Finns" became clearer. With such cases in the immediate past, it would be surprising if many aggressive anti-Communists did not see shadows under the bed every time "mental health" is mentioned.

The Substance of the Shadows

In this great country, founded upon the ideal of individual freedom, the tenets of rugged individualism, personal determination, self-will, imagination, and personal creativeness are antipathetic to the creation of a totalitarian state. If the sanity of those who evidence such characteristics could be questioned, their patriotic goals and activities could be eradicated. By attaching the stigma of insanity to leaders of movements which oppose such ideas as a greater centralization of government or collectivism, for instance, national pride and patriotism could well be minimized to an extent which would allow non-armed conquest of our country.

Obviously, Alaska needs help with her mental health program. If the legislation which is intended to provide this help is as dangerous as claimed by its opponents, yet is so skilfully camouflaged that congressmen, news analysts, and other well-trusted and respected Americans will spring to its defense, by what devious means has this been accomplished?

⁵In a preliminary hearing held by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights on April 12, Los Angeles Chief of Police Parker was the only witness questioned.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has said in an article entitled "The Communists Are After Our Minds":

Concealed Communists in the medical and legal professions are also being used by the Party in its efforts to capture the mass mind. In a number of communities, Red doctors regularly dish out Communist propaganda to their patients while treating their aches and pains, and they lend the prestige of their names to Red causes. Right now, some Red doctors also are providing needed medical care for Communists hiding from the law, and performing facial surgery to alter their appearance. Red lawyers, in addition to giving legal advice to comrades in trouble, are working in a number of communities to influence the opinions of public officials, including senators, representatives, governors, and mayors. . . .

We must all realize that the Red conspirators in our midst still constitute a very grave menace. They continue to wage a relentless campaign to pervert our thinking and undermine our freedoms. Their principal weapons are deceit, stealth, sham, and trickery. To defeat them, we must recognize them as diabolically skillful enemies, understand their methods, and be eternally vigilant.

Why do we hear more and more about mental health? Among other reasons is the fact that of \$330 million in grants by the Ford Foundation within the past five years, \$15 million has been specifically earmarked for mental-health research.

Another reason is the oft-repeated statement that more than half of this country's hospital patients are mentally ill. Pertinent to this claim is the question as to how many Ron B. Ramseys, Lucille Millers and Finn twins are included in these totals? And, with modern-day health measures which have lengthened the physical lives of our citizenry, how many of these mentally ill patients are aged persons whose bodies have outworn their minds, and whom we cannot expect to cure? Also, are alcoholics included among those considered mentally ill; and if so, what proportion do alcoholic cases represent?

The Mental Health Movement

Representative Percy Priest of Tennessee was the author of the Federal Mental Health Act which was passed in 1946. This law established the National Mental Health Institute in Bethesda, Maryland, in an effort to seek new treatment and cures through research.

Although only 24 states had mental health programs before this law was passed, today all 48 states, as well as the District of Columbia and the four territories, have such programs. Every state governor, with the exceptions of

Governor Bracken Lee of Utah and Governor Frank J. Lausche of Ohio, have joined with the National Mental Health Committee in an effort to solve the mental health problem.

This National Mental Health Committee works with the National Institute of Health, and the Public Health Service, and other government and voluntary agencies in an effort to meet the urgent needs in the mental health field, with emphasis on increased financial assistance from federal and state governments and voluntary agencies.

The first federal grant of \$3 million for this purpose was made in 1947, and was matched by state and local funds of only \$2.5 million. However, by 1953, federal funds of \$2,325,000 were matched by \$12,275,000 in state and local funds for community mental health.

World Government?

One of the most outspoken opponents of the Alaska Mental Health Act is Congressman Usher L. Burdick, who has said regarding this proposed legislation:

What is the cause of this sudden movement for the cure of the mentally sick? Heretofore the states have pretty well taken care of this subject. . . .

This does not suit the One Worlders — those who have set out, through UNESCO, a branch of the United Nations, to train men's minds to make their thinking and conduct fit into a one-world government. Should any individual resist such a move, this mental health program fostered by the United Nations will, they say, gradually influence him to a different course of thinking — to accept it gradually, or be forced to it by explosive means. . . .

This Congress, by a slick move, quietly slipped a bill through the House providing that the place to put these "mentally ill" persons (that is, persons who do not agree with the powers that be) is in Alaska, and \$12½ million and one million acres of land in Alaska have been authorized for this purpose. This land is to be sold and the proceeds used in supporting the Alaska Mental Health Program, handled by the Territory of Alaska. . . .

The proponents of UNESCO — and they are entrenched in state and federal governments — declare at once that those who disapprove their conspiracy are crazy or use the sweeter language that "they are suffering from paranoid delusions." They might make a complaint against me, saying that I am suffering from these delusions, and if their application is accompanied by a certificate of a licensed physician, I can be shipped to Alaska, where I will be in exile, and the one-worlders will no longer be bothered by my fight against what they are attempting to do. I will have had no trial anywhere — just one doctor stands between me and freedom. There ought to be no person

in the United States ignorant enough to believe this procedure is constitutional, yet the planning goes on. . . .

This whole program is a brainwashing procedure borrowed from the Russians, and is intended to block all opposition. In *Mental Health and World Citizenship* (1948)⁶ we read: "Principles of Mental Health cannot be successfully furthered in any society unless there is progressive acceptance of the concept of World Citizenship."

And listen to Dr. Brock Chisholm, head of the U. N. World Health Organization: "We have swallowed all manner of poisonous certainties fed to us by our parents, our Sunday and day school teachers. . . . Re-interpretation and eventually eradication of the concept of right and wrong" is his remedy. "Most psychiatrists and psychologists have escaped from these moral chains."

He advocates — "A state of emotional maturity which fits one to be a citizen of a democracy, able to take one's part in making a world fit to live in. . . . It cannot be done gently, it may have to be done roughly or even violently. Let us remodel the world."

You can see what this proposed brainwashing means. This has been studied out and embraces the same finesse in execution that the Communists in Russia have used and are now using. . . .

The California State Bulletin of Minute Women has published a diagrammatic drawing in which it contends that all mental health agencies, both voluntary and governmental are related to the World Health Organization, the World Federation of Mental Health, and UNESCO, which are specialized agencies of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations General Assembly.

Among the voluntary agencies are the National Association of Mental Health, under which are 40 state branches, and 286 local branches of the state and national associations. The government agencies include the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the United States Public Health Service, the National Institute of Mental Health, and 48 state departments of mental health.

The Mental Health Libraries

A random sampling of literature from a state mental health library under the jurisdiction of the National Association of Mental Health revealed a preponderance of leaflets and books dealing with child psychology. A number of Public Affairs Pamphlets, published by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 22 E. 38th St., New York 16, N. Y., were included as representative literature. (These are also shown in

⁶*Mental Health and World Citizenship, a statement prepared for the International Congress on Mental Health, London, 1948, distributed by the National Association for Mental Health, Inc., 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.*

the *List of Mental Health Publications and Audiovisual Aids*, January, 1956, published by the National Association for Mental Health.)

The following ideas extracted from these pamphlets are indicative of their teachings in child psychology, or parent psychology as it affects the child:

1. The teaching of phonics is "a way of pressure-cooking children," teaching them to read before they are ready to learn. *Three to Six: Your Child Starts to School*, by James L. Hymes, Jr.
2. Children should not be given a feeling of inferiority through being "left back" or failed in school. *ibid.*
3. If a child utters shocking words, his mother should "toss them back at him." The child does not like to hear his parent use words which he knows are taboo. *Understand Your Child — From 6 to 12*, by Clara Lambert.
4. Provide safe outlets for anger and "bad" feelings in children. Let them know that they can "pound and pummel and pull and decapitate mothers and fathers and sisters and brothers shaped out of clay" without harm. *How to Discipline Your Children*, by Dorothy W. Baruch.
5. A good teacher knows that most children in this day and age of world-restlessness need direction in finding action-pathways to let out "badness" which has been held in. Encourage them to bring out their badness in creative activities. (For instance, a child may "draw a woman with a leering face and a gun in each hand, 'so she can kill herself twice.'" "Pictures drawn by some children will show mean fathers being run over, families being hung, babies drowning in toilets and sewers.") *ibid.*

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his column "Washington Report" which appeared in the *Boston Daily Record* of March 16, 1956, remarks that the most plausible explanation he has heard of the widespread protests received in Washington over the Alaska Mental Health Act is that they are symptomatic of a growing distrust of government in general.

Many congressmen of unquestioned purpose and integrity, even such a one as Senator John Bricker of Ohio, have stated that they can see nothing

wrong with the Alaska Mental Health Act, as presented in H.R. 6376.

Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., in his publication, *One Man's Opinion*, states

The contents of the bill appear, on careful analysis, to be entirely in accord with the past policies followed by our national government in similar cases for a hundred years. Not only are the provisions of the bill innocent of any discoverably sinister intentions, but the visible origination of the bill, its stated purposes and its suitability for the accomplishment of those purposes, its sponsorship, and its legislative history, all seem completely clear of any reasonable grounds for suspicion.

Reservations in AMA Support

The American Medical Association has submitted to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs its opinion of this legislation, which reads in part as follows:⁷

. . . . With the reservations hereinafter discussed, the American Medical Association supports and recommends the enactment of H. R. 6376, 84th Congress. . . .

The American Medical Association supports H. R. 6376 insofar as that bill modernizes existing archaic commitment procedures and provides for the establishment of adequate local facilities for the care and treatment of the mentally ill of Alaska.

With respect to commitment procedures, I should point out that a very difficult medico-legal problem is involved in the enactment and administration of any commitment procedure. From a medical point of view, it is desirable to institute a course of therapy as early as possible and with the least possible disturbance to the patient. From a legal point of view, it is essential that the civil rights of persons alleged to be mentally incompetent be fully protected. This variation in approach to the problem must be considered in connection with the pending bill as in all commitment acts, but in our opinion, the procedures set forth in H. R. 6376 are on a par with the better procedures adopted by the several states, and are superior to those presently followed in Alaska. However, since the American Medical Association does not presume to speak with authority on the legal aspects of commitment, it may be desirable for your committee to obtain and consider the recommendations of a legal organization, such as the American Bar Association.

It is apparent that a widespread misconception of the purpose and effect of section 119 of the measure exists. As we understand its provisions, this section is an authorization for the transfer of residents of Alaska or of other jurisdictions back to their jurisdiction of residence for treatment when they are adjudged mentally incompetent elsewhere. Such a provision, of course, is common between the several states today. Section 119 (c), providing for the reciprocal assumption of expenses for the care and treatment of the mentally ill in those cases where

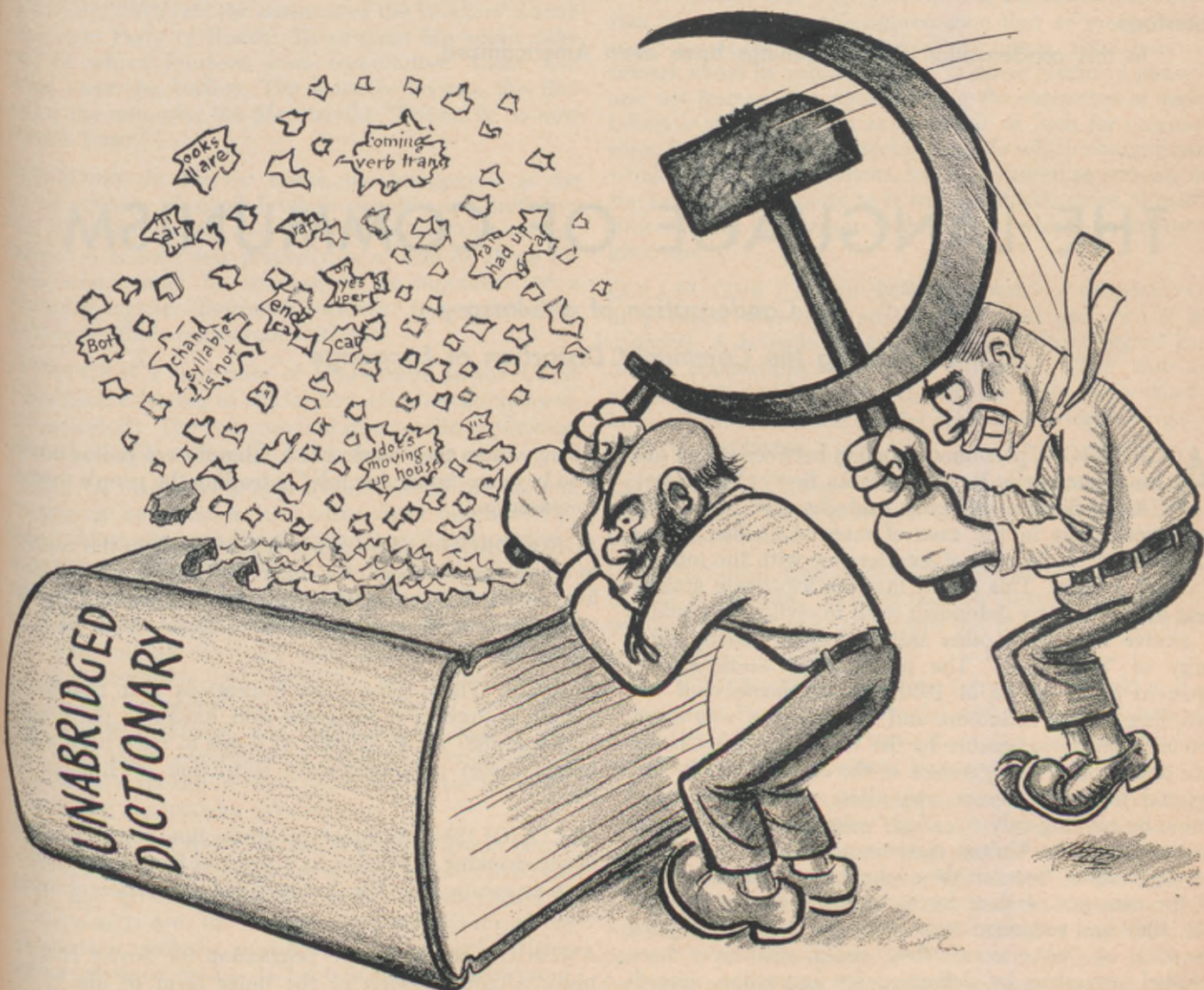
(Continued on Page 64)

⁷*Congressional Record*, April 23, 1956, pp. A3238-39.

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By HARRY HODGKINSON



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INTRODUCTION

This month *Facts Forum News* condenses a book that will almost certainly deliver to you a broadside compounded equally of smiles and shudders. It is a lexicon of characteristic twists and deceitful turnings, such as we are learning to expect from Soviet thought and expression. Despite the Communists' grim slaughter of human beings, one might have hoped they would spare innocent nouns and adjectives. But no, those, too, have been hacked to bits; here are the remains of the language purge. If you wish to learn additional Soviet word interpretations, consult the original book, which is fuller, and copiously documented.

The language of communism, says the author, is not so much a means of explaining to an unbeliever what communism means, as an armory of weapons and tools intended to produce support for, and to dissolve opposition to, Communist policies. The meaning of a Communist word is not what traditional usage says, but what effect it is designed to produce.

Beware such phrases as "peace," "freedom," "democracy," "peaceful coexistence," "internationalist." They, and many others, are rigged as booby traps. To put it plainly, Communists use the words most likely to induce us to hand over our destinies to them. Everyone in the world should know and understand the subterfuge.

In this condensation British spellings have been Americanized.

THE LANGUAGE OF COMMUNISM

Condensation of a Glossary

Exposing the Communist Distortion of Language

AGGRESSION "presumes a conflict between states, and the aggressor is he who attacks first" (Vishinsky). This definition expressly excludes civil wars. "No aggression exists in the case of internal conflict. There is aggression in the case of interference with the internal affairs of a state." This means that the legitimate government of any country defending itself in civil war is unable to receive help from other states without making them guilty of "aggression." The presence of North Korean forces in South Korea in 1950 was legitimate civil war according to this definition, and North Korea was therefore excluded from censure by the Warsaw Peace Conference definition of an aggressor as the country which "first reverted to armed forces, regardless of circumstances." China, by sending only so-called "volunteers," was equally immune; and the United Nations automatically became the "aggressors" because they sought no legal subterfuge for the presence of their forces in South Korea. If, however, they had remained technically guiltless by adopting the idea of "volunteers," they could still have been branded aggressors by definition, for aggression, according to the *Soviet Encyclopedia*, is "the basic method of the foreign policy of imperialist states in the epoch of imperialism, when contradictions in the capitalist world are sharpened to the extreme." It is thus axiomatic that "imperialist," that is, non-Communist states must behave in aggressive fashion.

AGITATORS: Mostly volunteers who influence the group

among whom they work; but a minority are professionals, who have an "honorable role" in leading the people toward communism.

AGROGOROD (Agro-town): A town built in the country to house the members of a collective farming unit of from five hundred to a few thousand families, formed by the amalgamation of smaller collective farms, each of from ten to thirty families.

ALASKA. There have been indications that the Soviet regime regrets its predecessor sold Alaska to the United States in 1867 for \$7,200,000. It is felt to have been a bad bargain, also an unnecessary restriction of Russian influence.

ALCOHOLISM: A threat to production represented by heavy drinking — whether as a survival from rustic habits, or as an escape from the drabness and dislocation of industrialism.

AMERICA has a strange fascination for Soviet communism. Although much of the outer form of life in the USSR — Moscow skyscrapers, modern aircraft, new industrial techniques — appear to follow American models, any obligation is bitterly repudiated. [There is] assault on all things American. Even American leaders not normally associated with the extreme right are singled out for abuse.

ANTI-SEMITISM has no place in Communist theory. But

in practice, there seems no reasonable doubt that the position of Jews in the USSR steadily worsened from the 1930's onward; Jews virtually disappeared from prominent roles in the USSR and allied states.

ARCHITECTURE. So-called "Russian classic architecture" is in standard use in the USSR. The same style is exported from Russia to the smaller republics. There is some resistance to its "excessive pomposity," with its columns, ideological emblems, crenellations, and clock towers.

ART is frankly propagandist; subject-matter is more important than style; abstraction in painting and sculpture is abhorred. The result is that to Western eyes, Soviet art seems to remain in the nineteenth century in respect of its technique. There is not room for a theory of art for art's sake, since all art is practiced for the sake of Marxism-Leninism.

BOLSHEVISM was born in Tottenham Court Road, London, in July, 1903, [at] the congress of the Workers' Social-Democratic Party of Russia. There were fifty-eight delegates, of whom fourteen were consultative. Lenin and Martov were the leaders. The majority became the Bolsheviks; the minority, the Mensheviks. "Bolshevik" is now a historic term.

BOURGEOIS. In Marxist terms, the bourgeoisie is the class of owners of capital whose wealth and initiative break up feudal society and substitute a capitalist system. "Bourgeois" is used less precisely as a term of abuse for people who cannot be counted on as supporters of a Communist regime. "Bourgeois survivals" in people's mentalities make them undesirable citizens.

BUREAUCRACY is a term of opprobrium in the USSR as elsewhere, referring to official laziness, shortsightedness, and insensitivity. The large amount of centralized planning renders the USSR vulnerable to bureaucracy.

CADRE: "A man who is able to understand the guiding principles of communism and carry them out honestly" (Stalin). Most often used in the plural, as: "Army cadres," "Party cadres," "Officer cadres."

CINEMA: One of the most influential channels of persuasion open to the regime. In style and subject, modern Soviet film follows the rules applicable to all the arts: They are intelligible and optimistic and point asocial moral. Non-Communist pictures are almost invariably regarded with contempt, and audiences are largely preserved from their contaminating influence, though visitors to Russia have spoken of their popularity when available, *Tarzan* being a particular favorite.

CLASS: In Marxist terms, a class is a social group bound by a common interest toward the material productive relations of any given society. The two principal classes in capitalist society are: the bourgeoisie, who own the means of production; and the proletariat, who work for them. The first of these groups is held to exploit the second, whose subsequent revolt forms one of the "contradictions" which are eventually to undermine the capitalist system. Within the USSR, the "exploiting classes," said Khrushchev, have been liquidated, and now "Soviet society is composed of friendly classes" (*Pravda*, 26 August 1952).

COEXISTENCE, usually called "peaceful coexistence," is the theory that, although the world is divided into two irreconcilable blocs, there is no need for them to resort to

a war of annihilation against each other, since they can live in a state of non-belligerence and take part in mutually advantageous trading relations. This condition will not continue indefinitely. The non-Communist bloc is believed to be doomed, and so all people "will eventually attain the bright future" of communism. The phrase thus does not mean "living peaceably together." For the non-Communist it is a reprieve, not an acquittal; death from natural causes rather than violent. Coexistence has been official policy since the early Bolsheviks discovered that their revolution was not going to spread abroad, and that they must find a theoretical basis for living in a world which they must encourage along the road to communism without provoking to action which might destroy them, rather than their "historically-doomed" opponents. It is meant to persuade Communists that a healthy respect for the military power, technical ability, and political resilience of the "capitalist" states does not mean abandoning or delaying indefinitely the "inevitable" triumph of their cause.

Coexistence was conceived in a spirit of self-preservation linked with Lenin's appreciation that no precise date could be set for the "inevitable" revolution. Yet Litvinov's remark about its validity during "a given historical phase," and not forever, is a reminder that the extinction of capitalism is an aim as well as an article of faith for communism. It is a feature of international life which communism would prefer to be without, but is prepared to endure, in the faith that one party to it will eventually cease to exist, thus solving the many problems to which coexistence gives rise.

COLLECTIVE FARMS (*kolkhoz*) consist of cooperatives of peasants who have pooled their land and own it in common. A brigade, or *artel*, chosen without regard for family connections, undertake functions when and as required. Not to be confused with the State farms (*sovkhoz*), which are owned by the State and worked by government employees.

COLLECTIVITY, or Collective Leadership, was laid down as the "main principle of Party leadership" after the death of Stalin.

COMINFORM: Communist Information Bureau, formed in 1947 in Moscow, "to meet the new distribution of basic political forces," and "to disrupt the plan of imperialistic aggression."

COMINTERN: The Communist International, linking the Communist Parties of the world with Moscow; dissolved 1943. Its "ultimate aim" was "to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism."

COMMUNISM, as understood in current Soviet thinking, is more complicated than the various historic variants of communism—monasticism, perfectionist colonies, and so forth—in that it demands a high level of production before the experiment can be sanctioned; it is committed to eradicate class distinctions; and it claims a monopoly as the authorized interpreter of Marxism-Leninism. It must be based on and pass through a traditional form of socialism; and the transition from socialism to communism is based on the evolution of a human being primarily motivated, not by hunger, sex, or any of the more traditional appetites, but by an overmastering desire to work, with no corresponding wish to enjoy the products of his work if others maintain their greater need of them. Soviet leaders profess to have no doubt that this ambitious plan can be achieved.

COMMUNIST: A person who unreservedly accepts the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and is prepared to support it even against the interest of his own country. At present a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary is he who is completely and unconditionally prepared to defend the USSR.

CONTRADICTIONS. The so-called "contradictions" of capitalism are of fundamental importance to communism. To the Communist the motive force of history is the Marxist Dialectic: the alleged tendency of any given situation to transform itself into its opposite, and subsequently from the tension so generated to evolve a new situation which in turn is subject to the same process. This simple philosophical Rule of Three, borrowed from Hegel, has these steps:

1. Thesis;
2. Antithesis or Negation;
3. Synthesis or Negation of Negation.

The conception of contradictions is a source of potential embarrassment to communism. If essential to the working of the dialectic (which in turn is the motive power of history), why should they not apply equally to communism?

Russian leaders, aware of the dilemma, have invented a doctrine of "non-violent contradictions." This idea — which, to the outsider, has the appearance of a dialectical double-headed penny — maintains that:

1. Contradictions cannot and must not be resolved by violence under Marxist government;
2. They cannot and must not be resolved in any other way under non-Marxist government.

CORRECTIVE LABOR is of three kinds: (1) Working at one's own job at lower wages for periods up to six months; (2) Exile from one's home, usually to areas in Siberia which the government wishes to develop economically, but where normal inducements would not attract labor; (3) Confinement in labor camps. It is not necessary to commit a specific offense or even to be adjudged guilty by a court, in order to receive a sentence of corrective labor. "Punishment in the form of exile can be applied by a sentence of the State Prosecutor against persons recognized as being socially dangerous, without any criminal proceedings; and, also, even in those cases where the persons are acquitted by a court of the accusations of committing a specific crime" (USSR, *Basic Criminal Code*, Article 22 of Principles of Criminal Jurisdiction).

COSMOPOLITANISM is a "reactionary, anti-patriotic, bourgeois outlook on things, hypocritically regarding the whole world as one's fatherland, denying the value of national culture, rejecting the rights of nations to independent existence: the ideology of American imperialism aspiring to world domination" (*Dictionary of the Russian Language*).

CULTURE. Cultured, or *kulturny* behavior, is highly esteemed in the Soviet Union. Short of a criminal offense, to be called uncultured, or *nekulturny*, is as severe a social criticism as can well be offered. The basis of culture is admittedly knowledge. This, however, is no more than the basis; knowledge must be interpreted through an understanding of Marxism-Leninism to create a viewpoint and principles. "One cannot consider a man to be cultured or educated who is not familiar with this doctrine, who is politically illiterate."

Beyond essential knowledge and political literacy, the

next stage in the cultural pilgrimage is to make the man or woman a better worker. "A cultured man has a consciously painstaking attitude to his work and to his civic duties, his duties to socialist society."

So far the Man of Culture is the Communist equivalent of the Industrious Apprentice. But he must beware of separating his "general culture" from his "cultural behavior." He will show to other people, whether already known to him or not, respect, politeness, attention, and alertness. "Rudeness and contempt for other people are not only uncultured, they are also remnants of capitalism." "The rules governing cultured behavior are wholly derived from the principles of Communist morality. The basis of Communist morality, Lenin taught, is the struggle for strengthening and achieving communism."

Culture is not left to private initiative. One should come to regard a national culture (according to Jozsef Revai, Hungarian Minister of People's Culture) as "a weapon pointed at the enemy's heart."

DEMOCRACY. To Communists, a majority has no particular sanctity. Since communism's title deeds to power are its "scientific" view of society, it does not feel called upon to submit its policy, together with alternatives, to a free popular decision.

Bourgeois Democracy is the parliamentary system in non-Socialist countries; *Soviet Democracy*, the highest form, is the system in the USSR.

DEVIATIONIST: A Communist who, whether with good or evil intentions, strays from the path of the official party line.

DIVERSIONIST: A saboteur; most commonly used as part of the phrase "spies and diversionists," referring to agents alleged to have been introduced by foreign intelligence services.

EARTH. Soviet scientists have not as yet reached a completely satisfying theory of the origin of the earth. They are precluded by the nature of Marxism from adopting any which attributes it either to chance or to some exclusive factor which could not be duplicated in the rest of the universe. One theory which has gained much support in the USSR is that the earth built itself up of meteorites. Its crust is believed to be 2,000 or 3,000 million years old, but on the basis that a ton of meteorites falls on the earth every day, the process of building it up is thought to have started anywhere up to about 7,000 million years ago.

EQUALITY. The Socialists, and Marx and Engels, said: "Equality is an empty phrase unless by equality is meant the abolition of classes."

ESPIONAGE. Anyone who on any issue and in any guise whatsoever expresses hostility toward, or doubts the correctness of, the policy of the Soviet Union is an enemy agent. This shows the comprehensive nature of "espionage" and the latitude allowed in defining a spy in Communist countries. Thus a journal run by Cominformists in Yugoslavia in Prague referred in April, 1950, to a prominent Yugoslav as "a notorious prewar spy of the Anglo-Americans who, as a youth, was trained in that British spy center, the Young Men's Christian Association."

FAMILY: "The primary collective of Soviet society — its organic cell. The main function of the Soviet family is the bringing up of children. The cadres of the builders of communism are continually being added to by the rising generations" (*Moscow Radio*, 14 June 1954).

FOREIGN POLICY. "In foreign policy our chief concern is to prevent a new war, to live in peace with all countries" (Malenkov, Stalin funeral oration, 9 March 1953). "The tasks of the Party in foreign policy are: (1) To utilize each and every contradiction and conflict among the surrounding capitalist groups and governments for the purpose of disintegrating imperialism; (2) To spare no pains or means to render assistance to the proletarian revolutions in the West; (3) To take all necessary measures to strengthen the national liberation movement in the East, and (4) To strengthen the Red Army" (Stalin, collected Works, Moscow, 1947, Vol. V, page 111).

FORMALISM: Undue emphasis on form, to the neglect of content. Novel experiments in form are not encouraged in art, since they prevent communication between artist and public; but the criticism of formalism goes deeper than this. Formalistic arts are "oblivious of their responsibility to society"; their formalism "denudes art of its great importance for thought in society and drags it down into the morass of fatuity, mysticism, and banality." In literature, formalism does not refer to style but to "treatment of an untrue, unadulterated subject."

FRACTIONALISM: "Organizing or encouraging small groups within the Communist Party to influence or change its policy on specific issues." It is a forbidden activity.

FREEDOM: In practice, freedom means following the lead of the Communist Party, [which is] a materialist theory; the believer has no need to feel deprivation of liberty; the unbeliever can never be free. "The true freedom, the foundation of all freedoms, is the freedom of the working masses from exploitation, unemployment, and poverty guaranteed by the Stalin Constitution" (Moscow Radio, 7 April 1952). Freedom, even for the believing Communist, is thus essentially a social possession rather than a personal one. If a man in such an environment is unaware of his freedom, the fault lies in him and not in society.

GENIAL is a word which does not mean in English the same as [its translation] in Russian, and may be used to instance some of the pitfalls involved in transferring concepts from one language to the other. *Genialni* is the adjective of "genius"; it means highly-gifted or possessed of great talents. It does not mean bluff, hearty, or affable. It refers to capacity, not temperament.

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM: The belief that the way in which material production of goods is organized, and the relations between the classes producing them form the "Base" of society; and that this in turn creates and determines the nature of the "Superstructure" or the whole of a society's political, spiritual, and intellectual life—laws, morals, ideas, and so forth. The "relations of production" give rise to legal rights.

In theory, Historical Materialism is the foundation of the edifice of communism; in practice, it has been little more since 1917 than the nameplate on the front door. The beginning of the "epoch of social revolution" anywhere depends more on an estimation of the political and military possibilities than on the condition of the "relations of production."

HOOLIGANISM. The word is used of bands of young criminals; it also refers to the playboy activities of sons of higher officials; to the *stilyag* who goes in for "style" in his clothes and the *bikini* who wears loud American-

type ties; to the *bezprizorny* (uncared-for), or gangs or homeless roughs.

IMPERIALISM, in Soviet theory, is the final and inescapable condition of the capitalist system; and the only alternative to it is proletarian dictatorship. It follows that in Soviet practice the world is divided into two separate halves, the imperialist and the Communist; and imperialism is held to be doomed. This concept is not a basic tenet of Marxism but was contributed by Lenin. A Ukraine paper, *Radyanska Ukraina*, referred to Lenin's "profound and exhaustive characterization of American imperialism, the executioner and strangler of Russian freedom, active organizer of military intervention against our country, *gendarme* of Europe, enslaver of weak and small nations."

While the attempt is still made to play off one imperialism against another (for example, in propaganda to Britain about America's alleged monopoly aspirations over Middle Eastern oil), it is recognized that the "imperialist" world is powerful, even formidable; and may have sufficiently recovered its old position, under the impetus of American productive power, to render a frontal attack impracticable. Hence great stress is laid on the contradictions between the imperialist and the exploited power, and great hopes entertained that the colonial peoples will free themselves by "National Liberation Wars" as in Indo-China and Malaya. Robbed of possession of cheap raw materials, the imperialist countries will then fall victims to the domestic "contradiction" between workers and capitalists. Hence the phrase, attributed to Lenin, about the road to Paris lying through Peking and Calcutta.

There is no reason to doubt that the Kremlin accepts this theory of imperialism and explains American and other nations' actions in the light of it. To this extent it is difficult to see how the non-Communist nations, being imperialist by definition, can so act as to reassure it of their intentions. Need to trade, even at the cost of fortifying the capitalist system and hence, in theory, imperialism, is possibly the reason why Stalin, in his Linguistic letters of 1950, referred to the occasions when even the spread of revolution must be halted in the interests of society in general.

INTERNATIONALIST: He who unreservedly, without hesitation, without conditions, is ready to defend the USSR because the USSR is the base of the world revolutionary movement; and to defend, to advance this revolutionary movement is impossible without defending the USSR. (It may save some misunderstanding to note that the test of a Patriot, a Revolutionary, and an Internationalist is to all intents and purposes the same; the three words are descriptions for the same person.) Stalinist ideology holds that true nationalism is safe only in proletarian and revolutionary hands. Lenin pointed out that proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism are irreconcilable.

INVENTIONS. Most of the machines that move or work on land or sea or in the air seem to have been claimed as Russian inventions. So, too, do most scientific techniques and original ideas. This propaganda is for the most part aimed at home audiences, convincing them that they belong to "the most technically advanced country in the world." Priority is claimed in the fields of: Aeronautics, Aeroplane, Airship, Animal (oldest fossil: *dinoceratosaurus*), Antarctic (discovery), Antibiotics, Artificial Insemination, Atomic Fission, Calculating Machines, Chemistry, Cinema Projector, Crystallography, Desert (Gobi, the oldest), Detergents, Dyes, Electric Arc Welding, Electric

Light Bulb (invented by A. H. Lodigin in 1875, three or four years before Edison; see Moscow Polytechnic Exhibit); Electrical Units of ohm and ampere (were invented by Yakoby and used in Russia for some years before being adopted elsewhere); Electric Motor Boat, Flying Boats, Gas Turbine (1897), Helicopter (1754), Hydrogenation Plant (1908), Internal Combustion Locomotives, Interplanetary Flight, Jet Aircraft, Mechanized Mines, Naval Tactics for steam warships; sea mines; torpedoes, hydroplanes, and other types of ships; Oilwells ("the world's first" in 1846); Parachute (invented by a Russian); Penicillin; Quartz Crystal Clock; Radio (the world's first radio apparatus, invented by Alexander Popov in 1895, is in the Moscow Polytechnic Museum), Radiolocation (or Radar, "discovered" by Popov in 1897); Railway ("first in the world" laid down in 1753 in "the first mechanized mine in the world — in the Urals"); Rockets (first made in Russia in 1620), Rubber — Synthetic, Seismology (world's first seismographic station, in Leningrad, 1906), Telegraph (1832 — five years before Morse), Telephony (through cables, 1893), Telephony — High-Frequency (1880), Television (1911), Three-Dimensional Cinema (1941), Tramcar (1876), Tractor — Caterpillar (1879), Turbines (1837), Underground Boat, Vaccination, Viruses (discovered 1886 and 1892), Vitamins (about 1881), Wooden Paving.

The Russians think of everything first. In a popular book, *Talks about Magnetism*, by a Mr. Bosman (Moscow, 1951), the author admits that "it was the Chinese who discovered the compass." He adds that it is "a fact which Western scientists are hushing up."

KULAK: The Russian word for "fist." When used of a man, it comes to mean "tight-fisted one," and since that description fits so many peasants, it was extremely useful to the Bolsheviks in cementing early alliances of town workers and poor landless agricultural workers. It is, however, a term of abuse rather than a definition. A kulak is any peasant who opposes the current policy for agriculture.

LENINISM: "The one and only ideology in the USSR" (*Pravda*, 22 April 1951). "Any deviation from Leninism, from proletarian internationalism, means betrayal of the cause of the working class, betrayal of the interests of one's people" (*Cominform Journal*, 18 April 1952).

LOVE. Since for communism it is the productive relations of society (in an economic sense) that make the world go round, love loses its romantic primacy and becomes as much a matter of social responsibility as of private choice. In the USSR, love has tended to settle down into a simple, uncomplicated relationship between two persons whose main interest in life is not each other, but their places in society. In countries that have more newly arrived at communism, this balance between romance and responsibility has been less happily achieved.

MARSHALL PLAN: "A means of gearing the policies and economies of the 'Marshallized' countries to the narrow and selfish plans for the establishment of Anglo-American domination in Europe." It has "a military character," and is "the economic weapon of the Atlantic Treaty."

METAPHORS. If, as psychologists assert, the metaphors and similes a man uses are often a better guide to his meaning than his straightforward arguments, those of communism deserve attention. Belligerent metaphors are employed even when their whole purpose is to advocate peace ("to declare war on the imperialists' war;" to "batter the warmongers to death," and so forth) (see PEACE);

the military metaphors employed for a political party ("militant staff of the working class"); the "victory" of socialism promised — or threatened — in the same breath that the doomed capitalists are asked to coexist peacefully.

MILITARY SCIENCE: The art of warfare. War is only one of the three factors of Soviet "Military Science," the other two being "political and economic potentialities."

MONOLITHIC. One of the most used and best loved of Communist adjectives, it expresses the condition of perfection sought in both ideology and organization, [as of] the Party carved from one single block.

MORALITY: That which facilitates the destruction of the old world and strengthens the new, Communist regime (*Short Philosophical Dictionary*).

MUSIC. Discussing music, V. Konstantiov wrote: "Only the national element and what appeals to the masses is virile and constitutes real art." The whole tendency of music is intended to be propagandist, to encourage the listener to devote himself ever more strongly to aims regarded by the Socialist leaders as socially desirable, and to this end music is supposed to be popular in form. Composers must abhor abstract subjects, unconnected with real life, but should choose work as a subject. A praiseworthy instance of this was the "Mansfield Oratorio" by Herman Meyer of East Germany, which depicts the 750-year-old history of the Mansfield cupro-ferrous slate factory.

MVD is the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union.

NAMES. Soviet citizens are expected to give their children Russian names, like Nina, Ludmilla, Tamara, and Svetlana, shunning foreign importations. For the early revolutionaries, changes of name were a matter of common prudence, though their choice could still express personality. J. V. Djughashvili, for example, took the name of Stalin (the Man of Steel); and V. M. Scriabin that of Molotov (the Little Hammer).

NATIONALISM is one of the Janus-words of communism with a different connotation according to the context. In a non-Communist country it is a defense against "imperialist cosmopolitanism." National feelings, unless carefully controlled, have always been a subject of wary suspicion to Communist leaders.

NOBEL PRIZE: "Dynamite money." The Communist equivalent and rival to the Nobel Prize is the Stalin Prize "for the strengthening of peace between nations," founded in honor of Stalin's seventieth birthday (1949).

NORM: The quota of output required as a minimum in a given period of time; it usually refers to the amount a worker is required to produce to receive a standard wage. Overfulfillment of the norm is generally rewarded by progressively-increasing bonuses.

PANSLAVISM. The nineteenth-century movement for cultural unity among Slav peoples, encouraged by the Tsarist governments, has been superseded by Communist ideology; but to help in maintaining cohesion within the orbit a modified and attenuated form was retained, to remind non-Communists that they had some common interests with their fellow Slavs.

PARTY. The Communist Party is not a political party in the non-Communist sense of the word. It does not, for

example, accept rivals when it has the power to dispense with them. It is more important than the State itself, which is in effect little more than its administrative instrument. "The Party governs the State" (*Moscow Radio*, 25 May 1950). It is the leading force in that it recognizes no bounds on its competence. The fact that communism is a philosophy of history before it is a political instrument gives to it a strength and a degree of irreconcilability which a purely political program would be unable to generate. The Party is, in its own eyes, the conscious will of history in human affairs. The spiritual arm and the secular arm are on one and the same body. Individual judgment is not to be set beside that of the Party, since its will is sanctioned by the mandate of history.

PARTY LINE: The official policy of the Communist Party on any given subject. It is binding upon all members, whatever their private opinions. There can be no "agreement to disagree," or modification for the sake of a conscientious objection.

PATRIOT: One who believes that the interests of his own country necessarily and always coincide with those of the USSR.

PAVLOVISM. Ivan Pavlov (1849-1936), the Russian physiologist, is highly regarded by the Soviet leaders, partly for the international fame he won by his studies of instinctive and conditioned reflexes, partly for the impetus he gave to the study of relationship between diseases and the psychology of the individual; but mainly because his teaching is held to "the firmest scientific support of dialectical materialism."

According to Lenin, matter is primary and the "spirit" or "soul" is secondary. Human consciousness is thus a function of matter, the mind a function of the cortex. Pavlov reached similar conclusions. There is no immortal soul, independent of a physiological basis in the brain.

There are immense political consequences in this theory for a government which intends to "change nature," and much internal propaganda is based on the same principles of association as Pavlov's dinner bell. The idea of "Soviet Man" is bound up with them; and the Soviet government's methods of dealing with its own subjects can be fully understood only in the light of its belief, taken from Pavlov, that human conduct can be effectively (and at some stage entirely) determined by outside stimuli (propaganda, rewards, punishments). Pavlov's work is thus an important psychological prop for modern communism; hence "it is obvious that there is a tremendous political significance attached to the task of smashing Pavlov's enemies" (*Krasnaya Zvezda*, 18 July 1950).

PEACE is a constant subject of Communist attention; equally constant is the use of belligerent metaphor in its advocacy. That "peace must be fought for" is a recurrent theme. The Movement plans its activities as a military operation. The Chinese "volunteers" in Korea resorted to arms "only because they want peace" (*Moscow Radio*, 18 July 1951).

"Peace" as thus interpreted is preserved from criticism by severe laws for the protection of peace. In East Germany "warmongering" could be punished by death in certain cases; and the law appeared to assume jurisdiction over West Germans and to make anyone advocating association with NATO liable to penal servitude. Penalties in Bulgaria go up to life imprisonment; in Poland, up to fifteen years; in Czechoslovakia, ten years.

PEASANTS are "the barbarians of civilization," said Marx in 1850 (*The Coming Struggle for Peace*); a separate but disunited class, shapeless as a sack of potatoes. The interests of the peasant, however poor, are held to differ fundamentally from those of the proletariat. Once he possesses land of his own, he is prepared to call a halt to revolution; he is satisfied, and becomes a conservative or reactionary force. He thus represents a survival of "bourgeois" mentality and a brake on the entire system, keeping alive the idea of private property in a society dedicated to collectivism. More practically, he has neither the will nor the organization to provide enough food for a population rapidly drifting to the towns. The Hungarian Communist leader Matyas Rakosi said that the peasant, considered as a worker, preferred socialism to capitalism; but as a trader in his own produce he was selfish, and preferred not to grow what the country needed, but what was most profitable to him.

The long-term plan for agriculture under communism aims, therefore, at liquidating the peasants as a class, and creating a rural proletariat. Farm work would be a job like any other; not a way of life. Farms would be regarded as food-producing and food-processing factories.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY: A dictatorship of the proletariat without Soviet form; an intermediate stage between "bourgeois democracy" and "Soviet democracy." It is a system in which effective power is in the hands of the Communist Party; the word is usually employed of the eastern European countries brought into the Soviet orbit after 1945.

POLITBURO: The political bureau of the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party (known since 1952 as the Praesidium) and its executive organ for deciding policy, hence the real government of the USSR. It is "the highest organ not of the state but of the party, and the party is the highest directing force of the state." During its thirty-five years of existence, the Politburo averaged nine members with a maximum of six alternates, and had only forty members in all. Of these, fourteen were alive in July, 1954; seven had died natural deaths; nineteen had committed suicide, been murdered, shot, or disappeared.

PROFITS play an important role in Soviet economy, particularly in finding the wherewithal for "Socialist accumulation" — that is, new capital to expand Soviet industry. In addition to a turnover tax, one-third of the profits of an industry is, on an average, ploughed back into it. A director's fund, to be spent on increasing production, building and renovation and workers' welfare, takes from 1 to 5 per cent of profits if the plan is attained, and from 15 to 45 per cent of profits in excess of the plan. The economic function of profit is as honored under communism as it ever was under capitalism.

PROJECTS consist of a series of transport and irrigation canals and power plants. They are intended as one of the major steps from socialism to communism, by helping to supply the "industrial base" regarded as essential. These projects are not expected to be completed until the 1960's.

PROLETARIAT. The word was adopted by Marxism from the French *proletariat*; the poorest of the workers. It has a wider social significance than the more functional expression, "working class." "Capitalism creates not only the material conditions for socialism; it creates the proletariat which is its grave-digger" (*Tass*, 30 April 1953). The spade employed by the proletariat in its role of social sexton

must, however, be the Communist Party.

PROLETARIAT, DICTATORSHIP OF THE: The essential instrument, in Communist theory, for the transition from capitalism to socialism. In Stalin's words: "The dictatorship of the proletariat consists of the directives of the Party, plus their execution by the mass organizations of the proletariat, plus their transformation into life by the population" (*Problems of Leninism*, p. 142). This dictatorship is the yoke under which all capitalist societies must pass; it is the "inevitable law of the revolutionary movement in the imperialistic countries of the world," including Britain and America. "The dictatorship of the world proletariat is an essential and vital condition precedent to the transformation of world capitalist economy into socialist economy." This world-wide aim began with success in the USSR. "The goal is to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries," said Stalin in 1917. The "law" teaches that socialism cannot come about, as social democrats hold, by a peaceful transformation of bourgeois society and parliamentary democracy. "It can arise only as the result of the smashing of the bourgeois police" (*Problems*, pp. 44-45).

PSYCHOANALYSIS: A "reactionary pseudo-science" especially popular in the United States. There is no room in the Marxist picture of man for unconscious mental processes.

PSYCHOTHERAPY in the Soviet Union restricts itself, because of disbelief in the existence of the "unconscious," to suggestion, persuasion, argument, and a direct appeal to rational consciousness.

RED. The Russian word *krasniy* is a pun of some value to the Communists — it means both beautiful and red. Red Square was so called long before the Red Revolution.

RELIGION. "The USSR is a country with an atheistic outlook on the world" (*Soviet Encyclopedia*). "Communism and religion are incompatible and irreconcilable. The Party cannot be neutral regarding religion, and it conducts anti-religious propaganda against every religious prejudice, because it stands for science; and religious prejudices are opposed to science." This "science" is dialectical materialism. "Religion cannot be a private affair." The spreading of religious ideas is forbidden by law.

REVOLUTIONARY: "He who without arguments, unconditionally, openly and honestly without secret military consultations is ready to protect and defend the USSR, since the USSR is the first proletarian revolutionary State in the world that is building socialism" (Stalin, *Collected Works*). This conclusion is drawn from the following chain reasoning. The proletarian revolution is all one, the world over. It began in Russia. "The victory of the revolution in one country, in the present case Russia, is not only the product of the uneven development and progressive decay of imperialism; it is at the same time the beginning of and the groundwork for the world revolution" (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*). Hence the interests of Russians and non-Russians are the same. "The USSR has no interests which are at variance with the interests of world revolution and the international proletariat naturally has no interests which are at variance with those of the Soviet Union" (Khorin, in a speech to the Comintern, December, 1933).

RIGHTISM, or Rightist Deviationism, is the failure on

the part of a Communist to realize that coalitions or agreements with other political parties, whether Socialist or not, can never be more than temporary and tactical accommodations for a limited objective. The Communist movement, from the days of Lenin at least, has believed that the parliamentary system is an obsolete, bourgeois phenomenon. Parliamentary activity must never be allowed to absorb the energies, to compromise the principles, or to restrict the freedom of action of the Communist Party.

RUSSIANS. A little over half the population of the USSR is Russian. Until the Second World War, the use of the word "Russian," except to these people and their state, was frowned upon; the adjective to be used was "Soviet." Yet as Russia and the Russians had been the sinews of Tsarist expansion from the eighteenth century, so after the German attack in 1941 they were the heart and soul of the resistance. While nominally nothing changed in the relations, in practice the nationalities policy was considerably modified after the war. At a Kremlin reception for Red Army commanders on 24 May 1945, Stalin's toast was "to the health of the Russian people."

SCIENCE has two meanings: (1) Natural Science, such as physics, biology, astronomy; it bears connotations of "anti-religious." To be worthy of the name it must have practical significance. (2) The highest "science" of all, in Soviet eyes — Marxism-Leninism.

SECTARIANISM: The activities of evangelical Christian sects in the USSR. Sokolov stated that to "reconcile" religion with communism was "unacceptable" and that the preaching of "love for all people" is a gospel not of philanthropy but of misanthropy, because "real philanthropy specifically includes sincere hatred for the enemies of laboring humanity." Sokolov called for a "systematic ideological struggle against the anti-scientific reactionary ideology of sectarianism."

SELF-CRITICISM: An acknowledgment by the person criticized of the validity of the accusations made against him — a usual preliminary to reinstatement in the Party's favor.

SHAKESPEARE is the subject of constant attention from the Soviet and allied world. He is, first of all, something of a touchstone proving the depth of Communist culture. Again, Shakespeare's breadth of interest makes it possible to quote from him in support of almost any propaganda line momentarily in favor. Shakespeare is given an ideological role as the man who "saw the evils of the advent of capitalism."

SOCIALISM: No more than an essential stage on the road to communism. It is the stage at which, though capitalist "exploitation" has ceased and counter-revolution has been made impossible through imposing dictatorship of the proletariat, the full program of communism cannot be realized. It has nothing in common with socialism as understood by non-Soviet Socialists. The Soviet system is officially stated to be still in its Socialist and not yet in its Communist period.

SOCIALIST REALISM in art and literature is the "creative method" obligatory for Soviet artists and writers, and has been in use since 1934. It is "Socialist" in that the work of the writer is organically bound up with the tasks of educating the working people in the spirit of socialism; its realism consists in a "just and historically concrete reflection of reality in its revolutionary development"

(*Pravda*, May, 1954). Reality is thus not what the author's untrained inspiration thinks it sees, which is a purely "bourgeois" and "degenerate" idea; nor is it a matter of depicting the external relation of things, which is naturalism; nor again does it consist of detachment from the class war, which is "objectivism." There is conflict; artists are involved in it; and they like everyone else must be guided by "what comprises the living foundation of the Soviet system — the policy of the Communist Party." Its definition of the nature of reality is binding; and it regards itself as competent, too, to advise the writer on the forms he should adopt. There is "need for a more vivid artistic embodiment of the figure of the Communist." It is "politically harmful and profoundly vicious" to suggest that the Soviet leaders can be corrupted by power (*Literary Gazette*, 27 May 1954).

SOUL: Something that does not exist in Soviet theory. "Consciousness is a nervous energy in a given part of the brain."

SPORT is bound up with the international prestige of the USSR. Military training is based on sports training.

STALINISM. During his lifetime, Stalin was the fount and daystar of Soviet life and Communist ideology, "the creator of new life on earth," than whom no one had ever possessed "more varied, rich, beautiful, and omnipresent genius"; "his forecasts are infallible"; "his plans always come true"; he is "the incarnation of all our best hopes." It is not yet apparent how much, if anything, of Stalinism will be allowed to survive.

STATE. The State, in the view of Marx and Engels, used its police rights to preserve the property rights for capitalists. It also refrained from interference in economic life, thus guaranteeing the free market economy by which the capitalist was able to put into his own pocket the surplus value produced by the proletariat. Where no such exploitation or protection took place, the State would "wither away" (Engels). Further thought suggested that the State could not disappear immediately, nor could its repressive features be dispensed with. The capitalists would set up the old bourgeois state again if there were no force to prevent. Accordingly, a "temporary caretaker state" had to be set up (Lenin).

UNIVERSE. The universe is held to have no limits in time or in space; it is in a state of continuous motion and development. The official Soviet cosmogony, as approved in the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1951, explains the new theory: "Our own Soviet country is the center of the science of the origin of the heavenly bodies and of the development of our eternally existing and changing universe." This statement of Soviet theory is coupled with attacks on the "pseudo-scientific" hypotheses of bourgeois and capitalist scientists.

WAR. Lenin recognized two kinds of war: imperialist wars (unjust), and wars of liberation (just). As the Soviet Union will never accuse itself of imperialism, its opponents must be conducting an unjust war. "The defense of the Soviet Union and of the people's democracies is the holy duty of the workers of the whole world. As long as imperialism exists, as long as landowners and capitalists are in power, imperialist wars will be inevitable, and democratic peace impossible" (Kretov).

"It is the function of the peace movement, not to subvert capitalist governments and replace them with Socialist

ones (although this is not excluded if conditions should be favorable anywhere), but to prevent capitalist governments from making war on the Soviet Union" (Stalin, April, 1952). In his [Stalin's] opinion, American control of the capitalist world is not strong enough. Thus the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains and, "in order to eliminate the inevitability of wars, capitalism must be destroyed." If war between the two camps [of capitalism and communism] can be delayed long enough, the USSR's opponents will obligingly make war on each other, as they did in 1939, and relieve it of the effort and risk of destroying their system.

WARMONGER. This word is the usual translation of a Russian expression involving a quite different and more vivid image — "war incendiary."

WOMEN. The role of women and their rights in society is a theme on which Soviet practice and theory do not march in step. In principle, equality for women should be one of the distinguishing marks of socialism. Yet, since Anna Pauker fell in Roumania in June, 1952, no woman has occupied a leading role in a Communist State. Women have access to most trades and professions, but do not occupy responsible positions. They are expected to perform tasks in Eastern Europe which have hitherto been regarded as suitable only for men. In Czechoslovakia women are drafted into industry.

WORKERS. The Communist picture of the "workers" is of a basic mass of toiling millions, the "working masses," disorganized, often not members of any trade unions, and generally indifferent or ignorant.

The "working class" is, broadly speaking, the union-organized and politically-conscious section of the workers. The "vanguard of the working class" is the Communist Party, entitled to leadership by its "scientific" analysis of social conditions, past, present, and future. It carries to "the broad masses of the working people" the light of Marxism-Leninism. These "broad masses" may include, as an honorary gesture, the so-called "working peasants" — those who do not own land of their own, and can be induced to support the town workers but who, aiming to become land-owners, can never be whole-hearted proletarians.

The hierarchies are well expressed by V. Cervenkov, the Bulgarian Prime Minister: "The foundation of our State is the alliance between workers and the working peasants, under the guidance of the working class, led by the Communist Party." END

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An American's Conception of His Basic Rights

By JERRY ROBERTSON

The author, best known as the "Tri-State Oil Reporter," died a little over a year ago. This selection is from the inside back cover of his book *Oil Slangue* published by Petroleum Publishers, Evansville, Indiana.

I BELIEVE that the biological accident of conception which brought me into this world gave me a clear and undisputed title to my life. I want to live it in peace and dignity.

Just wanting to live and wanting the things that make my life more pleasant does not automatically entitle me to get them. I must give of my brain and brawn in fair exchange in order to get the comforts of life. That I am willing to do.

I believe that citizenship in the United States of America carries an obligation of service — both civil and military — when my country needs me to fight and die if necessary to protect freedom. I do not think free men fighting for their liberty are heroes — any more than is the patient father who supports the children he helped to bring into the world. It is every man's duty to protect his young — and his liberty.

I do not believe that the Declaration of Independence is "a fiction of the 18th century" as the godless Communists so glibly say. To me the Constitution of the United States is not a political document to be lightly changed or altered by passing pressure groups. It is a firm contract — as made by wise and great men to form the foundation for the government of

free people — as decided by a majority of the governed.

I reject any thought that the State is my master. A social order like communism or socialism which makes a government the final judge of its own acts is a nonsensical system. A dog-eat-dog society in which its suffering citizens must bow down to the few — who by chicanery and force acquire power — has recently been exemplified by political gangsters like Stalin, Hitler, Tojo and Malenkov. The fate of those who cannot acquire great power under communism is slavery.

To speak of human rights as being superior to property rights is as silly as a statement that men are more important than women. The right of ownership begins at the birth of a free citizen — which gives him title to his life. What he makes is his. Property rights are human rights. The first move of every dictator is to restrict or take away property.

There have been twenty times in the world's history when there were two dominant powers — in every instance one has been destroyed.

Realize the danger, my fellow Americans! Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

I had rather die on my feet than to live on my knees.

A Background for Peace and War

(Continued from page 36)

In the series of problems which present themselves, we must have good leaders with calm minds and sound judgments. In this leadership there is no room for the jingoist who would have the United States rush to war for fanciful reasons and easy pretext. Nor is there space for that other jingoist, equally harmful, who would surrender any blood-purchased right or privilege lest this opposition to the wishes of others provoke aggression against us.

We can and must contemplate the future with hope. The light of ideal-

ism, of the vision of a finer world in which to live, of peaceful ways to the solution of warlike problems must guide us. The world must continue to seek better ways and better times. But idealism blankets many fallacies, incongruous beliefs, exploded myths. These must be recognized and opposed.

Somewhere, sometime, an idealistic thinker may point the way to this solution for which nations have prayed in vain. The search for this Holy Grail must continue.

Book Reviews

The American Story

By Gareth Garrett, Henry Regnery Co., 20 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill., 1955, 401 pp., \$5.00.

With fluent and felicitous expression Mr. Garrett bears us along on a swift current of history and comment, from our pre-national beginnings to the present time, six generations later. His general theme appears to be an awed acceptance of the fact that America has consistently enjoyed fortunate circumstances together with able leaders.

"Of all the fictions that have ennobled the mind of man, the one under which this nation was born made the most dazzling light: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' The words were not new. They were current in radical European thought. But never before had they been raised to . . . a working political doctrine; and if a government based upon that ideal doctrine could endure, if people could actually behave as if it were true, the world would never be the same again."

Thence we go traveling at top speed, via Mr. Garrett's most compressed literary style, through colonial adventures, through the American Revolution, which "did not devour its own children, as most revolutions do, but made them fathers of the Republic"; through the vicissitudes of a new and experimental government; through the expansion of pioneer settlement; through a period of countless adjustments to an unknown land.

Incredible good fortune attended the Louisiana Purchase. "The commissioners had no authority to buy Louisiana, but when Talleyrand said they could have it for sixty million francs they bought it."

Civil War and Reconstruction shook the nation to its roots. From rape and ruin the South emerged, thanks to its own resoluteness and to the propitious advent of forceful men.

"There was a certain order in the way men appeared" — Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Adams, John Marshall, Andrew Jackson, Lincoln, Grant; a procession of guiding spirits

rising inevitably at critical moments, each contributing to the perpetuation of national ideals. Tribute is paid to Theodore Roosevelt, who "could make a platitude sound like a thunderbolt" and "roar in two keys at once," and who, overriding all obstacles, negotiated the Panama Canal. Quiet, factual mention is made of General MacArthur, who "returned to the Philippines, wading ashore at Leyte. . . . In MacArthur's command on this adventure was every able-bodied man who had escaped from Corregidor before that fortress in Manila had surrendered two and one-half years before."

Immigration is discussed. "The large idea was that this country could assimilate and ennoble any kind of human material from the refuse of Europe. . . . Millions came with only the bundles on their backs. . . . Here for the wage earners was the best living in the world. . . . Along with the immigrant horde came a dangerously brooding few who brought with them . . . theories of the class struggle according to Marx."

Concerning national power, the author philosophizes: "Absolutely, it turns out to be . . . the paramount power to kill."

Analysis is accorded successive disasters which broke the chain of good fortune: World War I; the Great Depression; governmental "elevation of the economist to the rank of priesthood"; World War II, "the incomparable disaster since the Fall of Man"; the North Atlantic Treaty, under which "the United States assumed an unlimited obligation to go to war under circumstances it could not foresee; under circumstances it could not control"; the "absurd" Korean war, which "lasted three years and came to a stalemate called a truce; the North Korean did all the dying on the Communist side, and the Russians could gloat over the hole it made in the American purse."

As of today, Mr. Garrett would seem none too happy over "the British view that the Americans were to be cajoled, not followed," and that they "used American dollars to support the second largest Socialist experiment in Europe." He regrets that *isolationism* should have become "a word of reproach and a political liability."

Implicit in the text is the final interrogation: Can America's good fortune be trusted to endure? Is there a chance that America will remain true to the ever more faintly echoing challenge of 1776?

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	WJJI†	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	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR*	920	Sun	3:30 p
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*	1230	Sun	9:00 p
Troy	WTBF*	1490		
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WJRD*	1150	Sun	4:30 p
	WTBC*	1230		

ALASKA

Fairbanks	KTVF-TV†	11	Sat	6:00 p
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ARIZONA

Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Douglas	KAUT**	1450		
Holbrook	KDJI*	1270	Sat	2:00 p
Kingman	KCAN*			
Phoenix	KOOL-TV†	10	Sat	10:45 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	1:00 p

ARKANSAS

Arkadelphia	KVRC*	1240		
	KVRC*	1240		
Batesville	KBTA†	1340	Mon	10:30 p
	KBTA†	1340	Sat	9:15 a
Benton	KBBA*	690	Sun	12:15 p
Camden	KAMD*	1450	Sun	8:45 p
	KAMD†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Conway	KCON*	1230		
	KCON*	1230		
El Dorado	KRBB-TV†	10	Sat	6:30 p
	KDMS*	1290		
	KDMS*	1290	Sun	5:45 p
Fayetteville	KGRH*	1450		
	KGRH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Forrest City	KXJK*	950		
	KXJK*	950	Sun	1:00 p
Fort Smith	KWHN†	1320	Mon	8:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sun	4:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
	KFSA-TV†	22	Sun	1:00 p
Harrison	KHOZ*	1240		
	KHOZ*	1240		
Hope	KXAR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KXAR†	1490	Sat	10:15 p
Hot Springs	KWFC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
Jonesboro	KBTM*	1230		
	KBTM*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri	10:15 p
	KXLR†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
McGehee	KVSA*	1220		
Malvern	KBOK*	1420	Sun	10:05 a
	KBOK*	1420	Sun	1:30 p
Mena	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Monticello	KHBM*	1430	Sun	1:45 p
	KHBM*	1430	Sun	8:00 a
Morrilton	KVOM*	800	Sun	2:00 p
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	KTLO*	1490	Sun	9:00 p
	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
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What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

May I profoundly thank FACTS FORUM for choosing me as first prize winner in the April issue on FACTS FORUM Poll Questions. With enthusiasm bursting at the seams I immediately trotted out to the various newsstands and purchased extra copies, sent them by mail to what is expected to be new readers of your pre-eminent magazine. . . .

The story of UNESCO has always been a baffling problem, but your April issue on UNESCO clarified many muzzled facts. Another FACTS FORUM MUST READ article in April issue.

There is one thing that a teacher notices, that is, that the magazine is not too wordy; . . . it does not contain useless words. Every word counts.

MRS. ESTHER ANDERSON
BA., B.S., Ed.
523 Lebaron St.
Mesa, Arizona

The appearance of the article in the May issue of *Facts Forum [News]*, "Dear Congressman" by Ruth Boyer Scott, is most timely and has great educational implications, because it not only reminds the citizens of our land of their responsibility in keeping abreast of the times, but provides the opportunity to communicate with their representatives in Congress telling them how they feel on the important issues of the day.

W. J. KLOPP
4279 San Rafael Ave.
Los Angeles 42, California

I have been so thrilled with *Facts Forum [News]* . . . [and] especially . . . the first time I picked up my edition four months ago, and saw the article by Mr. George Brada. . . . My personal thanks to you for helping Mr. Brada to be heard in America.

BELLE M. JONES
250 LaVerne Ave.
Mill Valley, California

You are doing a splendid job on *Facts Forum News* and we not only look forward to receiving it but find it most helpful in our work.

WINNIFRED S. TAYLOR
U. S. Press Association
1767 P Street, N.W.
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I am so impressed by my first glance in your *Facts Forum [News]*, I am enclosing check for a one year subscription.

GEORGE HODGE
3319 D St., S.E.
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ARKANSAS — (Continued)

Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
	KPOC*	1420		
Rogers	KAMO*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
Russellville	KXRJ*	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
	KXRJ*	1490		
	KXRJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Siloam Springs	KUOA*	1290	Sat	12:45 p
	KUOA*	1290		
Springdale	KBRS*	1340	Mon	7:00 p
Stuttgart	KWAK*	1240		
	KWAK*	1240	Sun	2:30 p
	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Warren	KWRF*	860		
	KWRF*	860		

CALIFORNIA

Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	12:00 a
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	Mon	7:30 p
	KSFE*	1340	Sun	6:15 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	4:45 p
Oroville	KMOR*	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV†	10	Sun	12:00 a
San Diego	KFMB-TV†	8	Sat	1:00 p
San Francisco	KGO-TV†	7	Sat	10:30 p
San Luis				
Obispo	KVEC-TV†	6	Sun	6:30 p
Santa Cruz	KSCO*	1080	Thurs	8:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE*	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	Sat	12:30 p

COLORADO

Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon	7:30 p
Cortez	KVFC*	740	Sun	12:00 a
Delta	KDTA*	1400	Sun	3:30 p
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:30 p
	KTVR-TV†	2		
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	7:30 p
	KREX-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

Waterbury	WATR-TV†	53	Thurs	6:00 p
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DELAWARE

Wilmington	WPFH-TV†	12	Sun	10:30 p
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WEAM**	1390	Wed	10:00 p
	WFAN*	100.3		
	WOOK*	1340		

FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	Sat	12:00 a
	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 a
Live Oak	WNER*	1390	Mon	3:45 p
	WNER*	1390		
Marianna	WTYS†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Miami	WGBS-TV†	23	Wed	9:30 p
	WKAT†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
	WTVT-TV†	17	Fri	9:30 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
	WDLP*	590	Sun	2:00 p
St. Augustine	WSTN*	1420	Wed	11:45 a
Sanford	WTRR*	1400	Sat	9:15 p

GEORGIA

Augusta	WJBF-TV†	28	Sat	5:30 p
Columbus	WDAK-TV†	28	Sat	9:30 p
Cordele	WJMJ†	1490	Mon	1:15 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	6:45 p
Dalton	WBLT*	1230	Sat	9:30 p
Dublin	WMLT†	1330	Mon	9:30 p
Gainesville	WCCA†	550	Mon	9:30 p
Griffin	WKEU†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Jesup	WBRG*	1370	Sun	9:30 p
La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon	11:00 a
Macon	WIBB*	1280	Sun	9:30 p
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	8:00 p
Monroe	WMRE*	1490	Sun	9:30 p
Statesboro	WVNS†	1240	Mon	1:30 p
Swainsboro	WJAT*	800	Sun	9:30 p
Toccoa	WLET†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon	9:30 p
Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon	9:30 p

HAWAII

Honolulu	KONA-TV†	2		
Hilo	KILA*	850	Sat	8:45 p
Wailuku, Mau	KMVI*	550	Sun	12:15 p

**Topic of the Week

†Reporters' Roundup (Radio & TV)

IDAHO

Boise	KIDO-TV†	7	Sun	11:45 p
Moscow	KRPL*	1400	Tues	6:30 p
Twin Falls	KLIX-TV†	11		
Weiser	KWEI*	1240	Sun	3:00 p
	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*	1020		
	WCIL**	1020	Sun	1:00 p
Carmi	WRO†	1460		
Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
	WMAQ*	670		
	WMAQ**	670		
	WHFC*	1450	Tues	10:30 p
	WDZ*	1050		
	WDZ**	1050	Sun	12:30 p
De Kalb	WLBK*	1360	Sun	1:00 p
Dixon	WSDR*	1240		
Du Quoin	WDQN*	1580		
	WDQN**	1580		
East Peoria	WEEK*	1350		
East St. Louis	WTMV*	1490		
	WTMV**	1490		
Elgin	WRMN*	1410		
Fairfield	WFIW*	1390	Sun	12:00 n
Freeport	WFRL*	1570	Sun	1:00 p
Galesburg	WGIL*	1400	Sun	6:30 p
Harrisburg	WEBQ*	1240	Mon	8:00 p
	WEBQ**	1240	Sat	9:15 a
	WSIL-TV†	22	Wed	2:00 p
	WJPF*	1340		
Herrin	WLDS*	1180	Sun	12:45 p
Jacksonville	WJOL*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Kankakee	WKAN*	1320		
	WKAN**	1320		
Kewanee	WKEI*	1450	Fri	5:45 p
	WKEI**	1450		
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC**	1370	Sun	4:30 p
Litchfield	WSMI*	1540	Sun	
	WSMI**	1540		
Marion	WCGH*	1150	Sun	5:00 p
Mt. Carmel	WVMC*	1360		
	WVMC**	1360		
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Olney	WVLN*	740		
	WVLN**	740		
Sparta	WHCO*	1230	Fri	2:00 p
	WHCO**	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Sterling	WSDR*	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Waukegan	WKRS*	1220		

INDIANA

Bloomington	WTTS*	1370	Sun	3:15 p
Connorsville	WCNB*	1580	Wed	12:30 p
Elkhart	WSJV-TV†	52		
Evansville	WEHT-TV**	50	Sun	10:30 a
	WEOA*	1400		
	WEOA**	1400	Sun	9:30 p
Fl. Wayne	WANE*	1450		
Frankfort	WKJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Coshen	WILQ*	1570	Sun	12:30 p
	WKAM*	1460		
	WKAM**	1460		
Indianapolis	WISH-TV†	6	Sun	12:00 n
	WIBC*	1070	Sun	8:45 p
Jasper	WITZ*	990	Sun	4:45 p
	WITZ**	990	Sun	11:00 a
Kokomo	WIOU*	1350		
Lafayette	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WFAM-TV†	59	Fri	8:00 p
Logansport	WSAL*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WSAL**	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Michigan City	WIMS*	1420	Sun	6:00 p
	WIMS**	1420		
Mt. Vernon	WPCO*	1590		
	WPCO**	1590	Sun	4:00 p
Muncie	WMUN*	104.1		
	WMUN**	104.1		
	WLBC-TV†	49		
New Castle	WLBC*	1340	Fri	10:15 p
Peru	WCTV*	102.5	Sun	12:15 p
Portland	WARU*	1600		
	WPGW*	1440		
	WPGW**	1440	Sun	3:00 p
Salem	WSLM*	1220		
	WSLM**	1220	Mon	8:30 a
Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
	WJCD**	1390	Sun	3:00 p
South Bend	WSBT*	960		
	WSBT**	960		
Terre Haute	WBOW*	1230		
	WTHI-TV†	10	Tues	9:30 a
Vincennes	WAOV*	1450		
Washington	WAMW*	1580	Sun	6:15 p
	WAMW**	1580	Sun	11:30 a

*Facts Forum

**Topic of the Week

†Reporters' Roundup (Radio & TV)

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I have received *Facts Forum News* since its very beginning. May I commend you on its constant improvement, and how proud I am to be able to say I am one of its constant boosters. It has never failed to challenge Americans to uphold and fight for our Republic.

In passing, may I tell you that my son (who is a Jr. at the University of Iowa, Iowa City) reports to me that *Facts Forum News* is very much read on the campus. He says the stands that carry it are depleted in short order. This I am sure will make you happy. Keep up your fine work.

BEA VON BOESELAGER
716 Merrill Ave.
Park Ridge, Ill.

FACTS FORUM is one of my favorite programs . . . it [is] interesting and informative.

MRS. HOMER ALLEN
Rt. 1
Parma, Idaho

Best wishes to your wonderful work for freedom.

A. VALIUSKIS
1832 Greenwood Dr.
Ottumwa, Iowa

This magazine [*Facts Forum News*] should be studied in every social science classroom in America for the protection it would give to American freedom. The price of freedom is eternal vigilance.

P. EVERETT SPERRY
State Representative
Lawrence, Kansas

A note to tell you of my high regard for your publication and of my gratitude for the fact that there are still enough people left in this nation with your principles and outlook to keep our national vision and heritage high, where it can be seen.

JOHN P. WOLFE
433 Beverly Court
Michigan City, Indiana

I have felt *Facts Forum [News]* an outstanding influence for education in good sense and the Constitutional Republicanism America should represent. . . .

MRS. HENRY GARFIELD FARLEY
12 Fidelis Way (Apt. 168)
Brighton 35, Massachusetts

Your magazine is the one which is always eagerly awaited and the most thoroughly read. We frequently pass it on to our friends hoping to encourage them to subscribe. . . . In this confused time in our history nothing is so badly needed as truth and the articles on Radio Free Europe are indeed invaluable.

MRS. HARRY A. EICKERMANN
3616 Bellefontaine
Kansas City 28, Missouri

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	KVFD*	1400	Thurs	8:15 p
	KQTV-TV†	21	Tues	6:30 p
Marshalltown	KFJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KGLO-TV†	23	Sun	5:30 p
Muscatine	KWPC*	860		
Oelwein	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
	KOEL**	950	Sun	7:00 p
Ottumwa	KBIZ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Spencer	KICD†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Waterloo	KWWL†	1330	Mon	8:30 p
	KWWL-TV†	7	Sat	6:30 p

KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced	
	KCRB**	1460	Sat	5:15 p
Dodge City	KGNO†	1370	Mon	8:30 p
Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Great Bend	KCKT-TV†	2	Thurs	5:00 p
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
McPherson	KNEX*	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sun	5:30 p
	KSEK**	1340	Sun	5:30 p

KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL**	1290	Sun	
	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	WSO†	860	Mon	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX*	1300	Sun	5:30 p
Louisville	WGRC†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW*	730		
	WFMW**	730	Sun	5:30 p
Mayfield	WKTU*	1050		
	WKTU**	1050		
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Tues	8:30 a
	WFLW**	1570	Thurs	8:30 a
Murray	WNBS*	1340		
	WNBS**	1340		
Owensboro	WVJS*	1420		
Paducah	WPAD*	1450	Mon	9:05 p
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	To be announced	
Princeton	WPKY*	1580		
	WPKY**	1580		
Vancleve	WMTC*	730		

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge	WJBO*	1150	Fri	9:45 p
	re-broadcast		Sun	8:15 a
	WJBO**	1150		
Lafayette	KLFY-TV†	10	Fri	1:30 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		
Natchitoches	KNOC*	1450	Sun	6:45 p
New Orleans	WJMR-TV†	20	Sun	3:00 p
	Retelecast		Tues	7:00 p
	WJMR*	990	Sun	12:15 p
	WJMR**	990		
Opelousas	KSLO*	990	Sun	3:00 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	Mon	10:30 p
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MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
New Bedford	WBSM*	1230	Sat	1:45 p

MICHIGAN

Alpena	WATZ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV†	20	Mon	8:00 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WWTU-TV†	13	Sun	6:00 p
Cheboygan	WCBY*	1240	Fri	12:45 p
Coldwater	WTWB*	1500	Sun	2:00 p
Detroit	WJBK*	1500	Sun	8:30 p
	WJBK**	2	Sun	8:30 p
Escanaba	WDBC†	680	Mon	8:30 p
Flint	WBBC†	1330	Mon	9:30 p

MICHIGAN — (Continued)

Grand Rapids	WFUR**	1570	Sat	12:30 p
	WFUR*	1570	Mon	5:30 p
Hillsdale	WBSE*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Iron River	WIKB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon	8:30 p
Lansing	WTOM-TV†	54	Thurs	6:30 p
Midland	WMDN*	1490	Sun	3:45 p
Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150	Sun	11:00 a
Petoskey	WMBN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Saginaw	WKXN-TV†	57	Wed	2:30 p
	Retelecast		Sun	5:00 p
Saginaw-Bay City	WSGW†	790	Mon	9:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR**	1230	Sun	
	WSTR*	1230		

MINNESOTA

Austin	KAUS†	1480	Mon	8:30 p
	KMMT-TV†	6	Sun	3:30 p
Bemidji	KBUN†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KBMW*	1450	Sun	10:15 a
Grand Rapids	KOZY†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	9:45 p
	KEYD-TV†	9	Sun	2:00 p

MISSISSIPPI

Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMI**	570	To be announced	
Biloxi-Gulfport	WLOX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Brookhaven	WJMB†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Canton	WDOB*	1870	Sat	11:30 a
	WDOB**	1870	Sun	3:00 p
Cleveland	WCBD*	1490		
Columbus	WCBT*	550	Sun	3:15 p
	WCBT**	550		
	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	8:30 p
Greenwood	WGCM*	1240		
Gulfport	WGCM*	1240	Sun	10:15 a
Jackson	WRBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
McComb	WAPP*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPP**	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	5:30 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO**	1230	Fri	6:30 p
Tupelo	WELO*	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
West Point	WROB*	1450	Tues	7:15 p
	WROB**	1450	Tues	7:15 p
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
	KFVS-TV†	12	Sun	11:00 a
	KCMO**	1220		
Caruthersville	KCRV*	1570	Sun	4:15 p
Charleston	KCHR*	1350	To be announced	
	KCHR**	1350	Sun	3:30 p
Clinton	KDKD*	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Dexter	KDEX*	1590	Tues	10:15 p
	re-broadcast	12:15 p		
	KDEX**	1590	Sun	2:30 p
Festus	KJCF*	1010		
Flat River	KFMO*	1240		
	KFMO**	1240		
Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
Jefferson City	KLIK*	950	Sun	1:45 p
	KWOS†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Joplin	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WMBH**	1450	Sun	8:30 p
	KSWM-TV†	12		
Kansas City	KMBC-TV†	9	Sun	11:00 a
Lebanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Malden	KTCB†	1470	Sun	12:00 n
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
	KNIM**	1580	Fri	3:45 p
Moberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun	2:00 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Wed	5:45 p
	KWOC**	930	Wed	5:45 p
Rolla	KTTR*	1490	Mon	6:30 p
	KTTR**	1490		
St. Joseph	KEEO-TV†	2	Sun	1:00 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
	KTVI-TV†	36	Mon	7:00 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
	KSGM**	980	Sun	4:00 p
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
Sikeston	KSIM*	1400	Mon	6:45 p
	KSIM**	1400		
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KICK*	1340	Sat	6:30 p
Thayer	KALM*	1290		
	KALM**	1290		

MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	Wed	8:15 p
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLO*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLO**	1450	Sat	
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat	9:15 p
	KXLF**	1370	To be announced	
	KXLF-TV†	6	Sun	7:30 p
Glasgow	KLTZ*	1240	Wed	7:15 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLK**	1400	To be announced	
Havre	KOJM†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat	9:15 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KXLJ**	1240	To be announced	

*Facts Forum

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

This magazine should be a must for any student who is in high school or college. Although I am in tenth grade at South High School, your magazine is easy reading and I can understand every word in it.

HOWARD LEE
709 Ottillia, S.E.
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Listening to the FACTS FORUM program, I find [it] not only very interesting but exhilarating as well.

MEL EPSTEIN
58 West Quartz Street
Butte, Montana

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on having one of the finest magazines. For close to a year I was stationed at Perrin AFB between Sherman and Denison, Texas. Since I have become acquainted with you, I regret not having visited Dallas. Thank you again.

FRANK J. SPINNER
72-16 64th Place
Brooklyn 27, N. Y.

The March, 1956, issue of *Facts Forum News* is a commendable effort in the program to inform the American public of the true nature of the Communist party and its world-wide conspiracy.

JOHN RILEY
3635 Johnson Avenue
New York 63, N. Y.

I would like to say that the first issue of your magazine that I ever saw was the April, 1956, issue, and I must say that I never was so pleased by any magazine in my life.

S/SGT. ROLAND L. GEORGE
MEMO — 523A
MCAS
Cherry Point, North Carolina

Facts Forum [News] is improving with every copy. We sure are lucky to have such an enlightening magazine.

MRS. ROY CHAFFEE
Lansing, Minn.

FACTS FORUM is doing a wonderful work and will continue to do so as long as it refuses to compromise with wrong principles by only presenting half-truths just to salve over some one's feelings, as has become the custom with too many such undertakings.

L. G. BURT
Box 2566
Tulsa, Okla.

MONTANA — (Continued)

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	Sat	7:00 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLL**	1450	To be announced	
	KGVO-TV†	13	Fri	9:30 p
		13	Mon	9:00 p
Shelby	KIYH†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Sidney	KGCK†	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
Kearney	KHOL-TV†	13	Sat	6:00 p
Hays Center	KHPL-TV†	6	Sat	6:00 p
McCook	KBRLL*	1300	Mon	8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG*	780	Sat	10:15 a
Scottsbluff	KNEB†	960	Mon	7:30 p

NEVADA

Ely	KELY*	1230	Sun	2:30 p
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NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB**	1490		
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Pleasantville	WOND**	1400	Sun	8:30 p
South Orange	WSOU*		Mon	2:15 p
	WSOU**		Sat	5:00 p

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque	KHFM*	96.3	Tues	7:15 p
Carlsbad	KAVE*	1240	Tues	8:15 p
	KAVE**	1240	Wed	8:30 p
Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
	KLMX**	1450	Sun	2:00 p
Clovis	KCLV*	1240	Sun	1:30 p
	KCLV**	1240		
Hobbs	KWEW†	1480	Mon	7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN*	1230	Sun	1:45 p
Portales	KENM*	1450	Fri	6:30 p
Roswell	KSWV-TV†	8	Mon	4:15 p
Truth or Consequences	KCHS**	1400	Sun	12:15 p
Tucumcari	KTNM*	1400		

NEW YORK

Albany	WPTT†	1540	Sun	9:30 p
Albany-Troy	WCDA-TV†	41	Fri	9:00 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490	Sun	10:30 p
Auburn	WMBF†	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
Hornell	WWHG*	1320		
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Wed	7:15 p
Little Falls	WLFL*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
New York	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p
	WOR-TV†	9	Wed	11:15 p
North Albany	WCDA-WCDB†	41	Fri	9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLG*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Brevard	WPNF*	1240	Mon	6:15 p
	WPNF**	1240	Sun	8:00 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410	Thurs	10:15 a
	WEGO**	1410	Sun	9:30 p
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
High Point	WNOS*	1590	Sun	9:30 p
Jacksonville	WJNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Kings Mountain	WKMT*	1220		
Lenoir	WLOR*	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Lexington	WJRI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Lexington	WBUR*	1440	Sun	1:15 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	9:30 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	5:00 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV†	28	Sat	1:15 p
	WPTF*	680	Sun	9:30 p
	WRAL†	1240	Mon	
Roxboro	WRXO*	1430		
Salisbury	WSTP†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Statesville	WSIC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Washington	WHED**	1340	Sun	
	WHED*	1340		
Wilmington	WGN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WMFD-TV†	6	Tues	10:30 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV†	26	Sun	5:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA

Bismarck	KFYR-TV†	5	Tues	8:30 p
Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX**	1230	Sun	8:15 p
	KDIX*	1230	Thurs	

**Topic of the Week

†Reporters' Roundup (Radio & TV)

Fargo	WDAY-TV†	6	Sun	4:00 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Valley City	KOVCF†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
OHIO				
Ashtabula	WICA**	970	Sat	8:00 p
Canton	WICA-TV†	15	Fri	7:30 p
Cleveland	WCMW*	1060	Sun	5:30 p
	WHK†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
	WDOF*	1260	Sun	4:00 p
Coshocton	WTNS*	1560	Sun	12:15 p
Dayton	WHIO*	1290		
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	1:00 p
Marietta	WMOA†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Middletown	WFFB*	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	1:00 p
OKLAHOMA				
Ada	KTEN-TV†	10	Sun	6:00 p
Altus	KWHW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL**	1580	Thurs	10:15 a
Cushing	KUSH*	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
Okmulgee	KHBG†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Ponca City	WBBZ†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Poteau	KLCO**	1280		
	KLCO*	1280		
Shawnee	KGFF†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Tulsa	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
Oceanlake	KBCH*	1400		
Pendleton	KUMA*	1370		
Portland	KXL*	750		
	KLOR-TV†	12		
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
	WFRM*	600	Sun	1:30 p
Easton	WGLV-TV†	57	Sun	9:00 p
	WEST*	1400	Mon	10:45 p
	WGET*	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Gettysburg	WCMB-TV†	27		
Harrisburg	WARD-TV†	56	Fri	10:00 p
Johnstown	WBPT†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
Lock Haven	WHWL*	730		
Nanticoke	WKST†	1280	Mon	9:30 p
New Castle	WKRZ†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Oil City	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Pottsville	WKBT**	1400	Sun	12:45 p
St. Marys	WENS-TV†	16		
Pittsburgh	WISL*	1480	Mon	9:30 p
Shamokin	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
State College	WTRN*	1290	Sun	1:00 p
Tyrone	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	Mon	7:15 p
	WNOV*	1250	Sun	6:30 p
	WNOV*	1250	Sun	3:30 p
York	WNOV-TV†	49	Sun	8:00 p
PHILIPPINES				
Manila	DZAQ-TV†	3	Mon	9:00 p
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	WCSC-TV†			
Cheraw	WCRE*	1420	Tues	10:45 p
Chester	WGCD*	1490	Sat	7:15 p
	WGCD*	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	WGTV†	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
Sumter	WFIG†	1290	Mon	9:30 p

*Facts Forum

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I have enjoyed reading your magazine so much. . . I have always heard that Texas had the biggest of everything and I now concede that you have the biggest and fairest voice for freedom that I have heard.

ROBERT B. RICE
3108 12th Avenue
Chattanooga 7, Tennessee

Your recent issues have been among the best ever published by your organization. I think you are doing a magnificent job.

BILLY JAMES HARGIS, D.D.
Christian Echoes National Ministry, Inc.
P. O. Box 977
Tulsa, Okla.

May I take this opportunity to congratulate you on your splendid magazine, *Facts Forum News*. It is indeed thought-provoking, stimulating, informative and educational. I shouldn't want to miss a single issue.

MISS MARIE G. MORRISON
1605 W. Allegheny Avenue
Philadelphia 32, Pennsylvania

We enjoy your programs on TV and radio. I think it very important for the people of this nation to be informed on all important issues of our times.

MRS. F. F. FRANKS
1302 South Travis St.
Sherman, Texas

Congratulations on your magazine. I am a new and continued reader on your list. In my opinion there is only one word for the job you are doing. . . TERRIFIC!

THOMAS MC CONVILLE
Holy Redeemer College
Box 5007 Eastmont Sta.
Oakland 5, California

How very nice of you to think of sending me the May issue containing the reader response to your marvelous series on Radio Free Europe.

ANITA DASBACH
2328a Louisiana Avenue
St. Louis 4, Missouri

I have been getting *Facts Forum News* ever since it had four pages, and I am truly amazed that with each issue FFN gets bigger and better. I hope the process continues.

ROBERT HARDGRAVE, JR.
Sonora, Texas

Your *Facts Forum News* is wonderful — It really hits the nail on the head — every line has a lesson in it.

HARRIETT REEVES LARSON
4224 Francis Avenue
Seattle 3, Washington

SOUTH DAKOTA

Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	5:45 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

TENNESSEE

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	WDSC*	1450	Thurs	5:30 p
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Etowah	WCPH*	1220	Sun	2:15 p
Harriman	WHBT*	1230		
	WHBT**	1230		
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	9:15 p
	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	
	WDXH†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL-TV†	11	Wed	10:30 a
Knoxville	WKXV*	900		
	WTUK-TV†	26	Sun	9:30 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*	900	Sun	2:00 p
Lexington	WDXL*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
Maryville	WGAP*	1400	Sun	9:00 p
Memphis	WHBO*	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	WEPG*	910	To be announced	
	WEPG**	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	Fri	7:00 p
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
	KGNC-TV†	4		
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
Beaumont	KBMT-TV†	31	Wed	9:30 p
Beville	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL**	1490	Mon	7:00 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
	KBST-TV†	4	Wed	6:30 p
Bonham	KFYN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFYN**	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHYZ*	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KSTB*	1430	Sun	12:45 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	6:15 p
Brownwood	KBWD†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Carrizo Springs	KBEN*	1450	Wed	
Bryan	KORA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	KCAR*	1350	Sun	1:45 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
Colorado City	KVMC*	1320	Sun	12:30 p
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Fri	7:00 p
	KVDO-TV†	22	Tues	6:00 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY*	1290	Sun	3:30 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV†	4	Sat	3:30 p
	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA*	570	Mon	10:30 p
	WRR†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Eastland	KERC*	1590	Sun	4:00 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	9:45 a
	KROD-TV†	4		
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Galveston	KLUF*	1400	Sat	6:15 p
	KLUF**	1400	Sun	7:00 p
Greenville	KCVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Hillsboro	KHBR*	1500		
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Jacksonville	KEBE*	1400	Sun	7:00 p
Junction	KMBL*	1450	Mon	6:30 p
Kermit	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	12:00 n
	KINE*	1330		
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:05 p
Laredo	KHAD-TV†	8		
Levelland	KLVT**	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Longview	KLTI**	1280	Sun	3:30 p
	KFRO*	1370	Sun	12:15 p
Lubbock	KDUB-TV†	11		
Lufkin	KTRE-TV†	9	Tues	10:30 p
	KTRE*	1420	Sun	5:00 p
Midland	KMID-TV†	2	Tues	
	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:15 p
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960	Sun	12:30 p
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
Pampa	KPAT*	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:15 p
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Sat	8:00 a
Post	KRWS*	1370	Sun	3:30 p
San Angelo	KTXL-TV†	8	Sun	3:30 p
	KTXL**	1340	Sun	1:00 p
San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
Snyder	KSNY†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	1:45 p
Sulphur Springs	KSTT*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Temple	KTEM*	1400	Wed	7:00 p

(Continued on Page 63)

**Topic of the Week

†Reporters' Roundup (Radio & TV)

character at this time. The chief object of the combined union with upwards of fifteen million members is not the securing of civil rights, for these are already the heritage of every citizen under the Constitution. The main object of this organization is one of special privilege, and by means of the closed shop control of the right to work.

What new favors may be demanded remains to be seen. The labor unions have already attained sufficient power to destroy newspapers and to paralyze essential utility organizations, while the effect of a multitude of successful strikes has been to increase steadily the cost of living. Since the country is now on the eve of a presidential election, it will be interesting to watch the attitudes of both political parties and our lawmakers toward this important matter.

HENRY WARE ALLEN
1728 Alabama Avenue
Chickasha, Oklahoma

WHITE ELEPHANT IS EXPENSIVE TO KEEP

To the *San Diego Union*:

The fact that we live in the best land the sun shines on should not deter us from striving to make it still better.

We have paid \$8 billion for a white elephant, the farm surplus, which is costing us \$30,000 per hour in the form of storage rentals. It cost the farmer labor and expense to produce this surplus. The soil is a natural resource and has been used for a useless purpose. It takes time and expense to replace its fertility.

This \$8 billion is a form of subsidy paid the farmers by the taxpayer. It seems the farmer would be just as well off if this subsidy had been paid him direct on an acreage basis, saving the depletion of his soil and the expense of producing a surplus, while the consumer could buy his products at prices he could afford.

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

PATRIOTISM APPRECIATED

To the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*:

Thank you for the editorial concerning the petition for the release of 16 prisoners convicted under the Smith Act.

The only point I disagree with is your suggestion that the petition be consigned to the waste basket. Instead, I think it should be published in every newspaper in America, complete with signatures so that the American people can know who their enemies are, and believe me, I consider them all enemies.

There are too many people lending aid and comfort to Communists these days and still being considered "loyal and intelligent" Americans. They may be intelligent, but they are certainly not loyal,

and they should be labeled for what they are.

At any rate every now and then you have an editorial that reveals real patriotism, and in these days that is a quality I have learned to appreciate.

MYRTLE P. WALKER, O.D.
3584 Park Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

WITHOUT STANDARDS

To the *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*:

In recent years there has been a trend to abstraction in progressiveness in education and denationalization in politics.

The objective is to abolish standards. Only by the norm can we see what deviation lies in that which we judge.

In progressive education the child is to do as he pleases, to find out what he likes. The parents have no standards to go by. They cannot compare their child with the neighbor's.

In politics the emphasis is on a reduction of patriotism. The children are taught that Washington and Lincoln were ordinary men and that nationalism is selfish. What standards will these children hold when they become adults?

Communism thrives on this denormalization theory. If people do not know the norm of democracy, how can they judge when a "democracy" infringes on their rights? When communism is judged on the norm of democracy, it is seen that it violates democracy.

EDWARD L. RILEY
Box 25
Duquesne University
Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania

GET BACK TO ECONOMY AND THE CONSTITUTION

To the *Indianapolis Star*:

We read scores of reasons offered by our representatives for not easing the strain on the taxpayer.

Many of these reasons sound plausible enough if not viewed with too critical an eye. When one stops to analyze them, there is one simple solution no one ever considers. Why not eliminate the unnecessary expense of government? It's as simple as that. Let the federal government handle only those things for which the Constitution empowers it to act, such as defense, customs, pure food and drug, etc. — only the essentials for our mutual protection and health.

The problems of the states should be solved by the states. The reduction in federal taxes, by the elimination of countless agencies, would permit the state and local governments to handle the school, highway, welfare, etc., problems on the spot more cheaply and efficiently. Ten years after the war there is no need for foreign giveaways.

WALT CRESS
811 Prospect
Crawfordsville, Indiana

RADIO and TV SCHEDULES

TEXAS — (Continued from Page 61)

Texarkana	KTFS*	1400	Sun.	4:45 p
	KCMC-TV†	6	Sun	11:00 a
Texas City	KTLLW*	920	Sun	3:00 p
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Waco	KYBS*	630	Thurs	8:30 p
	KYBS*	630	Fri	9:30 p
Waxahachie	KBEC*	1390		
Weslaco	KRGV*	1290	Wed.	9:45 p
	KRGV-TV†	5	Mon	10:15 p
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV†	10	Sat	12:00 n

UTAH

Brigham City	KBUH*	800		
	KBUH*	800		
Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Ogden	KVOC*	1490	Sun	4:45 p
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Vernal	KUEL*	1340	Mon	5:15 p
	KUEL*	1340	Sun	3:00 p

VERMONT

Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN*	1340	Sun	6:30 p

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christiansted, St. Croix	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Thomas	WSTA*	1340	To be announced	

VIRGINIA

Arlington	WEAM*	1390	Tues	10:00 p
Bedford	WBLT†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
Clifton Forge	WCFV*	1230	Sun	12:45 p
Crews	WSVS*	800	Sun	4:30 p
Galax	WBOB†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Hopewell	WHAP*	1340	Tues	7:00 p
Newport News	WACH*	1270	To be announced	
	WACH*	1270		

Norfolk-Hampton	WVEC-TV†	15	Sat	5:30 p
Richmond	WMBG*	1380	Fri	7:30 p
Roanoke	WSLS-TV†	10	Sun	3:00 p
Staunton	WAFC*	900	Sun	5:30 p
Suffolk	WLPN*	1450	Sun	7:45 p
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	To be announced	
Winchester	WING-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p
	WRFL*	1400		

WASHINGTON

Chehalis-Centralia	KITI*	1420	Sun	12:30 p
Colfax	KCLX*	1450		
Colville	KCVL*	1480	Sun	9:15 a
	KCVL*	1480	Sun	5:00 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	KSEM*	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE*	1150	Sun	1:30 p
Seattle	KTVW-TV†	13	Mon	9:30 p
Spokane	KXLY-TV†	4		
Sunnyside	KREW*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p
Walla Walla	KUJ*	1490		

WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield	WKQY†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Huntington	WPLH†	1470	Mon	9:30 p
Martinsburg	WEPN*	1340	Sun	10:00 p
Morgantown	WJRI†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
	WCLG*	1300		
New Martinsville	WETZ*	1330	Fri	10:00 a
	WETZ*	1330		
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV†	4	Tues	10:00 p
Ronceverte	WRON*	1400		
	WRON*	1400		
Wheeling	WKWK*	1400	Sun	7:45 p
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	9:30 p

WISCONSIN

Appleton	WHBY†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon	8:30 p
Janesville	WLOJ†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
La Crosse	WLXJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	12:15 p
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Portage	WPDR*	1350	Sun	4:00 p
Reedsburg	WRDB*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	Sat	7:30 p
Sturgeon Bay	WDOR*	910	Sun	
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	

WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Sun	7:15 p
Lander	KOVE†	1330	Mon	7:30 p
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	7:30 p
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	7:30 p
Torrington	KGOS*	1490	Tues	7:30 p

*Facts Forum

**Topic of the Week

†Reporters' Roundup (Radio & TV)

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 62 of this issue.

• Write Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas, for material which will assist you in getting business friends interested in **ADDING PATRIOTISM TO THEIR ADS.**

• Pass your copy of Facts Forum News around to friends so they may judge if they wish to subscribe.

• Submit three questions to enter in the August Poll Question Contest (72 spaces, or less). Vote the July Poll on page 65 of this issue.

• Send your friends a subscription to Facts Forum News. Where else could you find so much of value for so little cost? 1-year subscription, \$3, 2 years for \$5.

Enter My ☐ New ☐ Renewal Subscription NOW!

☐ I enclose \$5 for 2 years ☐ I enclose \$3 for 1 year

FACTS FORUM NEWS

DALLAS 1, TEXAS

NAME (Please Print) _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Mental Health

(Continued from Page 46)

transfer to their jurisdiction of residence is not accomplished, seems to have been widely misunderstood. In view of this fact, we recommend the insertion of clarifying language.

It is our understanding that the original bill contained a section providing for criminal penalties for wilfully using, or conspiring with, or assisting another to cause the unwarranted hospitalization of any individual, or for the denial to any individual of any rights granted him under the provisions of the measure. While we recognize that the existence of such a penal provision might impede the discovery and hospitalization of some persons who are mentally ill, we feel, in balance, that it is a desirable safeguard in a measure of this nature. Accordingly, we recommend that a similar safeguard be incorporated in the measure by your committee. . . .

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE F. LULL,
Secy. and Gen. Mgr.,
American Medical Assn.,
Chicago, Illinois

Some Objections and Replies

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the government has prepared a point-by-point analysis of the Alaska Mental Health Act, in-

troduced into the *Congressional Record* of April 16th by the Honorable E. L. Bartlett, Delegate from Alaska, which endeavors to clear up some objections which have been made to this legislation. Among the points mentioned in this analysis are the following:

Procedures for Hospitalization

Objection: That a person could be put away simply on application of another person and a physician's certificate that he was mentally ill.

Answer: This is not so, as reading of the provision will indicate. Section 103 (b) provides that an individual may be admitted for care and treatment in a hospital upon written application (by an interested party, a health or welfare officer, the Governor, or the head of the institution in which the individual may be) accompanied by a certificate of a licensed physician. The certificate must state that, in the physician's opinion, the individual is mentally ill and because of his illness, "either (1) is likely to injure himself or others if allowed to remain at liberty or, (2) being in need of care or treatment in a hospital, lacks sufficient insight or capacity to make responsible application" for himself. The certificate must be based upon examination.

This provision is an authorization for admission, not for confinement. It carries with it no authority to apprehend the individual and forcibly remove him to the

³Congressional Record, April 16, 1956, pp. A3049-51.

hospital or to have the hospital detain him against his will after admission; his liberty is not curtailed. . . .

The following provisions of H. R. 6376 are designed to assure the prompt discharge of patients whenever the circumstances warranting either voluntary or emergency hospitalization or judicial commitment have ceased to exist. . . .

Section 105: The head of the hospital must in any event arrange for examination within 5 days after admission, by a designated examiner of every patient hospitalized upon application by others. The patient must be discharged if the conditions warranting admission are not found.

Section 107: Every patient, however hospitalized, is entitled to have the need for his hospitalization determined by judicial proceedings on his own petition or that of an interested party. . . .

Objection: That the hearing may be held without notice to the patient. That the patient is not required to be present.

Answer: The first is not so. The second is true, but required attendance would in many cases be inhumane and damaging to health; the patient always has the right to be present. . . .

Provisions Relating to the Transfer of Patients from or to Alaska

Objection: That people in the United States could be picked up and sent to Alaska for hospitalization as mentally ill. That the land granted to Alaska would be used as a place of confinement.

Answer: There is no basis in the bill for either charge. However, there are transfer provisions of a type customary under state laws for nonresidents and for patients, such as veterans, who may be entitled to care in federal hospitals. The land grant (sec. 202) is to provide an additional source of income to the Territory to aid it in assuming responsibility for the care of the mentally ill in Alaska.

Suddenly the play ceased. The curtain rang down as quickly and unexpectedly as it had risen. As we left the theater, feeling that we still did not know whether the fate of the Alaska Mental Health Act would be in the hands of the "lady or the tiger," we passed a large placard which read:

GIVE TO YOUR MENTAL HEALTH FUND

Help those less fortunate than yourself.

and we wondered — perhaps they should be helping us.

Hurrying to the nearest travel office, and selecting some colorful folders from the rack, we asked the clerk — "What is Alaska like in the summer?"

END

The energy of the free individual is the most dynamic force in human affairs.

— DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Poll Question Winners For July, 1956

An award of \$10.00 each has been made to the following persons who submitted the questions used in this month's poll:

- 1st question: MR. LEE RICHARDSON
1008 N. Livingston Street
Arlington 5, Virginia
- 2nd question: MISS FRANCES BENSON
Box 422
Holly, Colorado
- 3rd question: MRS. ALTA CASS
Lometa, Texas
- 4th question: MRS. JOS. DANKE
Route 2, Box 433A
Walkerton, Indiana
- 5th question: GEORGE DURST
P. O. Box 61
Jamaica, New York
- 6th question: MRS. E. M. FUNK
6221 Templeton Street
Huntington Park, California
- 7th question: AXEL B. GRAVEM
Orleans, Massachusetts
- 8th question: JOHN M. HANLEY
P. O. Box 342
Palo Alto, California
- 9th question: MISS MARY HELEN MAYER
240 South Vermont Avenue
Sedalia, Missouri
- 10th question: EARLE R. MILLER
1208 North Jackson Street
Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin
- 11th question: TED SOUSA
Apt. No. 1, 27½ Morton St.
New York 14, New York
- 12th question: PHYLLIS KOLBER
7639 N. Greenview Avenue
Chicago 26, Illinois
- 13th question: B. WAYNE OSBORNE
1321 Avenue K
Cozad, Nebraska
- 14th question: J. P. WHITTINGHILL
Falls of Rough, Kentucky

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes July 1

Yes No

- ☐ ☐ Do you think racial trouble in northern states is being fully reported?
- ☐ ☐ Are you in favor of statehood for Hawaii and Alaska?
- ☐ ☐ Would you approve a retail sales tax to take the place of income tax?
- ☐ ☐ Should police and other censors be allowed to ban books and movies?
- ☐ ☐ Would you favor expansion of U. S. trade with Russia?
- ☐ ☐ Is NATO a threat to U. S. sovereignty?
- ☐ ☐ Should the maximum federal income tax be put at 25%?
- ☐ ☐ Should American servicemen be tried in foreign courts?
- ☐ ☐ Should permanent industrial courts be set up to settle labor disputes?
- ☐ ☐ Should immigration quota be determined by number of unemployed?
- ☐ ☐ Should all states adopt model law for control of barbiturate sales?
- ☐ ☐ Is the exchange student plan a good idea?
- ☐ ☐ Should government finance research to find new uses for surplus products?
- ☐ ☐ Should Communists be in public employ?

Remarks _____

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)			NO. AND ST.	CITY AND STATE

• PLEASE NOTE: Voters are requested to write in votes by listing their answers on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which they have no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.) and mailing to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). Their votes shown in this manner, or indicated on the above form, represent their ballots in the Facts Forum Poll.

• If you wish to subscribe to FACTS FORUM NEWS, please check below.

- ☐ I enclose \$3 for a one-year subscription.
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MAY POLL RESULTS

% Yes

- 21 Should the sacred doctrine of States' Rights be destroyed?
- 84 Should parents help to select textbooks used by public schools?
- 13 Should we have mass medication of drinking water?
- 49 Should we have a national traffic law?
- 64 Should more curbs be placed on consumer credit?
- 72 Will Russian victories in Olympics turn into powerful Communist propaganda?
- 74 Would enforcement of curfew reduce juvenile delinquency?
- 29 Is government controlled by big business?
- 65 Would the U. S. benefit by a third major political party?
- 31 Should clergy take sides in political, social and economic questions?
- 60 Should we increase defense spending in the guided missile program?
- 31 Should all men in service get free education?
- 71 Is pay-as-you-ride a fair method for financing federal highways?
- 44 Are we on the brink of war?

SLOGAN FOR JULY, 1956

Your Vote Is Your Country's Security

Submitted by BETTY HENNING, 260 Moore Ave., Tonawanda 23, New York

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