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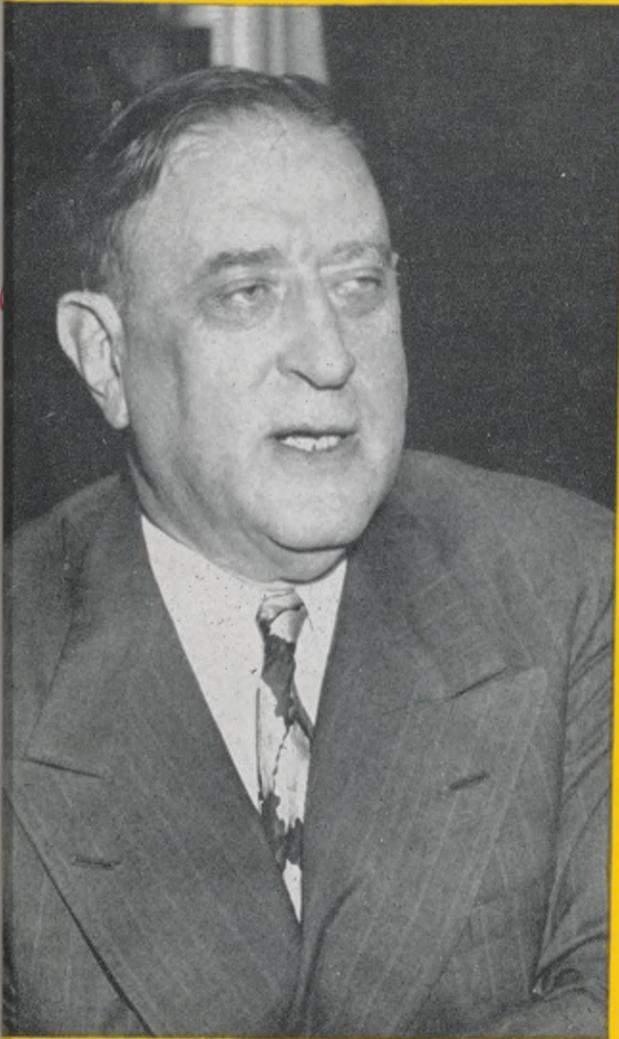
## Of Bread and Circuses

By Admiral Ben Moreell

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## Art . . . For Whose Sake?

EXPOSÉ ON "MODERN ART"



ADM. BEN MOREELL

No Secrets Anymore?

How Effective Is Radio Free Europe?

# Readers Report . . .

Of, by, and for  
Facts Forum News readers

## Disarming Suggestion

Mr. C. V. Grooms, 309 Weston Bldg., Clinton, Iowa, wrote the *Des Moines Register and Tribune* protesting the article in a Sunday edition (*This Week Magazine*), "Get Rid of That Gun," by Mr. Bruce Smith, calling attention to the fact that our Constitution provides that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

"Mr. Smith forgot to mention," Mr. Grooms' published letter continued, "that the revolvers which Great Britain is destroying are the very ones contributed to them by patriotic Americans during World War II. You see, the Englishman was not allowed to own firearms and when the threat of a German invasion was present, an appeal was made for good old Uncle Sam to supply guns (any kind were welcome) in order to protect a citizenry long since disarmed."

Mr. Grooms has written to us about this letter: "I, like any other member of the American Rifle Association, am concerned about any article slanted towards the disarming of the American citizen. . . . It is most interesting to note that the *Des Moines Register* deleted my reference to communism. . . . One of the first steps in the initial promotion of a communistic state is to disarm the citizenry. Somewhere along the line it also becomes necessary to change the structure of the existing form of government."

Mr. Grooms suggests that implementation of the individual disarmament recommended by Mr. Smith's article would serve the Communist cause in two respects: first, in effecting a change in the Constitution necessary to eliminate the ownership of firearms, and second, by seeking to disarm our citizenry.

## May This Tribe Increase!

Mr. Salvatore Solimine, 7 Henchman St., Boston 13, Mass., writes that only eight of the forty-eight states require by law the teaching of our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and Bill of Rights, and that these states are: California, Illinois, New Jersey, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The following resolution was drawn up by Mr. Solimine and passed by his American Legion Post, North End No. 53, and the Suffolk County American Legion, and has been referred to the Massachusetts Department of the American Legion for further action:

Whereas, the true principles of Americanism are not upheld and respected throughout our great Nation; and whereas, continuing on this present course will lead to the destruction of our way of life; and

Whereas, only eight out of the 48 states of our great Nation require by law the teaching from kindergarten to university of our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and Bill of Rights as a required teaching course; be it further

Resolved, that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts pass a law requiring a teaching course of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

## Fund for the Republic Questions Mental Health of Bricker Supporters

"According to a speech by Senator Bricker," writes Mrs. Paul Conolley, 7743 Bryn Mawr, Dallas, Texas, "The Fund for the Republic has distributed 25,000 reprints of

an article by Professor Richard Hofstadter of Columbia University entitled 'The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt,' in which he defines the Bricker Amendment as 'one of the primary symptoms of pseudo-conservatism.'

"Their political reactions," according to Professor Hofstadter, "express rather a profound if largely unconscious hatred of our society and its ways — a hatred which one would hesitate to impute to them if one did not have suggestive clinical evidence. From clinical interviews and thematic apperception tests, Adorno and his co-workers found that their pseudo-conservative subjects . . . show . . . violence, anarchic impulse, and chaotic destructiveness in the unconscious sphere' . . . The pseudo-conservative tends to be more than ordinarily incoherent about politics . . . and the most ardent supporters of the Bricker Amendment. . . . Some organizers of pseudo-conservative and 'patriotic' groups often find in this work a means of making a living — thus turning a tendency toward paranoia into a vocational asset. . . ."

Professor Hofstadter implies, according to Senator Bricker's speech, that the Ku Klux Klan is the spiritual ancestor of organizations supporting the Bricker Amendment and concludes that in recent years pseudo-conservatives have raised standards of hating and thus: ". . . have moved on from anti-Negroism and anti-Semitism to anti-Achesonianism, anti-intellectualism, anti-conformism."

## "Politics a Specialty" For New Book Shop

The Cadmus Book Shop recently opened at 1246 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Georgetown, Washington, D. C. The young proprietors have announced that they will specialize in politics, and will handle books of "off-the-road publishing houses that have found it difficult to market their books in Washington." They propose to stock reports, pamphlets, speeches, etc., such as the American Legion fight on UNESCO, speeches by Dies, Jenner, Eastland, etc. They also plan to sponsor talks by anti-Communist speakers.

## Tell Me Not In Mournful Numbers

"Senator William F. Knowland," writes Miss Marilyn B. Hollister, P. O. Box 1441,

Fort Benning, Georgia, "has made a proposal — that some part of the national debt be paid before taxes are reduced." Senator Knowland suggests that one billion dollars be paid this year and that only the proposed 'tax take' which would remain after meeting the national budget and repaying one billion dollars on the national debt be considered 'available' in order to put the rest on a tax reduction."

Miss Hollister asks if we expect our children to pay this growing national debt? "With the shining example we are setting them," she comments, "it would doubt multiply to their children, and their children's children, ad finitum."

She suggests that a regular payment on our national debt be made an integral part of our national budget, and that no appropriation be able to claim a "balanced" budget until this payment has been made, in addition to full payment of current year expenses.

## Re Congressional Committee Meetings

Mr. E. C. Freeman, P. O. Box 255, Dallas, Texas, asks, "How can our congress be present at all times necessary to be informed vote for their constituents' committee meetings coincide with the floor of both the House and the Senate?"

"It is my understanding," he writes, "that each congressman is assigned to one or more committees, which should make it possible to set aside a certain portion of the week for committee meetings only, so that no action could be taken on the floor of either House."

## Familiarization with Police Department

Under the sponsorship of Mr. N. Lewis Shaten, head of the English department at FitzSimons Junior High School in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a movement has been initiated to break down hostility between the students toward the police force. The students endeavor to reduce juvenile delinquency in one of Philadelphia's most crime-ridden areas. Mr. Shaten invited members of the police force to the school to answer students' questions, and arranged for them to visit police headquarters and to talk with cop beat.

Results to date: a great reduction in hostile attitudes, and a questionnaire by which teenagers can be shown attitudes of policemen towards them. Plans for students to become familiar with local policemen as part of civics in three schools.



Patrolman A. Lanuzzi talks with ninth grade students of FitzSimons Junior High School in North Philadelphia, Pa. At left is N. Lewis Shaten, head of the school's English department, who initiated program of student-police familiarization.

FEBRUARY, 1956

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# Provocative Prose

*The first requisite of a good citizen in this Republic of ours is that he shall pull his weight.*

— THEODORE ROOSEVELT

• • •

*I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion by education.*

— THOMAS JEFFERSON

• • •

*In all those things which deal with people, be liberal, be human. In all those things which deal with the people's money or their economy, or their form of government, be conservative — and don't be afraid to use the word.*

— PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

• • •

*Democracy is based on the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people.*

— HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

• • •

*Government is force and should be watched like fire.*

— GEORGE WASHINGTON

• • •

*That government is best that administers justice with the least expense and has no interference with the honest pursuits of any man.*

— RICHARD MOTT

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



THE GLORY THAT WAS . . .

THE GLORY THAT IS . . .



"The fall of Rome affords a pertinent illustration of the observation by the late President Lowell of Harvard University, that 'No society is ever murdered — it commits suicide.'"

## Of Bread

The Roman poet Juvenal wrote of his degenerate countrymen about 100 A.D.:  
". . . the public has long since cast off its cares . . . and longs eagerly for just two things — bread and circuses."

ADMIRAL BEN MOREELL's twenty-nine years of outstanding naval service has brought him many honors, including the Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, several honorary degrees, a decoration from the British government, and two from the Republic of Haiti. Of all his citations, however, he is proudest of being called "King Bee of the Seabees," for he was organizer during the first part of World War II of that remarkable group of "Can-Do Boys," the Naval Construction Battalion.

Well known as a brilliant student, naval engineer, impromptu speaker, and a tireless worker, Moreell came up through the ranks, becoming a full admiral in 1945. Consistent with his belief in hard work is the remark he once made to a friend: "If you can't find enough work to keep busy, you can always write a book," which he did early in his career with marked success.

When Admiral Moreell retired from active naval duty in 1946, his "active duty" in private industry and in government service was just beginning. Both labor and management have lauded his ability and objectivity in dealing with strike problems. He has served as chairman of the important Task Force on Water Resources and Power of the Hoover Commission. At present he is Chairman of the Board of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, one of the largest steel companies of the world.

## and Circuses

By ADMIRAL BEN MOREELL

[ WANT TO sell you an idea. And all I ask in payment is that you think it over, and if you like it, sell it to others!

I want to sell you the idea that individual freedom, an inseparable part of which is moral responsibility to God and to one's neighbor, is the secret of our survival as a free nation, just as it was the inspiration of the founders of our republic. This concept of individual freedom demands that we do something about it — that we re-establish as our guiding beacon those moral values and principles of government which found expression in our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution.

Let us begin our discussion of freedom on the mundane level of material prosperity and the reasons therefor.

Perhaps the most intriguing question of our times, one which baffles our friends and enemies, is this: what makes America so productive?

Here is a nation with barely 6 per cent of the world's people which produces almost 40 per cent of the world's goods. How does this happen? Some have attributed it to our great natural resources; i.e., the abundance of our raw materials, the fertility of our soil, the blessings of a temperate climate, and the protection against enemies afforded by natural barriers. It is generally conceded that our people have no more innate intelligence than the peoples of the countries whence they came. So our favored position is attributed to gifts showered upon us as manna from heaven.

But doubts arise when one compares our advantages with those of others. For there are some countries even more favored than ours in raw materials, fertile soil, climatic conditions, protective barriers and other geological and geographic gifts. Furthermore, our natural advantages lay for centuries relatively unused, supporting fewer than a million inhabitants. Now they support 165 million people of our own who, in turn, support much of the rest of the world.

What is the answer? It is my purpose to explore that question with you, to learn what accounts for our present pre-eminence, and whether the things we are now doing will serve to maintain or destroy it.

Every productive organization needs three essential elements: men, money and machines. The greatest of these is men! For with men of high moral character, ability and devotion to a worthy purpose, one can acquire the money and the machines. The basic essential is the right kind of men!

We have many proofs of this in our industrial corporations. There are many examples of outstanding success which sprouted from lowly beginnings. And always the measure of success is the reflection of one man, or of a small group of men, who have imbued the organization with their character, ability and devotion!

As it is with industrial corporations, so it is with our nation. National productivity is the summation of the productivities of the groups and individuals who comprise



the nation.

But just as the vigor of an organization or of a nation is dependent upon the moral strength and stamina of its people, so will its decay ensue with the decay of its people. Money and machines become sterile and unproductive without the right kind of men to use them.

Therefore, in these troubled days of hot and cold wars, inflation, deflation, depression, recession, crime, corruption, juvenile delinquency and other economic and social problems, we should attempt to appraise the effects of our current policies (governmental, social, and economic) on the character and spiritual health of our basic resource, the people of this nation. This is our chief concern. This is what has made our country the envy of the world.

### THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

There are many lessons to be learned from the records of history. And, of these, I believe we can gain most from a study of the moral decay which preceded the disintegration of the Roman Empire.

The characteristics of the early Roman people, the story of the founding of their kingdom, and later their republic, their independence of thought, their devotion to freedom, their individuality, their industry, all point to the fact that our own pioneers had much in common with those sturdy folk.

But Rome was only 8½ centuries old when the poet Juvenal penned his famous tirade against his degenerate countrymen. About 100 A.D. he wrote: "Now that no one buys our votes, the public has long since cast off its cares; the people that once bestowed commands, consulships, legions and all else, now meddles no more and longs eagerly for just two things, bread and circuses." Forty years later, the Roman historian, Fronto, echoed the charge in more prosaic language: "The Roman people is absorbed by two things above all others, its food supplies and its shows."

Here was a once-proud people, whose government had been their servant, who had finally succumbed to the blandishments of clever political adventurers. They had gradually relinquished their sovereignty to government administrators to whom they had granted absolute powers, in return for food and entertainment. And the surprising thing about this insidious progression is that, at the time, few realized that they were witnessing the slow destruction of a people by a corruption which would eventually transmute a nation of self-reliant, courageous, sovereign individuals into a mob, dependent upon their government for the means of sustaining life.

Like the rest of the world, Rome, during those early centuries, was largely agricultural. Its people obtained their economic necessities in the only way that these can be produced: they worked in order to eat. Economic goods are produced by the application of human energy to nat-

ural resources. Once produced, the goods may be consumed by the producer or he may trade them or them away or someone may steal them from him. But robbery cannot produce goods. It can only deprive producer of what is rightfully his

### DESTRUCTION BY SOCIAL CANCER

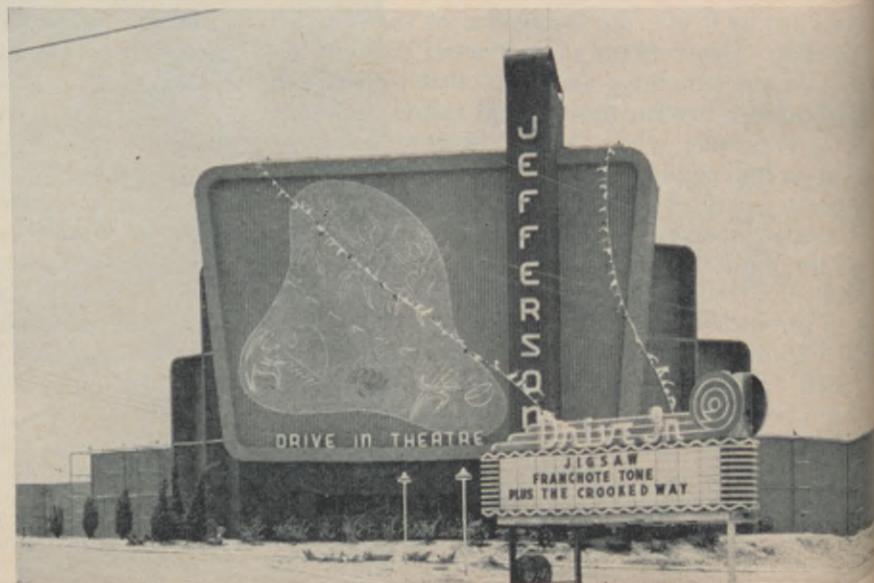
The Creator has laid down the rule that "man shall eat his bread in sweat of his face." But, unfortunately there are always people who believe that they can improve on the Creator's scheme of things. So, they attempt to substitute a man-made system which says, "If you are smart enough or strong enough, you can eat bread in the sweat of the other fellow's face."

It did not take the smart Roman long to find ways of acquiring other peoples' property without working for it, that is, by conquest and enslavement of the conquered. At the same time, they resorted to another experiment. They kept the reins of government in the hands of a ruling class whose members used their power to live on the labor of the unenfranchised. In order to appease those who were made uncomfortable by this arrangement, the rulers resorted to a program of "social legislation," which we now call "welfare state."

This was the beginning of the continual wars which returned the order and slaves to Rome, thus bringing honest labor into disrepute; a dependence on a government which had no foundation of clear-cut principles; a permanent dole which



UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD



The Roman historian, Fronto, echoed the charge of the poet Juvenal about 40 years later in more prosaic language: "The Roman people is absorbed by two things above all others, its food supplies and its shows." Have the American people learned enough from history to avoid the pitfall that caused the ruin of dozens of civilizations?

ported almost half the population; and brutal gladiatorial combats to entertain and distract, all combined to form a setting for moral decay of the people.

From 96 A.D. to 180 A.D., there was a period of 84 years during which five remarkable men occupied the throne of Rome in succession. The last of these was Marcus Aurelius, one of the best men who ever wielded political power. If a social cancer can be cured from the top down merely by putting good men into public office, history would surely record it in this instance. For if ever rulers were able and unselfishly devoted, these men were. But they failed.

A philosopher and student of history, Albert Jay Nock, has observed of this period, "They clearly foresaw the upshot of organized mendicancy and subvention, of the growing power of bureaucracy, of the growing tendency to centralization. They did the best they could to check these malignant growths, but could do nothing. . . . The emperors of the second century remind one of nothing so much as an array of the world's best physicians striving to reclaim a hopeless cancer patient. . . . The thing could not be done. . . . The cancer . . . had so far weakened its host that at the death of Marcus Aurelius there was simply not enough producing power left to pay the bills. Under the exactions of the job holders, nobody could do any business, fields went untilled and even the army had to be recruited among foreigners. . . . Eighty years of continuous effort by five of the world's best and ablest rulers could not prevent the Roman populace from degenerating into the very scum of the earth, worthless, vicious, contemptible, sheer human sculch."

## PROSPERITY — BY GOVERNMENT SUBVENTION

There are no precise records which describe the feelings of those for whom the poet Juvenal felt such scorn. But using the clues we have, and judging by our own experience, we can make a good guess as to what the prevailing sentiments of the Roman populace were. If we were able to take a poll of public opinion of first and second century Rome, the overwhelming response would probably have been — "We never had it so good." Those who lived on "public assistance" and in subsidized rent-free or low-rent dwellings, would certainly have assured us that now, at last, they had "security." Those in the rapidly expanding bureaucracy — one of the

most efficient civil services the world has ever seen — would tell us that now government had a "conscience" and was using its vast resources to guarantee the "welfare" of all of its citizens; that the civil service gave them job security and retirement benefits; and that the best job was a government job! Progressive members of the business community would have said that business had never been so good, that the government was their largest customer, which assured them a dependable market, and that the government was inflating currency at about 2 per cent a year, which instilled confidence and gave everyone a sense of well-being and prosperity.

And no doubt the farmers were well



pleased, too. They supplied the grain, the pork and the olive oil, at or above parity prices, for the government's doles.

The government had a continuous program of large-scale public works which were said to stimulate the economy, provide jobs and promote the general welfare, and which appealed to the national pride.

The high tax rates required by the subsidies discouraged the entrepreneur with risk capital which, in turn, favored the well-established, complacently prosperous businessman. It appears that there was no serious objection to this by any of the groups affected. An economic historian, writing of business conditions at this period, says, "The chief object of economic activity was to assure the individual, or his family, a placid and inactive life on a safe, if moderate, income. . . . There were no technical improvements in industry after the early part of the second century." There was no incentive to venture. Inventions began to dry up because no one could reasonably expect to make a profit out of them.

Rome was sacked by Alaric and his Goths in 410 A.D. But long before the barbarian invasions, Rome was a hollow shell of the once noble republic.

Its real grandeur was gone and its people were demoralized. Most of the old forms and institutions remained. But a people whose horizons were limited by bread and circuses had destroyed the spirit while paying lip-service to the letter of their once hallowed traditions.

The fall of Rome affords a pertinent illustration of the observation by the late President Lowell of Harvard University, that "No society is ever murdered — it commits suicide."

I do not imply that bread and circuses are evil things in themselves. Man needs material sustenance and he needs recreation. These needs are so basic that they come within the purview of every religion. In every religion there is a harvest festival of thanksgiving for good crops. And as for recreation, we need only recall that our word "holiday" was originally "holy day," a day of religious observance. In fact, the circuses and games of old Rome were religious in origin. The evil was not in bread and circuses, per se, but in the willingness of the people to sell their rights as free men for full bellies and the excitement of the games which would serve to distract them from the other human hungers which bread and circuses can never appease. The moral decay of the people was not caused by the doles and the games. These merely provided a measure of their degradation. Things that were originally good had become perverted and, as Shakespeare reminds us, "Lilies that fester smell worse than weeds."

## CAN WE PROFIT FROM HISTORY?

But something else was happening far below the surface of Roman political life during the first three centuries of our era. Here and there in parts of the Roman Empire around the Mediterranean were little groups of people who were trying, as best they could, to follow One who had said, "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." These groups, so insignificant at first in numbers, later to be subjected to persecution and slaughtered in the games to provide entertainment, were eventually to become the force that would stop the cruel combats of the arena and, when Rome collapsed, would salvage from the ruin the remnants of Rome's grandeur for a legacy to Western civilization.

The doles and games lasted for centuries in spite of attempts to stop them by political power. They continued until a new religious faith gave the multitude something to live by and to die for! Man does not live by bread



alone, and if he tries to do it, the affront to his deep spiritual nature will not be wiped out by providing him with excitement and distractions!

Rome is not an isolated example. There were other instances of the disintegration of a nation resulting from decay of the moral fiber of the people. The eminent historian, the late James H. Breasted, when asked whether he had discovered any similar cases in the ancient world, replied, "Yes, I have dug up at least a dozen."

How can we profit from these lessons of history? Today, in our own country, we see many of the old spiritual and temporal values which once we cherished called into question. The Constitution is challenged both as to letter and spirit. The original idea of a government with narrowly limited powers has been discarded. Personal liberty is being traded off for an unstable "security" based on politically motivated guarantees. The faith of our founding fathers in a government of equal justice for all has been undermined. We are returning to the old idea of government by special privilege against which they revolted. Every planned society, welfare state scheme comes down to this: dubious benefits for some of us at the expense of the rest of us. These things are being sold to us under the guise of an ephemeral and misnamed humanitarianism called the "general welfare."

### A LIBERTARIAN'S CREED

Yet, we are not without weapons with which to fight this decay and to promote healthy growth. The greatest of these is a new concept of the worth of the individual person which developed in Europe over the centuries and is one of the richest fruits of Christianity. The idea came to America with the earliest settlers, who gave it a political interpretation. This stemmed from the belief of our founding fathers that *there is a pattern laid down by God for man's conduct in society*. It forms the basis of the modern libertarian's creed which I would summarize as follows:

*First* — Man's rights to life, liberty and livelihood come from God. They are inalienable. It is the function of government to make those rights secure. And when any form of government fails to serve this end, it is the right and duty of the people to alter or abolish it.

*Second* — The functions of government should be limited to doing for all,

that, and only that, which each one has a right to do for himself. Specifically, government should defend the lives, liberties and livelihoods of the nation's citizens, invoke a common justice and keep the records incidental thereto. Other than this, the people should be free to pursue their own interests provided such pursuit does not lead them to trespass on the rights of others. Human nature being weak, the stability of limited government can be assured only where political power is dispersed or fragmentized.

*Third* — The natural roots of human liberty are founded in God's moral law, i.e., in religion. Cut off from these roots, liberty, standing alone, is too fragile a thing to survive very long in our kind of world.

*Fourth* — The fruit of liberty is freedom of individual choice. But with this freedom there must go, hand in



"The natural roots of human liberty are founded in God's moral law, i.e., in religion. Cut off from these roots, liberty, standing alone, is too fragile a thing to survive very long in our kind of world."

hand, individual moral responsibility for the results of that choice. Freedom of choice requires a free-market economy where the value of goods is determined by the satisfactions they produce for willing traders in terms of other goods.

There are many disturbing signs that we are moving away from these basic disciplines of our founding fathers. More than fifty years ago, the great historian of Rome, Theodore Mommsen, came to our country on a visit. At a reception in his honor, someone asked him, "Mr. Mommsen, what do you think of our country?" The great scholar replied, "With two thousand years of European experience before your eyes, you have repeated every one of Europe's mis-

takes. I have no further interest in you."

One wonders what Mommsen would say today in the light of increasingly rapid destruction of traditional values during the twenty-five years.

Many of our people have been converted to the idea that liberty has been tried and found wanting, just as many believe that Christianity has been tried and found wanting. They do not know that what has been found wanting is not the true values of liberty and religion but only perverted, worthless counterfeits. So when we urge upon them those true values they shy away. They have been frightened before; so they want to try something which they think is "new."

### A "NEW DEAL"

From such thinking sprang the concept of the "New Deal" — the idea of substituting man's law of force for God's law of love, people called it "do good" for their neighbors. By a curious line of reasoning, the humanitarians who advocate such measures have concluded that the end of the two great commandments, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," can be enforced by the power of the state and that, when it happens, the first, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," ceases to have significance.

Our current position is made precarious because, in many instances we fail to receive support from those to whom we look for strength. We urge people to go back to church, there they frequently find that the very forces which have impaired traditional beliefs have also attacked the very source of those beliefs — the church itself!

The contemporary religious scene is in a state of confusion. Many prominent and articulate churchmen and some of our most influential church bodies have favored the secularization of our national life and urged that more power be placed in the hands of government. Others sought to make the churches over into a political force to put pressure on legislators. In short, those to whom we should look to guide us out of the morass of materialism and self-proposed humanism appear to have "made a deal" for a partnership between God and Caesar, with the church playing the role of silent partner.

How far have we departed from our traditional values? There is a mystery here. It is well known that the basic policies of the two major

cal parties with respect to the intrusion of the state into the economic and social lives of the people differ only in degree and method. There is no discernible difference in fundamental principle. Prominent political figures of both parties pay lip-service to the letter of our Declaration of Independence and Constitution, while they violate the spirit. Many important and vocal elements among our people agree among themselves that "our Constitution is outmoded." They support the thesis of a prominent Swedish Socialist, Gunnar Myrdal, whose views have recently been dignified, undeservedly, by being cited by our Supreme Court, that, "The Constitution of the United States is impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and that its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people."

The proponents of an all-powerful centralized government have erected a bureaucratic colossus which imposes upon our people controls, regimentation, punitive taxation, and subsidies to pressure groups, thus paralleling the "organized mendicancy, subvention, bureaucracy and centralization" which played so great a part in the downfall of Rome! This result has been accomplished:

- First — By tortured interpretations of the "general welfare" and "commerce" clauses of the Constitution;
- Second — By an ill-advised constitutional amendment which confers upon Congress power to confiscate private property without due process of law;
- Third — By court decisions of questionable jurisdiction motivated by political expediency and rationalized by new "social doctrine;"
- Fourth — By abdication by the Congress of its independent authority and power in favor of the executive, and
- Fifth — By bribery of the sovereign states into submission to federal domination.

**THE EROSION OF LIBERTY**

These measures have so eroded the liberty of the individual that one wonders if the victory of the American Revolution has been preserved! It appears that we have rejected the original intent of our founding fathers to set up a government of narrowly restricted powers, and substituted for it a new concept which demands that omnipotent government should assume economic, social and moral responsibilities for a servile people!

This brings to mind the warning given us by the great English scholar and statesman, Macaulay, in 1857. He said, "Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand; or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth; — with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions."

The concentration of power in the Executive Department has dangerously impaired that system of checks and balances which our founding fathers erected with such great care and devout faith to be the guardian of our liberties.

Today, the power of the federal government penetrates into every nook and cranny of our lives, so that many of us have drifted into the easy habit of looking to government as an instrument of positive action to solve all of our problems and to provide not only so-called "security" but even ease and comfort.

We accept without protest the thesis that government should have the power to deprive certain citizens of the fruits of their labors, in order to benefit others who cannot, or will not, provide for their own needs, as those needs are determined by vote-seeking administrators. Every lover of liberty believes devoutly in voluntary gifts and charity. But he objects to the imposition of a "pseudo-charity" by government on unwilling givers. For he foresees these sure results of such action:

- First — The victim is deprived of what he produces, which destroys his incentive to produce — and his confidence in the two commandments — "Thou shalt not covet" and "Thou shalt not steal."
- Second — The one who receives unearned gifts is relieved of the need to produce which, likewise, destroys his incentive and leads him to depend for his sustenance on a paternal government which, in return, demands his vote as a prerequisite for aid.
- Third — As production inevitably declines, the coercive state must resort to force. With voluntary production destroyed, the powers-that-be seek a way to "whip up" production among the ever-increasing non-pro-

ducers and among those who, the authorities think, are insufficient producers. Even the original beneficiaries become the victims of the thing they helped contrive. The "carrot" of incentive is now discarded in favor of the "stick" of coercion. The planners who hoped that their over-all plans for salvation would be accepted voluntarily now see that, since success depends on acceptance of the plan, they must eliminate opposition. They resort to force; their very devotion to the noble ends they seek blinds them to the immorality of the means they employ.

Fourth — Those who are endowed with the political power to make others conform to their wills inevitably develop a moral weakness. There are many instances in contemporary history of a benevolent ruler who, after an extended period of exercising political power, concludes that power and wisdom are the same thing and that, since he possesses power, he must also possess wisdom. He becomes converted to the seductive thesis that election to public office endows the official with both power and wisdom. At this point, he has great difficulty distinguishing between what is morally right and what is politically expedient.

**DIVINE RIGHT OF THE POPULAR MAJORITY**

I have mentioned the destructive effect on the moral fiber of the individual when he is deprived of his natural right to choose freely in economic and social matters and of his moral responsibility for the results of his choice. Also, we have noted the corrosive effect of government largesse on public and private morals.

During the past two years, I have had an excellent opportunity to observe these effects in their practical applications. As Chairman of the Task Force on Water Resources and Power of the Hoover Commission, I received many written and oral statements from elected officials, public administrators, legislators, private citizens and from beneficiaries of government "economic and social uplift" projects in all parts of the country.

The most discouraging feature of these communications was the apparent eagerness of a large, or at least a vociferous, portion of our people to reach out for government benefits. They appeared not to know, or they



were unwilling to face the fact, that government produces nothing; what it gives to one citizen, it must take away from another. In effect, they were calling upon government to do the job from which they shrank; and they considered such action to have moral sanction because it had political sanction!

We appear to have abandoned the view of our founding fathers that in the field of morality only God's presence makes a valid majority; instead we have substituted the doctrine of "the divine right of the popular majority."

What is true in the field of water resources and power is equally true in other segments of our economy.

We are demoralized by an indecent competition. Each one denounces government handouts and privileges for the other fellow — but maintains that his special privilege is for the "general welfare." The slogan of many of us seems to be, "beat the other fellow to the draw" — i.e., "draw out of the public treasury more than you put in, before someone else gets it."

The result is inevitable — more and more power is being transferred from the individual and the states to the centralized government, frequently at the request of the states themselves! The governor of the state of Washington, in a recent address to the National Municipal League, expressed grave concern over the transfer of power which he said results from federal handouts, and which presages the ultimate destruction of the states.

What has become of our vaunted sovereign states, our states' rights, and the fear of our founding fathers of an all-powerful centralized government which is neither cognizant of the local customs of the citizens of the states nor sympathetic with their hopes and aspirations? When states come to Washington with hat-in-hand as supplicants, they become, in effect, wards of the government. In return for a meager portion of their own wealth, they must relinquish a large measure of their sovereignty.

What should we do? We have the answer in that historic statement by George Mason and Thomas Jefferson, which was included in the Virginia Bill of Rights, and which was the foundation of our Declaration of Independence: "No free government, or the blessing of liberty, can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, tem-

perance, frugality and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

*I am no prophet of inevitable doom. On the contrary, I am sounding an alarm that disaster lies ahead unless present danger signals are heeded. I firmly believe that the world is now on the threshold of what could be a great dynamic expansion of spiritual and material prosperity which would tax the world's moral and productive powers to meet humanity's needs. The world looks to America for moral leadership. But true moral leadership exists only when there is no gap between our stated aims and our specific actions. I believe that moral improvement must precede material improvement. Let us recall the admonition: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you."*

#### RETURN DECISIONS TO PEOPLE

What specific steps should we take? I believe that neither I nor anyone else, no matter how exalted his position, can determine for 165 million people their day-to-day economic and social decisions concerning such matters as wages, prices, production, associations and others. So I propose that these decisions, and the problems connected therewith, be returned to the people themselves. This could be done in four steps, as follows:

*First* — Let us stop this headlong rush



UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

The abundance of raw materials, fertility of soil, and temperate climate of the U. S., typified by this fruit grove, are not as important as the spirit of freedom in maintaining a position of world leadership.

toward collectivism. Let there be more special privileges for employers, employees, farmers, businessmen or any other group. This is the first step of all. We need only refrain from passing more social laws.

*Second* — Let us undertake at once an orderly demobilization of many of the existing powers of government by the progressive repeal of the socialistic laws which we already have. This will be a very difficult step because every pressure group in the nation will fight to retain its subsidies, monopoly privileges, protection. But if freedom is to have all special privileges must go.

*Third* — Of the powers that remain to the government, let us return as much as possible to the states. For on the local level, the people will be able to apply more critical scrutiny to the acts of their government agencies.

*Fourth* — Above all, let us resolve never again will we yield to the reduction of the government power who comes amongst us offering "bread and circuses," paid for our own money, in return for our sovereign rights!

These measures which I come to you will require bold action. Those who take up the gage of battle will be the real pioneers of our age, frontiersmen of the last half of the twentieth century. We are, in truth, a great moral crisis which will determine the issue between freedom for the individual or slavery to the profiteer.

Let us here recall the words of the great Sam Houston in his message to the First Congress of the Republic of Texas, May 1, 1837: "Those who would tend for liberty must be prepared to endure privation."

At the close of the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin predicted that the federal union "could only end in despotism, as other governments have done before it, when they shall become so corrupt as to prefer a despotic government, being inclined to do any other."

And the late David Starr Jordan, former President of Stanford University, reminded us of our duty in his words: "Does history ever repeat itself? It always does if it is true history. If it does not, we are dealing with history but with a mere succession of incidents. Like causes produce like effects just as often as man chooses to test them. . . How long will the republic endure? So long as the ideas of its founders remain dominant."



# SOCIALISM

... By Any Other Name



By TOM ANDERSON\*

I HAVE KNOWN admitted thieves, kidnapers and murderers, admitted embezzlers, atheists, wife-beaters and dog-poisoners. But I've never known a person who admitted to being a Socialist! And yet socialism is a bigger menace to America than communism.

Millions of Americans are preaching, practicing and voting for socialism. But they call it something else. Norman Thomas ran for President on the Socialist ticket six times. In 1928 he got 267,420 votes. In 1948, he got just a little over half that many. Because socialism had lost its appeal? Because Norman Thomas was a poor nominee? No. Because the New and Fair Deal took over most of his platform. And because Americans just won't vote for socialism — if it's called socialism.

Have you read the books your children are studying in high school or college? The socialists have wormed their way into the schoolroom, too. In an alarming number of cases, the teacher is a socialist, knowingly or unknowingly. And the textbooks contain such things as this: "Religion should discard supernaturalism" (belief in God), "a socialistic economic system is better than a competitive one," "the profit motive is evil," "a welfare-state government is desirable." For instance, a sociology textbook being used in high schools entitled "The American Way of Life" says our form of government "is a combination of a lottery and a famine" which will not be "true democracy" until security and plenty "are given to the masses."

The socialists seem to want to replace "the faith of our fathers" with educational crusades to eliminate poverty, ill-health, war, racial segregation and crime. To them religion is nothing more than social work.

The Socialist party of America is a sort of prep school of the Communist party. Thousands of American Communists got their start in the Socialist party (and vice versa).

Socialism and communism have the same initial goals: seizure — by ballot

\*Mr. Anderson is editor of *Farm and Ranch* magazine. This editorial is reprinted from his column, "Straight Talk," November, 1955, issue.

or bullets as the case may be — of key industries and services. As David Lilienthal, TVA's former boss, said: "Those who control energy control people." Electric power usually comes first. Then steel, medicine, banks, fuel, food, transportation. The government can do it all "cheaper."

## SOCIALISM: COMMUNISM WITHOUT BRAINWASHING

Socialism and communism have the following three main things in common:

1. State ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.
2. State planning of production (instead of a free supply-and-demand, profit system). And control of prices and wages.
3. Elimination of personal incomes derived from rent, interest and profit.

To establish those three principles it is necessary for bureaucrats to take over the running of every home in the nation. Housewives are told what they can buy, and the price they can pay. When profit-making is eliminated, consumers-choice goes with it.

If private incomes from rent, profit and interest are abolished, then it is up to the state to furnish individual incomes in the form of wages, salaries, pensions, allowances and fees. These are dished out of a central trough by mastermind planners and rationed out by a swarm of bureaucrats.

"Production for use instead of for profit" means regimentation and enslavement of workers and industrialists alike.

## SOMETHING FOR EVERYBODY — REPUBLICAN STYLE

Even Mr. Eisenhower came out with a socialized medicine plan he called "federal reinsurance." It would extend some sort of health and hospitalization insurance to some of the 60,000,000 Americans not now covered. Under the administration's "non-socialized" plan the federal government would reinsure (guarantee for

a fee) up to three-fourths of the insurance of private organizations against abnormal losses. Something for everybody! Insurance for the insurable and the uninsurable. Guaranteed Annual Profits for the insurance companies. Debts for the grandchildren. And votes for the administration.

## SOCIAL GAINS — BOUGHT BUT NOT PAID FOR

All the money paid into Social Security is spent by the government as fast as it's taken in. None of us has any assurance that we'll ever get any of the money we and our employers have paid in — unless the people are willing to tax themselves to pay us when we reach the retirement age. Actually, most of our "social gains" have been bought but not paid for. We're willing to let following generations do that — if they can. Our security is their insecurity. For every ounce of security we buy and charge to them, they'll lose a pound of freedom in return.

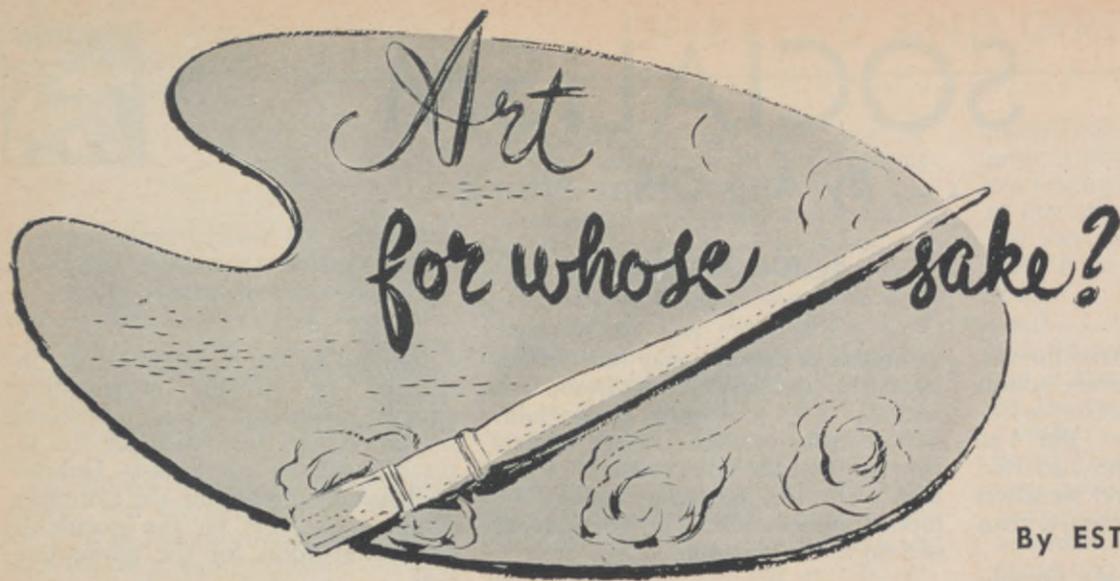
The British Trades Union Congress declared that, if nationalization "remains restricted to a limited number of industries and services, the full advantage of social ownership will be lost." Once the government owns several key industries, others must inevitably be taken over.

Throughout history it has been the same — the people trade the right to handle their own affairs to the government, for handouts. Bit by bit the planners take more and more control and taxes. The taxpayers do the paying and the politicians do the spending. Finally, police state measures must be applied to the people — and the totalitarian dictatorship takes over everything.

Socialism and communism arrive at the same ends, though not at the same time nor in the same way. Socialism is creeping revolution. It's communism with a slow-burning fuse. But in the end, both result in dictatorship . . . in domination of the individual by the state . . . in the destruction of representative government.

Whether we call it communism, welfarism or socialism, it leads to the same thing: ruinism.

END



By ESTHER JULIA PEL

Visible in many of the works of "modern art" is the hand of the masters of communism. To appraise this type of art as Eggheadian is to lose sight of its true intent and purpose, and to ignore its deliberate perversion.

**I**N THE STORY, "The Emperor's Clothes," by Hans Christian Andersen, the Emperor, *stark naked*, marches proudly down the street between rows of his people. The admiring crowds murmur their appreciation of his beautiful new robes, their soft coloring, and their magnificent texture. Two thieves pretending to be tailors had convinced the Emperor that they could weave for him the most beautiful robe in the whole world, but that the cloth could only be seen by wise and intelligent people.

With huge sums of money obtained from the gullible and vain Emperor, they pretended to weave these beautiful new textures. So skillful had they been in convincing the palace retainers that failure to appreciate their handiwork would brand one as having no taste, that not a single courtier had dared raise his voice to protest against what was obviously a swindle. So, while the gullible Emperor marched down the street naked, the perpetrators of the hoax rolled on the palace floor in helpless laughter at the success of their scheme.

If the beloved Danish weaver of children's fairy tales were alive today, he would be astonished to see that his delightful fable has been taken over literally by swindlers in the field of so-called "modern art." Here we find an identical parallel—the perpetrators of the hoax of "modern art" have generally convinced the gullible that failure to appreciate their new forms of art expression brands one as hopelessly unintelligent and behind the times.

In fact, the situation is almost identical in that *blank canvas* is actually exhibited as art!

This may sound very funny, but the sickening story of decadence, perversion, and revolutionary purpose behind the introduction of modern art to America is far from humorous. So-called "modern art" had its origin in socially sick and decadent European art circles before the first World War. From them sprung Cubism, Dadaism, Futurism, Symbolism, Expressionism, etc.

In the social ferment that was to produce communism, fascism, and nazism, there arose artists who plotted to use art as a means of power over the masses. Since its inception, "modern art" has been revolutionary, not in the sense of bringing new beauty and craftsmanship to the world, but in the deliberate turning of the human mind from what is true, good, and beautiful to the contemplation and worship of ugliness, disordered visions of madness, "social protest," and the use of esoteric and occult symbols for reality.

All over Europe the revolutionaries, the dabblers in the occult, and the demented overturned the traditional forms of beauty and art. They boldly proclaimed themselves the new elite of the world of art. They formed into tight little groups, issued manifestos, and tirelessly promoted their "new" art forms.

In 1920 the Dadaists held their most spectacular exhibition under the direction of Max Ernst, the artist. The entrance to the exhibition, which was held in Munich, was through a public

urinal. A young girl dressed in white as if for her first Communion, recited obscene poems in a loud voice. A feature of this early Dada exhibition was an aquarium full of blood-red flowers, which were an alarm clock, a woman's hair, and an arm carved in wood. Visitors also were invited to take an axe and chop at a large block of wood. The general impression created through this insane exhibit was to convince the ordinary visitor that he, too, had become mad. Indeed, some of the visitors did go mad in the sense of uttering anger. They seized the axe and proceeded to chop down the whole exhibition before the police arrived. The Dadaists were elated—they had proved their point that the world was in a state of complete madness.

The Dadaists were not alone in unleashing perversion and madness on the world. In June of 1936 the Surrealists held an exhibition in London. The noted British novelist, J. B. Priestley, reviewed it for a London paper. He said in part:

The Surrealists stand for violence, neurotic unreason. They are truly decadent. You catch a glimpse between them of the deepening twilight of barbarism that may soon blot out the sky until at last humanity finds itself in another long night. . . .

Prophetic words written almost twenty years ago! Part and parcel of those helping to bring on "the night" were the following artists: J. T. Baargeld, founder of the Surrealists, who helped establish the Communist party in the Rhineland.

Filippo T. Marinetti, founder of the Futurists. He was a friend of Mussolini, and was proclaimed the cultural leader of the Italian Fascists after their seizure of power. Marinetti proclaimed: "Man has no more significance than a stone."

Vassily Kandinsky, leader of the Expressionists. Kandinsky, who was born in Russia, studied painting in Germany. He was a mediocre painter until he discovered "expressionism." This theory of painting was that painting in a trance would produce visions of the unconscious on the canvas. This was supposed to produce a like state of trance on the part of the spectator. The followers of Kandinsky in Germany were known as the Blue Knights. In 1914 he returned to Russia. He was a friend of Trotsky, and after the revolution he and his pals sought to dominate the Russian art world. For a while they succeeded. They created their own workshops and art organizations. Kandinsky became the director of the Museum of Pictorial Culture in Moscow. He helped establish museums throughout Russia. But his triumph was short-lived.

#### ARTFULNESS OF LENIN

A smarter and far greater Communist, V. I. Lenin, was watching the newly developing Bolshevik art movement. Master of revolutionary techniques himself, Lenin saw in the art of Kandinsky and his associates just another way of subverting the masses through distortion and neuroticism. The Russian masses which Lenin had chosen to conquer for socialism, had to face cold, hard, reality — neuroticism and decadent distortions were and for people outside of Russia whom Lenin hoped to soften up and demoralize for later conquest. Kandinsky was kicked out of Russia by Lenin in 1921, and the Expressionist leader returned to Germany. A few years later he was brought to the United States by Katherine Dreier, an aging but active left-winger from Brooklyn.

Kandinsky, former cultural commissar in Bolshevik Russia, believe it or not, became vice president of the So-

By Bernard Rosenthal. To quote from this article: "What more subtle way could be devised to destroy children's faith in religion than to show Christ on the cross as a gigantic insect? Nothing is more despicable in 'modern art' than the vulgarity and ugly distortion in religious themes."



ciété Anonyme in New York two years later. This was an international association set up in 1920 by the same Katherine Dreier for the promotion of the study of "progressive art" in America. There is no reason to believe that Kandinsky, who had failed to establish his revolutionary art form in Russia, had abandoned his ideas or plans when he got to this country.

In a speech entitled "Modern Art Shackled to Communism," Congressman Dondero of Michigan said:

The Société Anonyme according to the American Art Annual was first organized as the Museum of Modern Art. The Museum of Modern Art founded in 1920, officered in 1923 and for years thereafter by Kandinsky, Russian Commissar of the "Isms" becomes crystallized in 1929 as the present Museum of Modern Art. As an enduring link between the two, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., member of the Board of Directors of Société Anonyme, is the Director of the present Museum of Modern Art.

The way was open for the virus of the foreign-spawned "Isms" to be injected into the bloodstream of American culture, and it was. Books written by or about the leaders of "social protest" in the art world were published or sold by the Museum of Modern Art. The art critics of liberal and radical magazines praised to the skies the daubs and monstrosities of the "new school" artists. They employed a gibberish even more incomprehensible than the alleged "paintings" they so lavishly praised. Even more fantastic were the prices asked for some of this abstract junk.



(Left) Joseph Hirsch painting occupied a place of honor in the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. Mr. Hirsch's record of Communist-front affiliations did not interfere with the government commissions he received.

**PORTRAITS OF "ISMS"**

Abstract art offered the Communists a quick route to fame and fortune. It dispensed with the long training and talent demanded by traditional painting. A few daubs of paint on a canvas called "abstract art" could be boosted and pushed as great art. Many of the newly rich were eager to emulate an older generation of millionaire art patrons. Most of the great works of art of past centuries have been acquired by museums or fami-



This is another of Bernard Rosenthal's work. These faceless pinheaded characters are supposed to represent "The American Family." It decorates the new Los Angeles police station and cost the city \$10,000.

lies of great wealth. Therefore, it became tremendously chic to purchase works of unknown artists and to become a patron and defender of the "new culture."

On the other hand, the average American under no such delusions derived no pleasure or inspiration from the new art forms. The spectator felt uneasy and bewildered looking at paintings that conveyed neither beauty nor sense. Nevertheless, like the Emperor's courtiers they were easily cowed into silence because they feared the ridicule which the so-called "critics" and defenders of the new "Isms" would heap upon them.

This was not an American art movement. At practically all of these American exhibitions, even today, the names of the same leaders of European modern art appear over and over again — Salvador Dali, Max Ernst, Pablo Picasso, Miro, Paul Klee, Tanguy, Chagall, De Chirico, et al., et al.

The wedge of confusion having been driven home, a new phase was started. William Z. Foster, veteran Communist leader, made this significant admission in the *New Masses* in 1946:

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

The Communists had started to organize and exploit artists in the early 1930's by setting up fronts along cultural lines. One of the most notorious was the John Reed Club, named in honor of an early American Communist, John Reed, who had died in Russia shortly after the Bolshevik seizure of power and had been buried with full Red honors in the Kremlin wall. Also active in New York was the Artists Union. Organized in 1933 by unemployed artists working on Federal Arts Projects, a part of the Federal Relief Program, it was super-militant. On May 1st, the Communist holiday, it called upon all artists "to come out into the streets, to don chisel and brush, and march shoulder to shoulder with his fellow workers toward the future."

**SUBSIDIZED DAUBING**

These artists were primarily interested in art as Communist and revolutionary propaganda. Federal and State art projects set up to alleviate unemployment and distress offered wonderful opportunities to get paid, with taxpayers' money, for daubing revolutionary propaganda on public property walls. They violently resisted all controls, which they called "censorship."



Left: "Seated Woman," the work of Pablo Picasso. There's no doubt regarding the party affiliation of this artist, who once remarked: "I am Communist and my painting is Communist painting."



Right: William Gropper was present in 1930 at an international Communist conference in Kharkov, Russia, set up to bring American artists under Comintern control. Years later, Gropper's Communist-front record with some or more affiliations, he was commissioned to paint the above mural for the New Interior Building in Washington at an admitted fee of between \$4,000 and \$5,000.

These founders and early members of the John Reed Clubs and Artists Union can be found today as favorably and prominently displayed artists in many museums throughout the United States. The names of these same artists appear over and over again as sponsors or supporters of literally dozens of Communist fronts during the past 20 years.

William Gropper was one of the founders of the John Reed Club as well as a founder of Artists Equity in 1947. According to Congressman Underwood, "Artists Equity Association is practically all the notorious Red artists in the country." Gropper was present in 1930 at an international Communist conference on art in Kharkov, Russia, set up to bring American artists under Comintern control. The sabotage of the American art was the direct outcome of this conference. In a cable to Moscow in 1932 Gropper reported to the Soviet masters the accomplishment of American Communists in the struggle for world socialism:

I have held exhibitions of cartoons, drawings and paintings on the imperialist war and the defense of the Soviet Union throughout the West Coast of the United States like Berkeley, San Francisco and Los Angeles in California and in galleries in New York City. Present I am at work on a mural painting to be exhibited in the Museum of Modern Art, which thousands of people visit weekly and I shall register my protest by exposing the war plot against the Soviet Union in this painting.

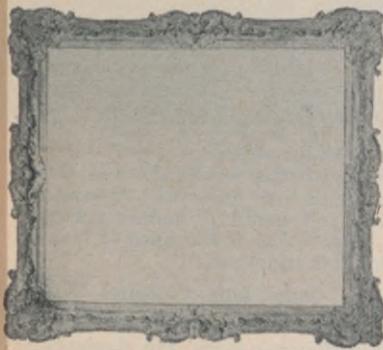
With Revolutionary Greetings,  
William Gropper.

Gropper's Communist-front record with some 60 or more affiliations is second only to that of Rockwell Kent with well over a hundred. Yet he has the gall to tell the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations in 1953:

Right: Anton Refregier, the artist who painted the widely discussed murals in the Rincon Post Office in San Francisco, was paid \$26,000 of the taxpayers' money for this assignment. Protests from outraged citizens finally forced a congressional hearing on these slanted murals, but he was not even called to testify as to what part of this fee was diverted to any of the 33 Communist fronts with which he was connected. The fight to have these murals removed is still raging.



Below: Certain modern "artists" exhibit blank canvas as art. Their conception of this type of art is to portray an unreal world by subtracting fragments from fragments till nothing is left.



You see I am an artist. I am primarily an artist. I am not in with this political business that you people are all involved in.

Despite this long Communist-front record and his protests of complete lack of political knowledge, Mr. Gropper nevertheless conveniently took the Fifth Amendment when asked if he was a Communist. He admitted he had received between four thousand and five thousand dollars for a mural he did for the New Interior Building in Washington. When asked whether he had contributed any of this money to the Communist party, Gropper again took the Fifth Amendment.

#### WORKS OF WHOSE ART?

In 1947 the State Department paid fifty-five thousand dollars of your tax money for a collection of seventy-nine works of art to be shown abroad as examples of American culture. At least nine of the contributing artists had front records. The project was quickly dropped when the then Secretary of State, George Marshall, received a flood of protests from congressmen and indignant citizens. The War Assets Administration later disposed of the whole collection for \$5,544.45, or about ten cents on the dollar.

A year later an "art gallery on wheels" was set up to tour Veteran Administration hospitals. Congressman Dondero exposed the front re-

ords of seventeen artist whose works were included in the project. The sinister purpose behind such an otherwise harmless idea was to give these Communist-front artists a sort of "patriotism by association" halo in that their modernistic daubs had presumably benefited recuperating veterans. They could also later claim that they had at least been inferentially "cleared of any taint of subversion" by virtue of the fact that the United States government had displayed their works in veterans hospitals. You have to get up awfully early to outsmart Communists.

The Communists are tireless in boosting each other's products. They are also highly adept at infiltrating art juries. Recently the National Council for U. S. Art announced the first competition for art work to decorate the United Nations Building in New York. The ten jurors include at least three with Communist-front records, Leon Kroll, Paul Manship, and William Zorach. Six of the eighteen members of the Visual Arts Panel of the U. S. National Committee of UNESCO are connected with Artists Equity. This is a cozy "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" arrangement.

Small wonder that so many young and struggling artists go left. They are smart enough to realize that with such obvious infiltration, and in some cases control, of art juries and panels by notorious left-wingers, anti-Communist painters do not stand much of a chance. For example, Anton Refregier was selected from eighty-six other contestants to paint the Rincon Post Office murals in San Francisco. There were three artists on the jury; two who voted for Refregier had long front records. Outraged protests from patriotic groups finally forced a congressional hearing on these slanted murals. Refregier himself was not even called to testify as to what part of the twenty-six thousand dollars of taxpayers'

money which he received was diverted to any of the Communist fronts with which he was connected. Despite the protests of large groups of patriotic citizens, the objectionable murals painted by a Communist sympathizer are still on the walls of a U. S. government building. Who benefited by the selection of Anton Refregier as the artist?

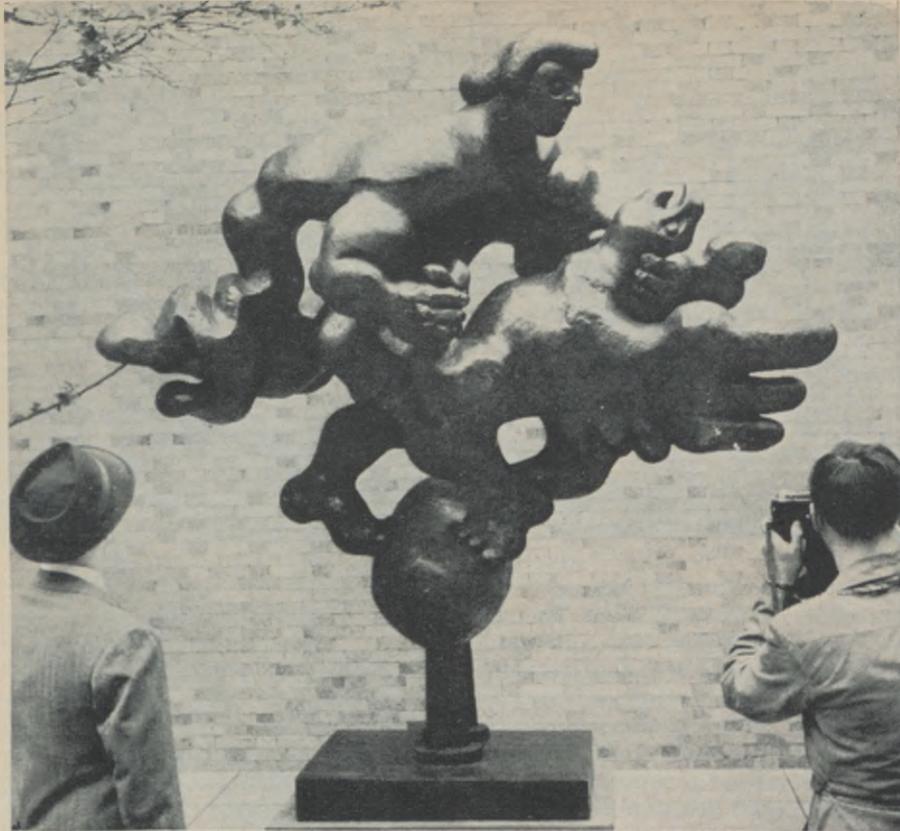
#### "AND A LITTLE CHILD SHALL LEAD THEM"

In the story of the Emperor's clothes, it was the voice of one small child which exposed the whole carefully built-up hoax. "But he has nothing on!" exclaimed the child. The Emperor, realizing that the child spoke the truth, rushed back to his palace to turn out the rascals who had made such a fool of him. The clear-sighted vision of small children is apparently not given to the blind worshipers of "modern art." Consider the reply of Stanley Marcus, chairman of the Dallas Museum Board, to a resolution of the Dallas Public Affairs Luncheon Club. The resolution protested the exhibition of works by Communist and pro-Communist artists at the local museum. "Tommyrot!" sneered Mr. Marcus.

Christianity is today the main target of world communism. What more subtle way could be devised to destroy children's faith in religion than to show Christ on the cross as a gigantic insect? Nothing is more despicable in "modern art" than the vulgarity and ugly distortion in religious themes.

The real thinking behind these sacrilegious paintings is given away by a critical review in the Communist *Daily Peoples World* of April 6, 1955. Criticizing Rico Lebrun's "Crucifixion" series, the review says:

In attempting to depict man's inhumanity to man there was a deep and important fallacy. The carpenter who



This piece of sculpture was done by Jacques Lipchitz, and is featured at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. The character with the curious bulges is Prometheus.

erected the cross, the soldiers who rent the garments, and the crowds who jeered and mocked were all portrayed in unsparing horror. But the forces which put these executioners into movement, the instigators of mankind's most notorious execution of a radical thinker, nowhere were these forces shown.

Can you believe it? Jesus Christ, not the hope and Saviour of all mankind, but merely a "radical thinker."

This is hate art. The purveyors of it have their vile works exhibited in museums and private galleries throughout the country. They are praised, financially supported, and defended by the very class that they plot to destroy. The *Daily Worker* of April

10, 1955, carried an article on the Jack Levine show exhibited in the Whitney Museum of Art in New York. The following excerpts are significant:

He paints dead souls in living bodies with devastating power and insight. He paints men and women who would stifle humanity, starve mankind, brutalize the world for their own parasitic, selfish, greedy ends. He divests these people of their outer garments of wealth, position, and respectability and exposes the sham that covers the leering evil, the greed, the corrosion of upper-class immorality and self-indulgence. . . .

His technique in depicting death in life, evil in human form is close to perfection. . . . The painting, "The Trial," has deep political significance today as witchhunts and hysteria have made a

mockery of courtroom justice. . . . Throughout the exhibition it is more clear what Jack Levine hates. He says himself, "Those I love I simply leave out. A painter should do what he does best."

He has created unforgettable faces expressive of corruption that grows and decays, of hypocritical souls wielding power today.

Pope Pius XII summed up the whole situation recently when he spoke at an exhibition of the works of Fra Angelico, famed 15th Century Florentine painter of saints and angels. His Holiness extolled the work of Fra Angelico who had painted an ideal world of angel-like men, and then said:

If the artistic expression turns instead to a false, empty, and unclean spirit which deforms the designs of the Creator, if instead of elevating the mind and heart to noble sentiments it should incite the more vulgar passions, it may find acclaim or acceptance by some, even if only because of novelty, which is not always of merit.

But such art would degrade itself by denying its own principal and essential aspect, and would be neither universal nor perpetual as is the spirit of man to which it is addressed.

A few years ago, Colonel William R. Kintner wrote a book entitled *Front Is Everywhere*. He demonstrated beyond cavil that secret Communists and their sympathizers in our midst are waging total war against every hour of the day and night on every level and stratum of our society — religious, cultural, political, economic, social, moral, and intellectual. This constant corrosive attack seeks to destroy our religion, our home, our national unity, our history, our traditions, our very will to resist and live. In this titanic struggle for the world, no sector of human thought and activity is overlooked by the malign influence of Moscow. So, remember that in the museums, "Art is a weapon in the class struggle."

This article first appeared in the October 1955, issue of *The American Legion Magazine*.

### REBUTTALS INVITED

In the interest of allowing space for the presentation of any opposing viewpoints regarding modern art, *Facts Forum News* wrote Mr. Jerry Bywaters, Director of the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, a letter which read in part as follows:

"If you would like to write an article expressing a different viewpoint regarding the modern art which Miss Pels criticizes, we would be most happy to commission the writing of such an article, to appear in either the same issue or the following March issue of our magazine. If you have not read the article in question, we will be glad to send you a reprint of it."

We quote from his reply:

"It is most tempting to suggest some alternates to the article's opinions. . . .

"However, the article is preoccupied with various attacks on modern art. Since the institution which I serve as director is interested in all kinds of 'good' art (whether traditional or 'modern') we see no point in taking sides against ourselves.

"The article directs many accusations at the Museum of Modern Art and its director. Perhaps you should give that institution and others devoted exclusively to modern art, such as the Guggenheim Museum, an opportunity to reply. I further suggest that you request the editors of the *Arts* or the *Art News* to reply to [Miss Pels's] article, that is if you are sincerely interested in printing a rebuttal.

"A comment I have regarding the article's reference to this institution is that this painting was loaned to our museum by the National Academy of Design of New York, a most patriotic and conservative institution, after having received a third-prize in an important national exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, another prominent American institution. This very pertinent information is not given to the reader, and I request that it be included.

If rebuttals are forthcoming from the sources suggested by Mr. Bywaters, they will be considered for publication in a near future issue of *Facts Forum News*.

ROBERT W. JOHNSON

# Management Listens

TO  
CONSUMERS  
WORKERS  
EXECUTIVES  
COMMUNITIES  
STOCKHOLDERS



General Robert W. Johnson, Chairman of the Board, Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.

**T**HERE was a time when Commodore William H. Vanderbilt's explosive remark, "The public be damned," represented a minority cross-section of the business viewpoint. Since that time the universally accepted executive viewpoint has experienced a complete reversal. It would be hard to find the general manager today who does not place the interests of his customer first. This goes for the tiny candy store with newspapers on the side, to the great supermarket and department store, and of course for industry, small and large.

The most powerful people in our country are the consumers—the workers and the farmers, who are also consumers; the stockholder-consumers; the union leader-consumers and the legislator who, believe it or not, has a family of consumers. When these people speak individually, in groups or collectively, management is all attention. The executive not only listens—he pays a great price for exploratory surveys in the hope that he can hear the faintest murmur of dissatisfaction or praise.

To meet this overwhelming control, business competes aggressively within itself in the hope that each management team may best interpret the expressed, and even the subconscious desires of the new dictator. To accomplish this end a modern, and largely unique concept of executive policy has been created.

Today, the first consideration of sound corporate policy is the public—

the consumer, the customer. The modern corporation knows its products *must* be good, and that it must strive to make them better, at lower cost. As part of this pattern, dealers and distributors must make a fair profit and orders must be filled promptly and accurately. Without distributor and buyer good will, there can be no business.

The *second* responsibility of a sound business is to its workers, the men and women in its factories and offices. They must have a sense of security in their jobs. Wages must be fair and adequate, management just, hours short, and working conditions clean and orderly. Workers should have an organized system for suggestions and complaints. Foremen and department heads must be qualified and fair-minded. There must be opportunity for advancement for those who qualify, and each person must be treated as an individual, standing on his own dignity and merit.

The *third* responsibility is to the people who manage the business. Men who have risen from the ranks—the executives of proven experience and ability—have come to spell the difference between success and failure in today's complex corporate structure.

The *fourth* consideration and responsibility of the going business of today is to the community in which it functions. In many communities a large factory, store or insurance company is the principal source of livelihood and taxes. In addition, the families of employee-consumers for miles

around look to it for leadership in civic improvement, health standards and education. The modern corporation has become inextricably involved in the welfare of the communities in which it operates. Here is the birthplace—or deathbed—of public good will.

The *fifth* and last responsibility is to the many people who own the present-day corporate enterprise—who risk the savings and buy its stock. In days of yore, when one man financed a company's start, he might have been characterized or caricatured as a bloated moneylender or, still worse, a "money changer" who should be "driven from the temples" in times of stress or depression. But in today's complex design of corporate finance, more than half our population has an interest in the stocks and bonds of our leading industries, whether outright, or through the medium of investment trusts, insurance policies, savings bank deposits, etc. Among large and important owners of corporate stocks today are the company's customers, the dealers and distributors; the workers, foremen, superintendents; the managers, and the people who live in the communities where it functions.

**T**HUS we have reached a phase of corporate development where the application of the Golden Rule to all of these elements is truly good business practice. Here is a new business concept, a new philosophy. It is a unique

(Continued on Page 35)



RFE PHOTO

A Radio Free Europe reporter (right) interviews an escapee from Czechoslovakia while his story is simultaneously recorded on tape for future broadcast.

### MISSION OF FREE EUROPE COMMITTEE

(Excerpts from Annual Report of the President of Free Europe Committee, Inc., to the Directors and Members of the Committee.)

Incorporated in the State of New York in 1949, Free Europe Committee is a membership association of American citizens who believe that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain — in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania — are being held captive against their will by the agents of Soviet Russia who, for the time being, rule over them. The mission of Free Europe Committee is therefore to work for the freedom of these peoples in order that they may one day be able to erect democratic institutions of their own choosing and join with the other peoples of Europe in establishing a peaceful, fraternal and cooperative European community.

This mission is consonant with United States policy as repeatedly enunciated by President Eisenhower and other members of his Administration. It is consistent also with the Bermuda declaration of December 1953 made jointly by the heads of the British, French and United States governments in these terms: "We cannot accept as justified or permanent the present division of Europe. Our hope is that, in due course, peaceful means will be found to enable the countries of Eastern Europe again to play their part as free nations in a free Europe."

WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON

**R**ADIO Free Europe was established by the Free Europe Committee in December, 1949, to conduct a campaign of psychological warfare against the Communist regimes of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria. It is supported by the contributions of the American people to the Crusade for Freedom.

Radio Free Europe went on the air in July, 1950, with one mobile short-wave transmitter broadcasting a few hours a week to the countries. Now, with 29 powerful short and medium-wave transmitters located in West Germany and Portugal, Radio Free Europe programs are on the air more than 3,000 hours a week.

The basic aim of Radio Free Europe is to help the people behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle to regain their national freedom and individual liberties. The most effective weapon in this struggle is the truth, which is constantly used to expose conditions within the Soviet orbit that the Communists prefer to hide from the people. The truth is also used to spread dissent among the Communists themselves, thus disrupting party machinery and reducing its power over the people.

To carry out its mission, Radio Free Europe established a network of five stations — the Voice of Free Czechoslovakia, of Free Hungary, Free Poland, Free Romania and Free Bulgaria — over which exiles from these nations speak to their own countrymen.

Radio Free Europe correspondents,

# Meltin

from Stockholm and Hamburg to Istanbul, continued to interview newly-arrived refugees from the Curtain countries. From all of something of interest was learned about conditions in their towns, villages, popular sentiment toward the Communist rulers, radio listening attitudes on democracy and the American people, etc. A special refugee is the "defector," the Communist party or regime official whose eyes have been opened to the true nature of the creed and the oppressive and inefficient character of the system.

The exiles who write and broadcast Radio Free Europe's programs are chosen on the basis of professional skill and specialized knowledge. They are the best available editors, journalists, newscasters, actors, musicians, entertainers. They are experts in their field of labor, agriculture, economics, religion, government, science, and other affairs. Many of them were well known in their countries before they were forced to flee from Communist tyranny. Speaking to their countrymen now as friends and patriots, they are able to forge a strong link between their people behind the Iron Curtain and the free world.

Radio Free Europe is on the air for hours a day to its major target areas, speaking for listeners with local radio stations hour by hour. There is time to give close attention to various problems of all segments of the population: workers, youth, women, party members, keepers, security police, the

Last month *Facts Forum News* began a presentation of a critical view of Radio Free Europe, the second installment of which appears on page 23 of this issue. Here is RFE's own version of the effectiveness of the program.

# the Iron Curtain

## RADIO FREE EUROPE'S OWN STORY—Part I

forces and other special groups.

It is a private, not a governmental station. It does not broadcast to Soviet Russia or East Germany, but only to the five Iron Curtain countries named above. To three of those countries—Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary—it delivers a full radio service, including programs of culture and entertainment as well as news, editorial matter, anti-Communist polemics, and demonstrations of the ethics and institutions of true democracy. Its five "voices" are national voices—Poles speaking to Poles, Hungarians to Hungarians, etc., in their own name, not in the name of the U. S. government or of the American people. Its chief center of operation is in and around Munich, Germany, broadcasts prepared in its New York studios covering some 15 per cent of the daily total airtime. It maintains a relay service in Portugal, with headquarters in Lisbon.

That Radio Free Europe has succeeded in becoming a "home station from abroad" is borne out by the comments of refugees and letters. A refugee from Hungary said, "That's our radio and those are our people who speak over it." A Bulgarian commented, "The villagers listen to Radio Free Europe because the programs are plain spoken, understandable to all, even the peasants." A Czechoslovak wrote, "Radio Free Europe is the most popular of stations, not only because it is on the air all day long, but also because of the uniquely Czechoslovak character of the broadcasts." An escapee from Poland stated, "Radio Free Europe has completely succeed-

ed in establishing a live contact between Poles in Poland and Poles in the West. The programs, obviously broadcast by and for Poles, are based on facts."

Letters reaching Radio Free Europe from people behind the Iron Curtain emphasize the kinship that has grown between the RFE stations and people under Communist domination. They usually begin with such salutations as "My fellow countrymen," "Dear compatriots abroad," "Our dear free brethren," "Beloved compatriots."

### COOPERATION NECESSARY

Americans at Radio Free Europe work closely with the exiles—advising, guiding and lending their professional experience to the operation. The American-exile relationship is one of consultation among partners allied in the common struggle for a free world; it has resulted in a competent, professional broadcasting operation that has won the loyalty of millions of listeners.

A basic concept of Radio Free Europe programming is that truth is the most effective weapon against Communist lies. The truth is used in many ways. It matches the lies and distortions of the Communists with facts—often in such a way that listeners can check the facts with their own eyes and ears. It reports news of the world truthfully. Disagreements among free world nations are neither ignored nor glossed over; they are treated as elements of the democratic pattern, wherein the right to discuss differ-

ences freely stands in contrast to oppressive conditions under Communist rule. Radio Free Europe employs the truth to expose events and conditions which the Communist regimes would prefer to hide from their people. In so doing, it often forces the regimes into admission or false denial of the circumstances.

The captive peoples are anti-Communist in overwhelming majority—perhaps 80 to 85 per cent. They listen to all the foreign broadcasts they can.

In certain countries—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, particularly—RFE is adjudged to be the favorite station. It sustains its listeners' belief in the superior strength of the Western powers and the higher moral and material content of democracy. It brings them reasons to continue their persistent opposition to the puppets of Moscow by whom they are governed. It does not incite them to futile and dangerous acts of rebellion but guides their thinking and shows them that their spontaneous blocking of the purposes of each regime is evidence of their growing strength.

Radio Free Europe programs weaken the Iron Curtain regimes by spreading dissent among Communists, nourishing the anxieties of regime functionaries, and creating a wholesome fear of retribution among those who refuse to purge themselves of their crimes against their fellow countrymen. John Hvasta, the Czechoslovak-American who was imprisoned in Czechoslovakia for several years, observed that Communists he came in contact with were often influenced by

Radio Free Europe and many of them are trying to "save up good will" as insurance against future liberation.

Since Radio Free Europe wages a realistic campaign against communism, it makes use, accordingly, of every available weapon, including every type of true anti-Communist which a tight security system can identify. *At no time do Radio Free Europe programs accept the theories or practices of communism, Marxism or socialism. But recognizing the realities of democratic development in the history of pre-Communist Eastern Europe (which was very different from America) Radio Free Europe utilizes exiles of all political faiths (except left and right extremists) in its all-out fight against communism.*

The programs are varied in form and content; there is something for men, women and children of all ages, interests, needs and classes. There is music, drama, variety, commentary, poetry, comedy, interviews, quiz and round table shows. Religious programs and services are broadcast to listeners of all faiths. Stress is laid on the native culture of the captive peoples — on their own music, literature and history which the Soviet rulers try to suppress in the interests of international communism.

News is the staple product of Radio Free Europe, which daily builds its reputation for news speed, honesty and accuracy by regularly "scooping" the Communist stations. Listeners in the captive countries often hear important news about Soviet Russia and their own countries over Radio Free Europe before they hear it on Radio Moscow, Budapest, Warsaw or Prague. For instance, the first bulletin on Stalin's death, Beria's purge and Malenkov's resignation was broadcast by Radio Free Europe many hours before Communist stations carried the news.

The international nature of the op-

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"We in Europe have seen results of its (Crusade for Freedom) programs and we think they are doing a magnificent job.

"... the Soviets spend more money trying to jam programs, such as the Crusade for Freedom, than the entire Free World spends in the field of propaganda. In other words, the Soviets recognize what a potent weapon propaganda is. Here we are a country that sells soap in terms so attractive you can almost taste it; yet we have trouble in developing propaganda that will appeal to the mind. I am sure you all agree with me that the Crusade for Freedom should be supported. It is an enterprise that is going to take a long time to develop the necessary know-how, but I am certain we can do it. I am soberly optimistic that we shall make good progress in this field."

General Alfred M. Gruenther  
Supreme Commander,  
Allied Powers Europe

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eration was summed up recently in a newspaper article by an American journalist who surveyed the New York and Munich headquarters: "Persons of fifteen or sixteen different nationalities work together at Radio Free Europe in perfect harmony for a common end. Nationalist animosities and historical boundary quarrels are forgotten in the common endeavor of creating a free, united Europe. Americans have a right to be proud of the efficient, businesslike way in which Radio Free Europe is doing its cold war job . . . a shining example of what free American enterprise can accomplish in psychological warfare against the Reds."

A report by a famous American engineering company, which made a survey of Radio Free Europe's installations in Portugal, stated: "The whole

undertaking has been accomplished and become a working reality in almost unbelievably short time. The quality and performance of the work completed is first-class and the funds expended are probably below what would be considered normal. The spirit of the organization transcends anything heretofore witnessed. The whole group thrives under pressure.

Through "saturation broadcasting" "repeat programming" and other tested techniques, Radio Free Europe has been able to keep ahead in the constant battle with enemy jammers. Several transmitters carry each Radio Free Europe program simultaneously on different wave lengths, enabling listeners to seek the clearest location on their dials. Furthermore, each program is repeated up to four times a day, so if a listener misses part of a program the first time or if he is home, he can pick it up on a repeat.

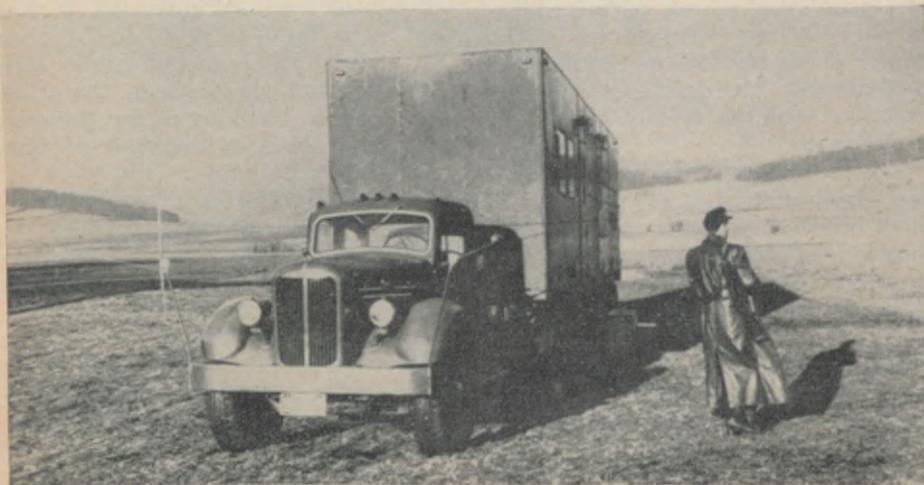
Impossible to jam out is Radio Free Europe's nightly "saturation service" whereby all transmitters are beamed simultaneously over different frequencies to one country at a time. "Scattering" is a technical device used by Radio Free Europe's engineering staff to test transmission conditions and permit the selection of broadcasting channels that will deliver the strongest and clearest signal to target areas.

All of these and many other factors — signal power plus multiple transmitters plus flexible programming policies plus the application and development of proved engineering principles — are Radio Free Europe's answers to the Communists' frantic efforts to black out the truth from the West.

In April, 1954, a long-range campaign uniting the spoken and printed word was initiated by the Free Europe Committee to Czechoslovakia. It planned to help create a "People's Opposition" in Czechoslovakia which could effectively win concessions from the people, and in doing so weaken the Communists and sow the seeds of eventual liberation.

The leaflet operation, sponsored by the Free Europe Press, was skillfully coordinated with daily programs of Radio Free Europe in a massive effort to give the Czechoslovak people facts, help and inspiration they need to carry on the struggle against their rulers. Similar operations were subsequently launched to Hungary and Poland.

There has been ample evidence that the combined written-and-spoken word operation has been a significant step in the development of a dynamic weapon in the struggle to restore man's dignity and freedom where the curtain of Soviet darkness has



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Near the West German town of Cham, a few kilometers from the Czechoslovak border, Radio Free Europe operates a mobile, medium wave transmitter with a 50,000 watt signal.

## Effectiveness Of Radio Free Europe

When all is said and done about the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, the ultimate question remains: Are the programs reaching the hearts and minds of people behind the Iron Curtain?

It is not enough to command the ears of a large audience; the crux of "effectiveness" is the ability to influence the actions, as well as the thinking of the listeners. In other words: Is Radio Free Europe winning friends for the West and for the cause of freedom, and undermining the authoritarian grip of the Kremlin and its puppet regimes in Eastern Europe?

There is no simple, absolute answer to this question. Psychological warfare is not an isolated phenomenon; it is interwoven with the political, economic and military components of the Cold War between the Free West and the Kremlin. Its ultimate success therefore is linked with the outcome of all other Cold War activities. Furthermore, public opinion polls are not yet sanctioned behind the Iron Curtain—hence, not even the approximate findings that may be derived from such polls are available.

In the face of these limitations in evaluating Radio Free Europe's effectiveness, there is a mounting body of direct and circumstantial evidence indicating that RFE programs are influencing the thinking and the actions of the captive peoples, and of the Communist regimes themselves. Although much of this evidence is accumulated, correlated and analyzed by RFE itself, a good deal of it is obtained from outside sources, such as BBC's skilled analysts who evaluate the impact of international broadcasts.

This evidence of effectiveness is manifested in the following ways:

(1) Letters from behind the Iron Curtain. (2) Reports from escapees from satellite countries. (3) Communist measures to frighten and frustrate the listening audience. (4) The contents of official Communist reports, designed not for propaganda purposes but for internal party use. (5) Communist propaganda attacks against RFE. (6) Official protests by satellite regimes to the U. S. government. (7) Positive action by the regimes resulting from pressure by RFE broadcasts. (8) Positive actions by the people themselves as a result of specific RFE campaigns.

A brief explanation of each of these evidences of program effectiveness follows:

(1) Letters from RFE's target countries are received every week from workers, peasants, teachers, students, housewives, intellectuals, shopkeepers, young people and even members of the party, the police and armed forces.

Direct mail, refugees, traveling Westerners and even carrier pigeons bring word that the people are listening to Radio Free Europe and that its broadcasts are promoting the cause of freedom. Many letters are even sent to Radio Free Europe by listeners outside the target areas. The Voice of Free Hungary, for example, received mail from Hungarian exiles in twenty-six countries on five continents during a recent twelve-month period.

Some letters are channeled through the regular mails, some are smuggled out. Many letters include detailed analyses of RFE programs, proving that Communist jamming efforts have not been able to drown out RFE programs, which are repeated several times over multiple transmitters of



RFE Photo

Polish refugee children in a Munich studio participate in RFE's "Polish Tea Party," a variety program of music and sketches spiced with anti-Communist satire.

both the short and medium wave type. A recent letter of the many received from Czechoslovakia stated:

"I want to express thanks and praise to all exiles for their efforts to establish a free Czechoslovakia again, and for their words of encouragement through Radio Free Europe, inspiring millions of our citizens to continue resistance to the Communist regime and hope for a better future. Practically every child can tell you that entire families listen to the programs. This is because you are not promising paradise on earth, because you are not lying and because all your words are truthful and such that every honest Czech and Slovak feels them in his heart."

(2) Escapees consistently report that RFE programs are widely heard and given extensive word-of-mouth circulation. Even in the few large cities where they are powerfully jammed during certain hours, they get through. Interviews with refugees—which are conducted as scrupulously as possible in order to separate fact from fiction—reveal that the satellite people depend most of all on RFE as their point of contact with the Free World and their countrymen now living in the West. The Polish Air Force pilot, Franciszek Jarecki, who flew his jet plane to West Germany, made the following statement:

"There are three things the Communists cannot kill: what mother said about God and Poland, what one's own heart dictates and what Radio Free Europe tells us."

Dr. Marek Korowicz, who defected from the Polish delegation to the United Nations in 1953, said: "I want to emphasize the enormous importance of Radio Free Europe. You have no idea with what longing we wait



These political refugees made their bid for freedom after slave labor in Czech uranium mines at Joachimsthal. They were inspired to make their flight after reading leaflets released by RFE balloons.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

## U.S. LABOR EXTENDS SUPPORT TO CRUSADE

American labor plans to take a more active part than ever in the Crusade for Freedom, according to William W. Weiss, who has just been named Crusade liaison representative for the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Mr. Weiss, whose home is in Pittsburgh, is a member of the United Steelworkers of America. He will work in the Crusade's Washington office with John A. DeChant, vice president of the Crusade.

During the Crusade overseas inspection trip of Radio Free Europe and Free Europe Press, the party was joined by Irving Brown, European representative of the American Federation of Labor, and Victor Reuther, director of international affairs for the CIO.

Reprinted from *News Letter*,  
Crusade for Freedom, Nov. 28, 1955

for this information." Vaclav Uhlik, whose home-made tank crashed across the Iron Curtain from Czechoslovakia to West Germany, declared that Czechoslovaks listen "conscientiously to Radio Free Europe and believe its broadcasts like the Bible."

Similar statements are made by hundreds of other individuals who cross the border. A former prisoner of Reck prison camp in Hungary stated: "Hungarians see in Radio Free Europe the embodiment of an idea which is capable of defeating communism." A non-Communist Swedish student brought back the following message from Romanian friends at the Bucharest Youth Festival, "Go to Radio Free Europe and tell them how things are here, that we have not lost courage and that the hope for freedom still burns with us. Tell them we listen regularly to their broadcasts."

(3) The regimes have devised many ways to discourage radio listenership — though tuning in on Western broadcasts is not officially a crime. In Hungarian communities, for example, the Communists have recruited "listening couples" with instructions to drop in on neighbors unexpectedly and report if they are listening to Western broadcasts — especially RFE. In some communities, family dogs were seized by local authorities (on the pretext of canine disease epidemics) because the dogs interfered with the spying of the "listening couples" by barking warnings of their arrival.

When word of Crusade for Freedom's campaign to raise funds for the support of Radio Free Europe reached the people of Czechoslovakia, Radio Prague, in a violent attack against the

Crusade, threatened: "The crusaders of today run the risk of losing not only their hats, but also their heads."

(4) Official Communist reports stress the danger of RFE to the regimes. One report, prepared by the Hungarian Minister of Defense, stated: "The most dangerous effect of Radio Free Europe is that it results not in organized resistance, which is easily detected and suppressed, but in atomized resistance which is more difficult to control. For example, a Radio Free Europe program recently compared the situation in Hungary to a former despotic era: the effect of broadcasts of this kind is that they create resistance among Hungarian soldiers to the Army's Russification program."

Sometimes unofficial but equally authentic reports of this nature reach RFE. For example, a high official in the Polish Communist government, in a personal conversation in the West that he never dreamed would be repeated, said: "Radio Free Europe is accomplishing the work of the opposition in Poland. It is the mortal enemy of the regime, which would offer any amount of money if it could persuade them to abolish this radio station." Another Polish official revealed RFE's extensive "word-of-mouth" circulation by the following statement at a Department of Propaganda and Agitation meeting: "One radio set in each village is quite sufficient to poison the peasants' minds with (Western) calumnies and lies."

Regime attacks on RFE increased in number and violence during 1954. In Czechoslovakia especially, regime propagandists quoted RFE broadcasts in substance and at length in order to assail them. It became clear that some of these anti-RFE campaigns were being conducted under Moscow's direct guidance, as indicated by the publication of hostile articles in official Soviet organs and hostile broadcasts from Moscow, setting the tone of subsequent regime campaigns.

(5) A cardinal rule of psychological warfare is not to dignify or advertise hostile propaganda by replying to it. The Communist regimes (and Mos-

cow as well) have consistently broken this rule in regard to Radio Free Europe. In doing so, they have become RFE's best publicity agents. During the past year, the Czechoslovak regime in particular has gone beyond usual frantic invective against RFE. It now quotes programs, in substance and in depth, then tries to refute them in an effort to minimize their impact. Meanwhile, the anti-RFE vituperation poured out by Communist radio stations, newspapers, magazines and speechmakers continues. Here are a few typical lines broadcast over Radio Prague:

"The United States, the arch-villain behind a vast conspiracy against peace and socialism, has brought havoc to innocent Koreans, Indonesians and countless colonial peoples who aspire to liberty. The traitors of Radio Free Europe, steeped in mud, serve that part of America where criminals and gangsters are protected so much that nothing happens to them even when they kill another person. What a difference when you listen to Radio Moscow broadcasts to Czechoslovakia. From Moscow we hear about the Soviet people's work, leisure and education. From Radio Free Europe we just hear the rattle of arms."

The frequency of these attacks is illustrated in statistics on attacks on Czechoslovak propaganda organs from April through September. During this period, Radio Free Europe was the subject of more than 40 direct attacks (not including replies and rebroadcasts) as against 14 attacks directed against other Western broadcasters. More than 100 radio attacks alone by Czechoslovak stations were heard in September. In many cases, regime campaigns against RFE are spearheaded by instructions from Moscow.

A few of the epithets hurled at Radio Free Europe by the regimes are "criminal rabble," "dirty warmongers," "jackals," "miserable riffraff," "plagues of the ether," "saboteurs," "filth from the rubbish heap," "radio aggression," and "yakkity-yakkers."

The Communists utilize every means of the printed and spoken



Radio Free Europe Headquarters in Munich, Germany, nicknamed "Little Pentagon."

# HOW RFE OPERATES

At RFE Headquarters in Munich, Germany, 115 editor-writers, teamed with producers, actors, announcers, composers, musicians, researchers, and freelance contributors create 184 hours of original programs weekly. RFE-New York prepares an additional 25 hours per week, but all are broadcast from Munich.

RFE PHOTO



## 1. INFORMATION

- Reports from 15 RFE-News Bureaus (103 persons) flow into Munich at rate of 1,200 per month
- Refugee interviews
- Reports from travelers, athletes, letter-writers, etc.
- Processed by staff of 46 evaluation experts, translators, etc., who assess reliability
- Evaluation files contain 250,000 cards, with over 1,250,000 entries, thousands of clippings, newspapers, maps, etc.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO



## 2. MONITORING

- Of 35 regime radio stations on regular basis
- Spotcheck of 12 more
- Soviet and satellite news services
- Staff of 52 monitors over 200,000 words per day in 10 to 12 languages

RFE PHOTO



## 3. NEWS

- INS, Reuters, and monitored Soviet and satellite news services
- News items and reaction from RFE Bureaus
- Daily roundup of news and comment by teletype from RFE-NY
- Translations, reprintings, clippings, etc.

- Editorial comment and lead articles from American and West European press
- Staff of 23 processes and distributes 250,000 words per day, 24 hours a day, seven days a week

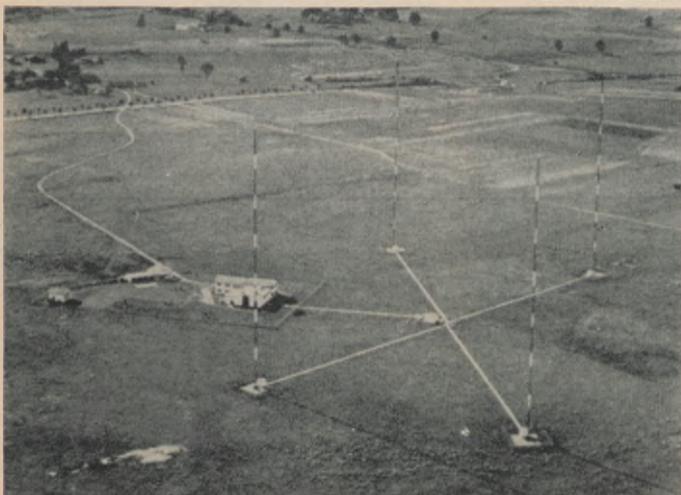
RFE PHOTO



## 4. RESEARCH

- 550 newspapers and magazines from behind the Iron Curtain
- 650 Western publications
- 15,000 books from the satellite countries
- 10,000 books from the West, with emphasis on economics and politics
- Handled by staff of 41 researchers and librarians

WIDE WORLD PHOTO



## 5. FLOW

- VOICE OF FREE CZECHOSLOVAKIA
  - VOICE OF FREE POLAND
  - VOICE OF FREE HUNGARY
  - VOICE OF FREE BULGARIA
  - VOICE OF FREE ROMANIA
- I. Straight Newscasts
  - II. Political Commentaries
  - III. Group Programs — Labor, Agricultural, Women's, Youth, Economic, etc.
  - IV. Feature Programs

through every medium of communications to destroy Radio Free Europe: newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, posters, novels, the stage, radio, movies and mass meetings. Propaganda against Radio Free Europe has become so intense that in Czechoslovakia alone, even on a dull day, Radio Free Europe intercepts at least one radio attack, and as many as ten have been recorded in a single day.

(6) Almost from its birth, Radio Free Europe has been the target of official protests by the satellite regimes to the U. S. government. Shortly after RFE's "Voice of Free Czechoslovakia" went on the air, in May, 1951, the Czechoslovak regime protested the existence of RFE to the U. S. State Department. The demand to extinguish RFE (which was firmly rejected by our government) is apparently a measure of the regime's fear of RFE, and an indication that RFE is reaching the people.

(7) There is considerable evidence that the programs have forced the regimes to take specific steps to protect themselves against the anger of the people. On several occasions RFE has exposed sub-human living conditions in prisons and slave labor camps; in many of these cases, regime officials felt obliged to improve conditions, and brutal guards (either through fear or honest shame) have improved their behavior.

When Radio Free Europe exposed the inefficiency and corruption rampant in a large electrical plant in Budapest, a worker reported the following results: "The factory ran wild. Commies ran in and out. Conferences were held all day long. Suspicion was everywhere. Work practically stopped."

Another type of RFE "denunciatory" program is that which exposes the identities of Communist secret agents and informers. RFE has later received first-hand information from refugees to the effect that regimes have been forced to dismiss those ex-

posed by RFE (or transfer them to other regions) as their activities were rendered useless and they became objects of possible violence.

When the Hungarian Communist regime, in an effort to conserve power, decreed that heat must not be turned on unless the temperature was under a certain degree—and then proceeded to announce high temperatures—Radio Free Europe broadcast correct weather statistics, forcing the regime to abandon its power conservation tactics.

When fictitious statements by fictitious characters were cited by Radio Free Europe to illustrate the mendacity of the Communists, regime newspapers "interviewed" imaginary persons and published "denials" of their statements quoted by RFE.

RFE's ability to force a Communist regime to make drastic changes was illustrated by the removal of General Stanislaw Radkiewicz, Chief of the Polish Security Ministry, and three of his top secret police officials, between December, 1954, and January, 1955. For two months preceding this shake-up, RFE had saturated Poland with scores of programs in which Josef Swiatlo, an officer in the Security Ministry who had defected to the West, disclosed in detail over RFE the activities, intrigues and corruption of the dreaded secret police. The fact that RFE's broadcasts played a major role in this top-level reorganization was made clear by the Polish regime's own statements, as well as by the statements of impartial observers. The conservative British publication, *Time and Tide*, in an article titled "The End of the Polish 'Beria,'" stated:

"The immediate cause of (Radkiewicz's) downfall was, in fact, a series of broadcasts beamed into Poland by Radio Free Europe. Secrets which had been known to three or four persons were broadcast to millions. It was perhaps the greatest single victory ever to be recorded by broadcasting to Iron Curtain countries."



Exiles from Communist-dominated countries broadcast many hours of cultural and musical programs each week over RFE to their own countrymen in their own language.

Howls of rage from the Soviet press and radio greeted the arrival of 60 American leaders in Germany to survey the facilities of Radio Free Europe and Free Europe Press.

As evidence of the Crusade's anti-Communist impact behind the Iron Curtain, *Pravda* ranted that the Crusaders were in Germany for "the special purpose of organizing subversive activities against the People's Democracies."

When you want to scare a Communist, you don't say "Boo!" You say "Freedom!"

Reprinted from *News Letter*, Crusade for Freedom, Nov. 28, 1955.

(8) Possibly the ultimate test "effectiveness" of propaganda is ability to influence the actions of listeners. In this respect, RFE is simply a catalyst, giving its listeners the true facts and the moral support enable them to act in accordance with their local needs and desires. An ample of a broadcasting campaign that resulted in concrete action by people was initiated to Hungary July, 1953, when RFE set out to help the Hungarian peasants win concessions from the regime so they might improve their living conditions, while weakening the Communists' power. In the following six months, almost 50 per cent of the peasants on Hungarian collectives abandoned the collective farms and returned to individual farming. The blame for this mass action was put squarely on RFE's shoulders by both the Prime Minister of Hungary and the First Secretary of the Communist party.

In the face of this body of evidence regarding the effectiveness of broadcasts, Radio Free Europe is fully aware that psychological warfare is only one facet of the Cold War against communism. Only through joint action by the world's free nations — in the spheres of political, economic and military cooperation, as well as on the propaganda front — can communism be stopped, short of war.

It is within this framework of joint action on a global scale that Radio Free Europe has attempted to develop an effective and dynamic weapon in the struggle to restore the dignity and freedom where the reign of Soviet darkness has fallen.

Part II of Radio Free Europe's Story will include defector Josef Swiatlo's disclosures, the Soviet campaign to destroy Poland's Catholic Church as revealed by RFE, and Operation VETO & FOCUS.

A Close-up View of

# Radio Free Europe

By JIRI BRADA

INSTALLMENT TWO  
OF THREE INSTALLMENTS



**I**NASMUCH as Radio Free Europe is controlled and staffed by socialists, pro-Communists, World Federalists and other assorted internationalists, we should not be surprised to learn that ineffective and harmful programs, and even broadcasts amounting to sabotage, have characterized its specific policies. Particularly noteworthy features comprise:

1. The repetition of banalities — "truth-telling."
2. The "People's Program."
3. Attacks on petty Communists and protection of Communist bosses.
4. Defense of American pro-Communist errors.
5. Broadcasts amounting to sabotage.
6. The spreading of recognizable and destructive lies.
7. Failure to propagate German-Czech and German-Polish reconciliation.
8. Occasional advice to follow Communist suggestions.
9. Leninist incitement to premature revolts.
10. Propagation of decadent literature and music.
11. Propagation of internationalism and racial merger.
12. Praise for the New Dealers, and criticism of conservative Americans.

## REPETITION OF BANALITIES

For many a year, a disproportionate amount of broadcast time, be it out of ineptness or actually malicious intent, has been allotted by Radio Free Europe to the never-ending reiteration of

Mr. Brada stated in his first installment, which appeared last month, that Radio Free Europe stands for appeasement and reconciliation, and that it attacks Russian imperialism, but not communism.

Born in Czechoslovakia, he fled across the Czech-Austrian border in 1948 to escape demands of the Communist government that he furnish them with information. He is now a journalist in Germany.

This series will be concluded in our March issue.

banalities. We might identify this curious practice as RFE's special little game of "telling the truth." It goes somewhat like this:

- the Communists call Americans imperialists; Americans are not imperialists.
- the Communists claim that they want peace; Communists don't want peace.
- the Communists claim that the American economy is bad; the American economy is good.

Of what avail is the production of such trivialities? Can there be any doubt that the endless repetition of such trite assertions spreads boredom and turns away potential listeners? If at least RFE's broadcasters made a sustained effort to explain why Ameri-

cans are not imperialists, and why their economy excels that of the collectivists, listeners might be inspired to do some constructive thinking. The nature of RFE's script writers and editors, of course, forbids any such sensible procedure; for collectivists cannot be expected to expose the impotence of collectivism.

In a certain way, RFE prides itself on being "specific" in the stale little game of "telling the truth." As an example, the reporter of a broadcast delivered on May 3rd, 1953, at 8:45 a.m., stated: "In Hungary there are obvious supply deficiencies . . . Canned food has gone bad . . . There is a lack of sugar in Bulgaria . . . Poland suffers from a shortage of fish . . ." This sort of news, of course, is no news behind the Iron Curtain. If the economic failure of the Soviet realm were explained as the inevitable result of state intervention, listeners might find it proper to heed such programs.

Another part of the quaint little truth-telling game consists of reporting concrete conditions and happenings from the world of the slave labor camps. Inasmuch as there cannot be any suggestions regarding the termination of these horrors, the effect of these reports is exactly what the Communist leaders desire, i.e., to lame the will of the people by striking terror into their hearts.

Until May 1, 1954, this sort of aimless and uncoordinated "truth-telling" seemed to be RFE's principal task. Then—at last—a definite over-all program was announced. Does this mean liberation? Let us look and see.

The "Program of the People's Opposition," proposed on Labor Day, 1954, at 10:10 a.m., and frequently re-

iterated and referred to ever since, contained the following ten postulates:

1. Labor unions should belong to their members, not the bosses. The positions of union officials should be elective.
2. There should be less talk and more hard cash. Honest money (*sic!*) for honest work.
3. The worker should be permitted to choose the type of work he prefers.
4. Overtime should be outlawed.
5. Peasants should be allowed to quit the kolkhozes (i.e., collectives) if they so desire.
6. There should be a ceiling on the state's share of agricultural production. Farm contributions to the state should be equalized.
7. The government should work for the people, not the politicians.
8. Production should benefit the people, not the state.
9. Emphasis should once more be on the consumer. Small shops, owned and run by little people, should be revived, to serve the consumer.
10. The building industry should be mobilized for the benefit of the people, instead of the state officials.

Some points of this so-called people's program, at first sight, may look impressive. Its cardinal and decisive error derives precisely from the inability of its collectivistic perpetrators to recognize the primacy of free enterprise. This program fails to go to the root of the matter. It does not attack state control as such. It merely proposes to mitigate and qualify. It is at its core plain socialism. Yet this is the sort of thing which, in the form of leaflets, is dropped from the trans-Curtain skies by means of the "freedom balloons" which columnists like Drew Pearson have been vaunting for years.

This program does not offer any decisive opposition to the tyranny of nationalization as such. There is but the indecisive and dull suggestion to reform the present Communist system, to abolish its excesses, to turn it into some form of Titoism or semi-communism or to return to the socialism of the bankrupt National Front.

Instinctively, the Czechs and Slovaks who hear this so-called people's program reach for the knob and shut it off. They must shrug their shoulders at the oratorical antics of men who rant against talking but in their own turn offer little beyond empty talk.

This "Program of the People's Opposition" is faulty and spurious because the concept of Radio Free Europe is

Rep. Charles J. Kersten (R., Wis.) (left) Chairman of the Congressional Committee on Communist Aggression and Committee member Rep. Michael A. Feighan (D., Ohio) with West Berlin Lord Mayor Dr. Walter Schreiber (center) during 1954 study tour.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO



based on a capital error. Radio Free Europe basically maintains that the threat to the free world comes from Russia as an armed and aggressive power; it obfuscates the fundamental issue of the world-wide Communist conspiracy.

In accordance with this leftist line, Radio Free Europe absolutely never refers to congressional investigations of subversives in the United States. Trans-Curtain listeners are completely unaware of the existence of such men as Jenner, Velde, Eastland, Walter, Dies, Reece, and Mundt. When the Kersten committee operated in Munich, in the summer of 1954, RFE referred to it; but the texts of testimonies were edited to suit the over-all soft-pedaling of basic issues. Radio Free Europe acts as if it were set up to preserve the concept of state bureaucracy and paternalism by all available means.

#### PETTY COMMUNISTS BLAMED FOR PARTY POLICY

Radio Free Europe acts as the quack who peddles cure-alls for the most nauseating aspects of the Communist disease; it fails to tackle the roots of communism as such. Thus it makes much ado about the chicaneries and perversions of petty Communist officials, but it does not name the real culprits, the wire-pullers, the bosses who guide and encourage the brutalities of little village tyrants.

Radio Free Europe refers by name to individual Stakhanovites, tractor-drivers, and prison-guards; it disregards the organizers of the hated Communist drives. It thus actually protects the pillars of the Communist society, the calculating masterminds who play on the weaknesses of a confused citizenry and trap their helpless victims in a net of Communist demoralization and perversion.

In "Messages to Those at Home," Radio Free Europe pillories the little

informers who are known to work the state police. Almost without exception these little fellows are known far and wide as stooges of the Communist masters. Dossiers on the puppets do not add to the knowledge about Communist evil-doers. The dossiers are largely based on clippings from the press of Communist-controlled eastern Europe. The secret agents of the Soviet police, the directors of the program of terror, never mentioned.

"Messages to Those at Home," February 29, 1952, at 7:45 p.m., as example, said: "Who is the master Nitra? (A tiny Slovak town — Editor.) Who is the master of whom the Soviet police itself is in fear? It is Sergeant Klike. He is hated, dreaded, mighty. He causes the punishment of policemen who sometimes have heart for their victims."

Now, who is this monster, Sergeant Klike? Not any "master" by means. He is but a well-known sergeant of the uniformed police.

Again, on June 26, 1952, at 12 p.m., "Messages to Those at Home" singled out a few Communist women "Comrades M. Pokorelska, H. Yanikova, Kr. Bezakova and M. Deschova," the broadcast addressed to these petty Communists, "swindlers and tractor-drivers, remember in time the warnings of today. Tomorrow you may be brought to account for your misdeeds; but tomorrow will be too late for you."

"Program for Civil and State Security," on April 10, 1955, at 8:40 p.m., importantly sounded off: "We draw your attention to a dangerous informer. The pensioner Michalek, Klatov Street, Brno, persecutes beggars, chases them from homes and hands them over to the police. In your own interest, Comrade Michalek, advise you to stop your dirty work."

This sort of broadcasting, declared in a lowered, almost comical tone, supposed to scare primitive

herds and tractor-drivers. The bosses are never named.

Radio Free Europe never criticizes the mistakes or the treason of the past and thus never has to explain the real reasons of the Communist successes in the past. In the same way as they conceal systematically all real causes of the communization of Czechoslovakia, they conceal also the real causes of Communist advances in other parts of the world.

Let sleeping dogs lie — that seems to be RFE's guiding inspiration. There is no criticism of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. These conferences, in line with the views of an Alger Hiss, are regarded as just splendid. If only the bad men of the Kremlin had not betrayed their solemn pledges!

"We Teach History," on February 13, 1952, at 6:15 p.m., stated: "The Soviet Union broke the Yalta agreement and betrayed it . . . The ink on the document had hardly dried when the Soviet Union made a display of violation and unparalleled cynicism."

"Sunday Comments of Ferdinand Peroutka," on April 3, 1955, at 12:15 p.m., commented: "When the Yalta papers were published, some individuals wanted to reprimand the Democratic leaders for lack of cautiousness. But any discussion of some little mistakes the Democratic leaders may have made would merely obscure the principal wrong, which has been and remains the systematic deception contrived by the Russian statesmen. These realities ought to be clearly understood by the world. The Yalta conference turned into a tragedy, not because of what was agreed upon there, but because the Soviet Union failed to honor the agreements."

#### BROADCASTS AMOUNTING TO SABOTAGE

Naturally, if we are deceived regarding our own stupidity, and even betrayal, at Yalta, we are likely to remain unaware of the stupidity and perhaps even sabotage which have characterized a certain type of RFE's refugee programs. Incredible though it may seem, Radio Free Europe — against the persistent pleas and protests of refugees from behind the Iron Curtain — in its Saturday programs has offered detailed descriptions of successful flights from the Soviet terror. These broadcasts have named the locations where the border was passed, and indicated even the persons who, at the risk of their lives, assisted the escapees.

There could not have been any better means to alert the Communist police. The very identities of patriots in eastern Europe were thus disclosed to the Soviet secret police, with the

result that any recurrence might be prevented. How self-destructive, at the expense of optimistic American donors, can we get? Were the script writers and editors of these "sensational" programs really so naive that they failed to grasp the sinister consequences of their paradoxical role? Did they really not understand that their disclosures about the specific locations of escape would enable the Communist police to plug the last holes in the Curtain?

Let us quote from the broadcast, "I Chose Freedom," of April 25, 1953, 8:30 a.m. "I went through Cerna Horka," the refugee interviewee revealed, "walking along the highway. Then I went back to the river bed of Vltava, in the direction of the Austrian Soviet zone. I approached the Jezuv creek . . . across from it there is forbidden territory . . . In Frynburg there is a bridge across the river, and the road to Vyssi Brod. In St. Thomas there is the headquarters of the patrols. The bridge had been torn down. I made a float from an old fence and other wood I gathered. The river is about ten meters wide and three meters deep at that spot. (This was said in reply to a question from the broadcaster — *Editor*.) I guided the float by means of a pole, and then set foot on the forbidden side. I hid in the bushes and woods . . . On the highway to St. Thomas I encountered a barbed wire barricade, about three feet high. I found an old ladder in a hut which had been empty ever since the German's left. I broke it in two, put it against the barricade, climbed, and jumped to the other side. Traversing a distance of about thirty meters, I reached Jezuv creek, which is less than a meter wide. I crossed the creek and found myself in the Soviet zone of Austria.

"In Austria, I followed the highway until I entered a little house below a hill. The Austrians who occupied this

house felt pity for the refugee, and assisted me. They helped me to contact a friend of theirs in Linz who was to get me safely across a bridge in Linz, on the border of the Soviet and American zones. That man provided me with a forged identification card, into which we rubbed some dirt in order to make the name illegible. I joined a group of girls who passed the sentry at that spot. Nonchalantly, I produced the forged identity card for the sentry, and without looking back I crossed the bridge. I was in the Western zone of Austria."

#### ENEMY ALERTED

The Communist enemy could not have been more brazenly alerted. Letters of protest against such asinine (if not treacherous) interviews flooded the expelled press in Munich. Nevertheless, the interviews continued until 1954, by which time a great many of the cracks in the Soviet wall had been revealed to the Russians, and repaired by them.

As late as May 9, 1954, at 3:45 p.m., the "I Chose Freedom" broadcast disclosed the exact details of a flight by express train from Decin, Bohemia, to Berlin. The interviewee described how he had concealed his presence at the Decin railway station, how he eluded the attention of the security agents, and how a "people's policeman" at the station in East Berlin helped him to escape.

As late as April 2, 1955, at 12:45 p.m., again on the "I Chose Freedom" program, an escapee pictured the details of his flight across the above-mentioned bridge in Linz.

Can there be any doubt that such interviews intimidate those behind the Iron Curtain who might be willing to cooperate with refugees? Can our friends behind the Curtain maintain even a shred of confidence in "psychological warriors" who indulge in

Three men who are, or have served as, officials of Radio Free Europe are: Dr. Jan Stransky, Assistant Chief of the Czech/Slovak desk of Radio Free Europe; the Rev. Alexander Heidler, S.T.D. (Doctor of Divinity), advisor on religious programs for RFE; and Ferdinand Peroutka, former Prague editor, later chief of the Czech/Slovak desk of RFE.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO



this sort of give-away?

The editor of RFE's "I Chose Freedom," one Otto Graf, had been editor of the Socialist paper *Svet Prace* and a well-known Communist collaborator of the National Front. An obscure journalist before War II, he owes his career to his fatal activities in the National Front.

Zdenek Fierlinger and Bohumil Lausman, Socialist ministers of the National Front, were the publishers of *Svet Prace*, at the time of Graf's editorship. In 1948, on the occasion of the Communist *coup* in Czechoslovakia, Fierlinger turned out to be a Communist planted in the Social Democratic party. Lausman, after his "escape" to the free world, in 1951, worked for a while for Radio Free Europe. Afterwards, he turned out to be a Communist agent and returned to Czechoslovakia. As editor of the Czechoslovak refugee paper, *Ceskoslovenske Noviny*, in Ludwigsburg, Germany, RFE editor Otto Graf published articles by Lausman.

#### SELF-DESTRUCTIVE LIES BROADCAST

It is hard to believe that a man who has been able to function as a newspaper editor is so inept that quite a few of his presumably anti-Communist radio programs in effect equal sabotage of the freedom crusade. That a saboteur of the free world's cause could hardly improve on these refugee programs is evident from their text.

An almost equally self-destructive feature of Radio Free Europe is the routine broadcasting of transparent lies. In a number of pamphlets, including *The RFE Story* (p.14), RFE's psychological warriors proudly admit resorting to lies. Whether lies should be part of our "psycho war" program is both ethically and practically quite debatable. To brag about one's own lies in print, so that their admission may be quoted by the enemy, once again reaches that degree of ingenuousness that in its net results is hardly distinguishable from sabotage.

In addition to all that, many of the fabrications which our RFE brain trusters have thought up are such simple pure inventions that those for whom they are intended immediately recognize them as such.

For example, Otto Graf and Vladimir Kucera-Hornik, at Christmas, 1954, when making programs on the miners' life, made a report about a great coal mine catastrophe in Kladno, which allegedly cost twelve lives of miners. This report was invented.

We may be sure that a character like Bohumil Lausman, former chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic party and afterwards a plain



Bohumil Lausman, Minister of Industry in the Czechoslovak government, who was elected in 1947 as chairman of the Social Democratic party. At that time he was called an "outspoken opponent of any merger of his party with the Communists."

Communist agent in Western Germany and Austria, fed RFE such damaging stories, and that some editors believed him. Yet who but one-time National Front collaborators - RFE's favorites - would put any trust in Lausman anyhow? RFE has made it easy for the Communists to prove RFE's own mendacity. Verbatim quotations from RFE's press and radio are all that is required.

There is still another lie, even more destructive, which has been produced by the "truth-telling" of Radio Free Europe.

It is the number one lie, and concerns the core of the Communist system.

There is irrefutable evidence regarding which group is making communism in the East. This evidence comes from refugees from the East and from various reliable sources. This group is characterized by such names as Kruglow (or Krugloch), the chief of the Secret Police of the USSR, Kaganovic, Ehrenburg, Berman, Rakosi-Rosenkranz, etc. In addition, this group fully and completely constitutes that "invisible government" behind the scenes in the East. It is the same group, of course, which also makes the Communist conspiracy in the West.

When in 1951 the members of this group (Minister of Justice Stefan Rais, etc.) staged purge trials against other members of the same group - Slansky-Salzman, Reicin, Katz, etc. - RFE shouted to the world that the entire group was being cruelly persecuted and liquidated in the East. Many samples of such programs are available.

This greatest and most perverted lie

of world communism is being upheld by RFE even now, and all facts contradicting it are cut, adjusted or suppressed. Every intelligent refugee from the East calls this lie the number one sabotage committed by RFE.

An intelligent investigation of RFE as well as of the opinions and the material of the refugees from behind the Iron Curtain would easily bring forth the full truth.

#### FORMER GERMAN CO-CITIZENS ALIENATED

It is not enough to quote Radio Free Europe to expose its socialist and internationalist bias. To point out the opportunities as well as deliberate omissions permits us to penetrate the confused and half-hearted mentality of this much-touted and expensive outfit. Perhaps the best example of RFE's negativism toward important objectives of the free world is its peculiar attitude towards the Germans. To be sure, on the surface the West German Republic and Chancellor Adenauer have been officially praised by RFE. Beyond such formalities, RFE has done little to inspire the Czechs and Poles with trust in the Germans.

In 1945, the Communists forced the Poles and the Czechs to expel close to fifteen million Germans from their homeland of centuries. About the million of these lost their lives as they walked through the Iron Ore Mountains, the Sudeten Mountains and the Bohemian Forest or as they were shipped westward in cattle cars while somewhere were left on the tracks.



Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany "officially praised by RFE."

of the other twelve million were robbed of their property. Most of them were beaten and tortured.

Naturally, the Czechs and the Poles fear the vengeance of their former German co-citizens. Understandably, the Communists do all they can to keep this fear alive among the Poles and the Czechs who are under their domination.

It would be the duty of Radio Free Europe to counteract this Communist policy by telling the Poles and Czechs about the numerous manifestations of good will and the sincere desire for

nization of Czechoslovakia from within.

- e. It continually harps on the persecutions the Czechs and Poles have suffered under German domination.
- f. It damns the Germans with faint praise, and slyly, in veiled fashion, even incites the Slavs against the Germans.
- g. By upholding the expulsion of fifteen million Germans and defending the Oder-Neisse border, it follows a line of nationality policy which is identical with that of the Communists.

#### ADVICE TO FOLLOW COMMUNIST SUGGESTIONS

There are many other — apparently often harmless — occasions on which RFE's line coincides with what the Communists desire. Why men should be paid by Americans to broadcast from expensive stations what our Communist enemies want in the first place is not easy to grasp.

Particularly baffling examples of American-Soviet coincidences have come from the desk of Milos Vanek, chief of the Economic Department of the Czechoslovak Desk, RFE, Munich. Formerly one of the most prominent leaders of the Czech Communist party, Vanek still feels urged to counsel Czechs in harmony with his former confederates.

Early in 1952, Vanek busied himself forecasting an immediate inflation, and advising the people to invest their cash in goods, including the expensive products of the Communist gray market. Innumerable programs have carried this message to the Czechs.

The broadcast of January 23, 1952, at 6:45 p.m., admonished the Czechs: "The Communists in Czechoslovakia are about to unloose inflation. Invest all your savings in goods, buy whatever you can, even the expensive articles on the government market."

There was no inflation; but the refugees from the satellite country reported that the Communist government at that time spread exactly the same rumor of inflation and also advised to spend all savings because it wanted to draw in all "surplus" money without any monetary reform.

A year and a half later, when, of a sudden, the new value of the Czech currency was announced, neither the Communists in Czechoslovakia nor Vanek in RFE had given any warning.

When the Communist government asked for shock brigades of volunteers to plant new forests, Vanek enthusiastically chimed in. "Help to plant new trees," Vanek exhorted the Czechs

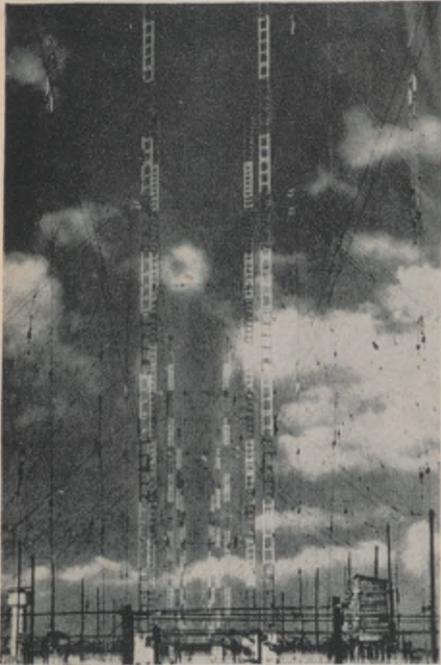
on the "Economic Program" of May 1, 1953. "The Communist regime," he announced, "will perish, and the trees will be for your children."

Other programs have offered similar advice. "Program for Women," October 24, 1953, at 1:45 p.m., counseled to sell quality goods to Communist state stores "because the Communist stores are selling the goods to non-Communists, and it is not good to cheat non-Communists."

"Program for Workers," March 23, 1955, 2:10 p.m., suggested that workers ask foremen for extra work because it would mean extra money for them while it would not really help the Communist cause.

Along the same line, the old collaborator, Otto Graf, interviewed a fellow by name of Tonda Hornik, who said: "I thus earned 2,000 crowns extra — it pays not to be lazy." Radio Free Europe, thus, does not urge the satellite slave workers to relax if not slow down, it spurs them on to work harder — for their Communist masters. Those in the know were not surprised when "worker" Tonda Hornik, in June, 1955, was exposed as a Communist agent.

One of RFE's editors, Robert Loukota by name, had gone to the extreme of appealing to the Czech workers not to absent themselves from work; but the protests from refugees who had listened to this monstrosity were so impressive that RFE had to back down and, in a broadcast of April 10,



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

This antenna array shows a portion of the powerful Radio Free Europe transmitter plant at Lisbon, Portugal, where RFE broadcasts are beamed into Iron Curtain countries.

reconciliation on the part of displaced Germans living in Western Germany. Radio Free Europe does nothing of the sort. It does not even report the official agreements which expelled Czech statesmen have signed with the German expellees.

In summary, RFE's stand on the highly important expellee problem is as follows:

- a. It does not even mention the peaceful attitude and program of the German expellees.
- b. It ridicules exiled Czechs and Poles who do not hate the Germans.
- c. It fails ever to refer to the remarkable past achievements of the Germans in Czechoslovakia and to examples of German-Czech cooperation.
- d. It never mentions how the expulsion of the anti-Communist Germans enabled the commu-



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Free Europe balloons are set aloft by the Crusade for Freedom on the German side of the Iron Curtain. They bear the word "svoboda," Czech for "freedom."

1955, at 12:45 p.m. ("We Call the Communist Party"), tried to minimize the importance of Loukota's aberration.

Do these editors who urge the Czech people to follow such advice have a soft spot in their hearts for the Communists — or are they following the orders of men whose hearts and minds are hard as steel?

(To Be Concluded)

"When crime occurs, there has been a failure somewhere." Who failed? Are we not all at fault in many ways? It is not only the duty of law enforcement officers but of all citizens to work together in making our country a safer place to live . . .



# Our Common Task

By J. EDGAR HOOVER, *Director of FBI*

**T**HERE is not a law enforcement officer in the nation who has not had his patience, ingenuity, fortitude and even his faith in human nature put to a severe test while carrying out his sworn duty to make his community a safer place in which to live. We can take real satisfaction from the gradual but steady progress which we have made in recent years, despite the added burdens we have been forced to assume. May I say, on behalf of my associates in the FBI, that we are proud to be associated with so many dedicated public servants.

Perhaps it is because law enforcement has been under such heavy strains that a new spirit of cooperation has developed. In the discharge of duties as sacred as ours, there can be no excuse for lack of cooperation, petty jealousy or bickering.

In the Federal Bureau of Investigation, cooperation is the first lesson each Special Agent must learn. I am firmly convinced that the home town police is the nation's first line of defense against the lawless. I am gratified daily by the evidences of the desire of honest and efficient law enforcement officers and agencies to aid in every way possible in meeting our mutual problems. I want to express publicly my appreciation and thanks to the local, county and state officers who have so willingly aided the FBI.

The fact that law enforcement in any community is only as good as the people of that community demand that it be, raises the all-important problem of citizen cooperation. Law and order can be maintained only through a community partnership. The success of this partnership is determined not only by the extent and quality of public aid to law enforcement but also by the ability of peace officers to inspire confidence and justify public support from the citizens and the press.

Address delivered before International Association of Chiefs of Police.

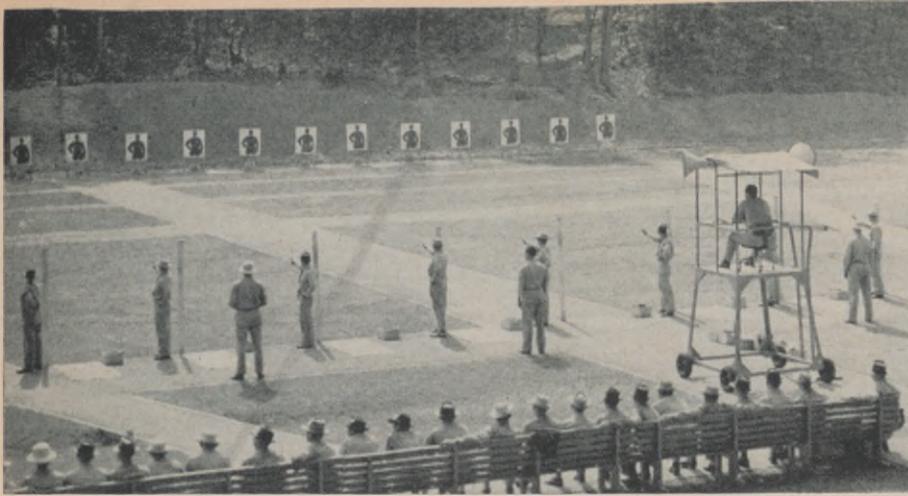
Every police department would benefit if it could inspire in citizens greater interest in its activities. Law enforcement should do everything within its power to heighten public awareness of the citizen's duty to become acquainted with the agencies to which he looks for protection.

In this, a cooperative relationship with the press of the community can be of inestimable value. Publication of accurate news of crime and misdeeds serves a multitude of useful purposes. Newspapers and other media of public information often materially aid law enforcement officers in the apprehension of criminals through the publication of the descriptions and pictures of wanted men. Newspapers likewise can bring to the public attention as no other medium can the needs and problems with which law enforcement officers are daily confronted. After all, a newspaper is a mirror of life and it is well for the police to look into that mirror so it may be alive to conditions as they exist.

## INADEQUATE SALARIES DISCOURAGE "WOULD-BE" POLICEMEN

A great demoralizing influence upon the police of the nation is the pitifully low salaries they are paid. In cities ranging from 10 thousand to 25 thousand inhabitants, the entrance salaries for law enforcing officials are at low as 1,770 dollars, while in cities having over a thousand inhabitants, entrance salaries start as low as 3,360 dollars. Compare this with the starting salaries of 2,960 dollars for messengers and typists and 3,175 dollars for stenographers in the United States government service and we realize why law enforcement has difficulty recruiting and retaining the services of competent and dedicated officers.

On a nationwide basis, police receive less pay



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Future special agents of the FBI are practicing pistol shooting from a standing position in this picture, taken on the firing range at the FBI Training School. Note that the targets are the shape of a man rather than the customary "bull's eye." The agents are trained to shoot at vital spots. Seated in the foreground are other agents awaiting their turn on the range.

skilled workers who average 4,500 dollars or salesmen and clerks who average 4,420 dollars per annum. In industrial areas, the average policeman would better his financial condition by working in a factory. That the nation's police are grossly underpaid is brought into even sharper focus when a policeman's starting salary of 3,725 dollars in one eastern city is compared with the entrance salary for its garbage collectors, which is 3,950 dollars a year.

The answer is public education, directed at the individual needs of the community. This has been demonstrated in the uphill fight we have all experienced in the field of law enforcement training. When the FBI National Academy was founded twenty years ago last July . . . police training was the exception rather than the rule. Last year alone, it was our privilege to participate in 2,315 local, county and state police training schools throughout the United States which, for the most part, were being operated by graduates of the FBI National Academy, who now number 2,984.

Public education and the development of a truly workable partnership between citizens and law enforcement are imperative necessities if police departments are to be kept free of the stifling influence of venal politics. Every honest Chief of Police knows that corruption begets corruption. One of the most degenerative forces in American life has been corruption in public office. Corrupt politicians make for venal political machines. It is the taxpayer and law-abiding citizen who suffers.

Whenever we find machines of corruption, we also find an attitude of public indifference. We also find law enforcement shackled and inefficient — we find crime running rampant.

When a lackadaisical attitude develops, when corrupt, venal politicians take over, the first agency of public service to suffer is the police. By the same token, the influence of efficient law enforcement officers can turn the tide, because essentially the soul and conscience of America are right. An unyielding stand for the right is infectious. It is the first step in molding public opinion.

When a law enforcement body proves to the public that it is as much concerned with the establishment of innocence as it is with the establishment of guilt, it wins the support of decent citizens. The sooner everyone realizes that the police will work equally as hard to extricate an innocent person who is caught in a web of circumstances, the greater will be the public confidence and support of that law enforcement agency. Beyond that, the effects will be far-reaching. Prejudices which are born of incompetence and nurtured by the suspicion of duress thrive upon doubts skillfully extracted from the testimony of untrained police officers by unscrupulous lawyers. The very heart of law enforcement is at stake whenever an officer's testimony is shaken or contradicted in court.

Events and situations brought on by conditions of our times necessitate a greater consciousness of the need for protecting the civil rights of all people. Not only must our actions in fact be proper, we must be able to establish in court, if need be, that they were proper.

Every time the charge of duress, unethical conduct or third degree tactics is substantiated, all law enforcement get a "black eye." When mistakes are made, we ourselves should be the first to take corrective action. The sooner every practice smacking of oppression is abolished, the quicker law enforce-

ment will win and hold the respect of the citizens it serves.

There is another area where much remains to be done in the way of public education. There is a real need to make it impossible for the mouth-pieces of the underworld to effect delays by quibbling over words and technicalities.

The American people do not want their liberties chipped away through reckless and willful invasions by the police. Neither do they want criminal elements to corrupt constitutional safeguards to cover their depredations through technicalities.

The matter of searches and seizures is one of the problems we encounter daily. The law is far from settled. The most unexpected and unusual situations can arise when action must be taken immediately without time to consult law books or the prosecuting attorney. It is grossly unfair for criminals to go free, after they have committed clear violations of the law, because of some unexpected technicality when law enforcement acts in good faith upon the basis of its best judgment and training.

Even the Justices of the Supreme Court have not been able to reach unanimous decisions as to what is right and proper in such cases. From October, 1941, to June of 1954, the Supreme Court has rendered opinions in twenty cases originating with police action involving searches and seizures. In not a single opinion could all of the Justices agree on the proper course of procedure which should have been taken.

The burden of proof is becoming more and more difficult. There is an increasing reluctance on the part of many citizens to testify. This is understandable when witnesses are not protected in courts from vicious smears and when unethical lawyers go beyond the proper bounds of cross-examination.

#### COMMUNISTS ADEPT AT SMEAR TACTICS

The confidential informant has become an institution and is used as a means of establishing truth. The use of the confidential informant is as old as man. In fact the first recorded use of the confidential informant is found in the Old Testament. As an institution, the confidential informant is used not only by law enforcement, but in practically every walk of life, particularly by the press and our financial institutions.

In recent years, there has been a determined campaign designed to deprive law enforcement of the use of the time-tested and valued confidential informant. This campaign of vituperation is part and parcel of Commu-

nist strategy to convert the courtroom into a forum to discredit the judicial processes. For the most part, the technique of the smear has been devised by Communist lawyers, skilled in concealing foul and despicable acts behind the Fifth Amendment. They employ tactics which even the unscrupulous underworld "mouthpiece" would frown upon as improper.

The Communist owes no allegiance to God, to his family or to his country. He owes it only to the party and will do anything the party commands him to do. He will lie, cheat, steal or do anything for the Communist cause.

The inroads that Communist propaganda have made in influencing law-abiding Americans, who fail to realize that criminal conspiracies are conceived behind closed doors under the cover of darkness, are disheartening. It is through the efforts of confidential informants that we have been able to expose the Communist conspiracy in the past and through them we must stake much of the future security of the United States. That is why such a vicious and sustained attack has been made against former Communists who have first-hand knowledge of the secret, diabolical purposes of the Communist party.

Those now furthering the campaign of vituperation against witnesses say that the Communist menace is a myth created by those who testified against it. Therefore, to destroy the myth, they feel it is necessary to destroy the witnesses. They refuse to recognize the Communist enslavement of one third of the world's people and one fourth of the world's surface. These witnesses have been cross-examined in our courts, observed by judges and juries and they have been brought under the penetrating eye of the American press.

The Communists, bent on weakening our American way of life, have now turned to enlist other individuals and groups to convey propaganda designed to discredit truth.

It is through the "pseudo liberals" that the Communists do some of their most destructive work. These fictitious liberals are the individuals who through insidiously slanted and sly propagandistic writings and reports oppose urgently needed internal security measures; conduct a one-sided campaign to discredit government witnesses; present the menace of communism as a myth of hysteria; urge that we tolerate the subversive acts of Communists because Communists are only "nonconformists;" contend that the Communist party is a "political" movement and that it is improper to consider it a criminal conspiracy linked to a world conspiracy to overthrow our government by force and violence.

Constructive criticism and constant evaluation of methods, procedures and accomplishments in an objective manner is the way to progress. But, the eagerness of some to attack everyone and everything related to the exposure of the Communist conspiracy in this country is hardly the mark of a true liberal. Indeed, the true liberal is opposed to everything communism represents, for the very nature of communism is the antithesis of liberalism.

... We cannot minimize the hate of the underworld whether it be the underworld of hoodlums or the underworld of subversive traitors and its urgent desire also to identify and discredit the confidential informant. There needs to be a greater effort to protect those who risk their lives for the protection of society.

It is almost a daily occurrence for FBI Agents to convey information secured from confidential informants to local police which, for example, cleared up 300 burglaries in one case. In another case, 47 stolen cars were recovered and, in still another instance, a million-dollar robbery was thwarted. Without this two-way street of exchange of information, many crimes would go unsolved.

#### CRIME RATE INCREASING FASTER THAN POPULATION

In recent years, the nation's law enforcement agencies have been under severe pressures. The crime problem after World War II followed the trend of history with a steady and alarming increase.

The crime picture is a national disgrace. Since the end of the war, the number of serious crimes has increased 62.7 per cent, while our population increased only 21.3 per cent. On the basis of what we now know, the

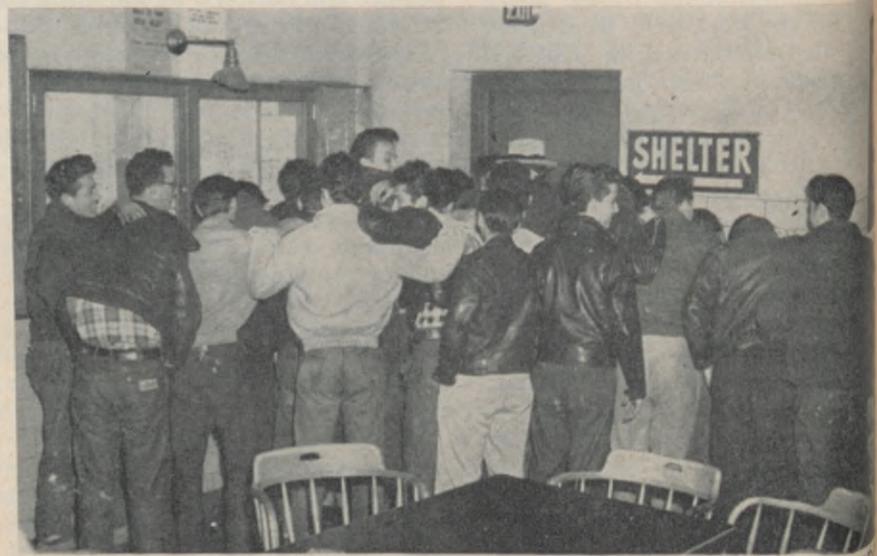
next ten years will witness a 22 per cent increase in crime over present levels, while our population will increase only 15 per cent.

Crime has taken on such proportions that one out of every seventeen homes will be victimized this year while one out of every fifteen persons in the United States has been arrested for an offense more serious than traffic violation. Last year, more than two million major crimes were committed, while there were eighteen and one-half million lesser offenses.

Of immediate concern is the present trend of juvenile delinquency, which I prefer to call adult delinquency because of the apathy and failure of many parents to assume their proper responsibilities. Last year, an estimated 519 thousand children, aged through 17, were arrested, or one out of every 38 boys and girls in this group.

Much of our juvenile crime today is due to the fact that we as a nation have failed in maintaining family strain and family discipline and have not taught the youngster to develop self-discipline. The juvenile jungle has resulted from insufficient spiritual and moral training. Youth learns to know, respect and obey the teachings of Almighty God; we can never expect them to follow civil law or the laws of society.

The crime problem is essentially a youth problem. Law enforcement throughout the entire community must concentrate more and more on the problem of the juvenile. Last year, 57.6 per cent of all persons arrested for theft were under 18 years of age. Forty-nine per cent of all persons arrested for burglary and 43.6 per cent of the persons arrested for larceny were in the same age group. I suggest that this alarming condition would



Teen age boys are herded in a group in Brooklyn's Borough Park Police Station after police arrested 46 youngsters in preventing a "revenge fight" between rival gangs.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Techniques of FBI investigation pay off. Suspect and his two confederates are rounded up by agents. Stolen tools are recovered.

quickly remedied if parents were held legally and financially responsible for the criminal acts of their children.

America enjoys the world's highest living standard but, at the same time, has one of the world's highest crime rates. The American people are paying a terrific price for crime, which is estimated at twenty billions of dollars annually. These alarming costs come into sharp focus when it is realized that for every dollar spent on education, crime costs a dollar and forty-six cents, and for every dollar given to our churches, crime costs 14 dollars.

### LAW ENFORCEMENT GAINING GROUND

But there is one happy note in the crime picture. The increased efficiency of law enforcement, its use of scientific aids, and increased training have truly lifted it into a respected profession. For the first time in seven years, there are current signs that the upward trend of crime may level off.

To meet the ever-present problem of lawlessness, law-abiding citizens must mobilize to help take the handcuffs off law enforcement. Law enforcement has not yet attained the measure of public support it justly deserves. The law-abiding citizen should uphold the cause of law and order against the sob sisters who cry, "Shame," every time a gangster is shot to death in a gun battle. He should not turn his back when some law enforcement officer gives his life in line of duty or is shot in the back by some "mad dog," who frequently has escaped from a dilapidated jail unworthy of the name, or has been released by some softhearted judge, or has been paroled by some maudlin

parole board or has been pardoned.

I believe in parole, probation and pardon for those who are worthy. I firmly believe that parole and probation can be made more effective through better selection of those to receive their benefits and through better supervision. In too many states, parole is unworthy of its name, and probation, rather than rehabilitating offenders, is an invitation to the dangerous philosophy that criminals "can get away with their crimes." If anyone has any doubts, all he need do is to read the daily papers for the accounts of vicious crimes committed by persons on parole or probation.

We need fewer paroles and pardons of professional killers, thugs and sex maniacs, a situation which convinces too many that "crime does pay." We need stronger support for the police in some of our courts. We need an end to the "merry-go-round" of justice by which criminals, through tricky appeals to credulous judges, manage to make law enforcement a mockery. Above all, we need swift and certain justice.

When crime occurs, there has been a failure somewhere — in the home, the church, the school, or the community. But with complete cooperation between law-abiding citizens and law enforcement, the incidence of crime can be materially lessened.

We as representatives of law enforcement must strive to make it synonymous with scrupulous observance of the law as well as its strictest enforcement. We in the profession of law enforcement must pledge anew our determination to uphold our end of the partnership and forge ahead to a more secure and a safer America. This is our common task.

END

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- Write Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas, for material which will assist you in getting business friends interested in **ADDING PATRIOTISM TO THEIR ADS.**
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A great many people bewail the current practice of training teachers in *methods* of teaching rather than equipping them with factual knowledge. The author of this article analyzes the subject with a view toward turning the tide.

# The Trend in Teaching

By JEAN H. HENRY

TEACHING is the result of learning; the natural result of one's apprehension of truth is the desire to impart that truth. Hence, the teacher is akin to the evangelist, to the poet, to the prophet. It is this desire to communicate a vision which produces the magical effect of inspiration—which enables the teacher to inspire morally the learner. Thus, teaching is a divine creative process. By this means and only so can teachers cause students to experience the epiphanies which we call education.

The foundation of learning is fact. One who does not possess factual knowledge on a certain subject cannot be expected to transmit that factual knowledge. And, if one is to possess facts, he must employ that singular human faculty—the memory.

If fact is the raw material of learning, the apprehension of truth is the refinement of it. Only by exposure to facts and ideas does learning occur. Reason scrutinizes and classifies; memory retains; insight, accoutered with learning, discerns truth.

Thus, teaching consists of two functions, one mimetic, the other formative; one measurable, the other immeasurable and not immediately apparent. The first function of teaching is the transmission of information. This process is objective and does not in itself inspire students. "Dry" is the term most often applied to it. Its purpose is the presentation of information in a manner in which it may be easily assimilated and retained. By this process, willing students may acquire facts; they may be brought to see relationships between those facts if presentation is logical, well ordered, and well expressed. The second function of teaching is the inspiration of students so that they may rise above the material considerations of existence and experience the transcendent truths of human life.

Although these two aspects of teaching, the informative function and inspirational function, bear little resemblance to each other in regard to the way in which they affect students, they have much in common in another respect. Both informative and inspirational teaching require that the teacher be a possessor and a lover of knowledge. If the teacher's primary concern is not knowledge, he will neither be able to transmit it, nor he be able to inspire in his students the desire to seek it.

## FORCES INFLUENCING EDUCATION

During the past few decades a number of forces have been exerting their influences upon the theory and practice of education. Although these forces are difficult to trace, it is possible to see the effects of at least three of them in our public education at the present time. The first is that of pragmatism, a philosophy which is reflected in the tendency of educators to view the curriculum in terms of vocationalism. This tendency is recognizable in the phrase "education for life," in which the primary practical business of life is seen to be the earning of a living, is an outgrowth of the displacement caused by free compulsory public education of education for the gentleman by education for the common man.

The second force which has influenced public education is psychology, which, in a watered-down form, has become the science of education. This "spoiled" brand of psychology has provided educators, parents, and students with an authoritative argument against memorizing and mastering facts which they deem useless from the vocational standpoint.

The third force which has influenced modern education is the increased emphasis upon character education.

# The Anti-intellectual trend has Snowballed!



## and Training

or "education for democracy," an attempt to develop in students traits and ideals which prepare them to be reflective citizens. Although this function has been enthusiastically shouldered by educators, it owes much of its popularity in educational circles to a willingness on the part of many parents to relinquish to the school their traditional responsibility and authority in regard to the development of character and the exercise of discipline.

### "METHOD WITHOUT CONTENT"

It is quite evident that vocational training, the utilization of valid principles of the psychology of learning, and the fostering of desirable traits of character are necessary and important considerations of education. But in many cases the tendency has been to over-emphasize these considerations at the expense of learning. To consider vocational education as the only education; to use psychology as a convenient authority for removing content courses from the curriculum; to overlook the relationship between the development of character and the cultivation of the mind through the discipline of mastering factual information; in short, to seek to obtain the fruits of learning by discarding the facts and ideas which are its roots — these policies amount to educational nihilism.

The results of these trends in regard to the training of teachers has been to de-emphasize content courses in favor of theoretical training in methods of creative teaching. But teachers cannot be taught to be inspiring; their inspiration, a psychic reaction which results from the apprehension of truths, can only be stimulated in them by the acquisition of learning. Only those persons who desire to learn can do so, and only those who are learned possess the ability or the desire to educate others.

It is possible to equip teachers with information, and it is possible to instruct them in methods of presenting that information. It is not possible to ignite them with the enthusiasm which is the divine gift of the scholar. That must be left to God.

The upshot of the attempt to teach teachers method without content is that nothing is taught. By neglecting learning, we fail to teach students the bare fundamentals, and we fail to train teachers. In its struggle to be free from the discipline of facts lies the indictment of modern education. That this error has occurred in an age in which the word "fact" has all but replaced the word "truth," that the anti-intellectual trend is the main force in education, the proper domain of intellectualism — these are ironies which portend great harm to our culture.

### TEACHERS OR BABY SITTERS?

The principle of universal free public education to which we are dedicated poses a number of problems which require solution in the near future if we are to continue to adhere to it. Many of these problems are purely quantitative and are the result of our growing population. School buildings, furnishings, supplies, and services must certainly be available in sufficient quantities if education for all is to continue to be physically possible. These quantitative needs of public education are receiving at the present time wide publicity, and, since they can be expressed in numerical terms and supplied by financial means, they are relatively easy to deal with.

Surpassing the physical problem of mass education, however, is the problem of maintaining a high quality of instruction in the face of increasing numbers to be served. Those who have felt that quality must of necessity suffer

when education is "spread thin" view with alarm the growing school population. "Can we," they ask, "hope to provide education for all without sacrificing the quality of education which we desire?" Certainly, semi-literacy for all the people is not much better than adequate education for a few in a nation which has come to believe that the opinion of the majority is the ultimate authority. The pressing problem, then, if universal education is to be the source of strength which we once believed it to be instead of a source of weakness in our culture, is to determine a means of retaining a high quality of instruction within the framework of universal education. Thus, we are concerned not only with securing enough teachers to meet the increasing demand, but we are concerned also with securing the best teachers to be had, lest we solve the teacher shortage by filling the schools with mere baby sitters.

Those who, feeling that the present quality of public school education is inadequate, seek the causes of this inadequacy are frequently told that the level of instruction which they deplore is the result of the present inadequate salary scale in the teaching profession. Unless and until, they are told, teachers are compensated in a manner befitting their training and responsibilities, a high quality of instruction will not be secured. Although it is certainly true that teachers are disgracefully underpaid in most states, it must be admitted that teachers' salaries have increased considerably in the past fifteen years. Despite this increase, however, the standard of instruction has not improved, but has, on the contrary, degenerated considerably. It is my belief that salary alone is not the main determinant of instructional quality, and furthermore that there is another cause, less easily remedied but more important, for the present quality of instruction in our public schools — a cause which can be traced to those whose responsibility is the training of teachers.

#### THE PSYCHIC REWARD

When one enumerates the inducements of any profession he must include, in addition to salary and working conditions, another factor which may be called the psychic reward. To the doctor this reward is the satisfaction gained from healing the sick and that of using his special skill to make a better world. The attainment of this satisfaction, though it may be a source of money, is not dependent upon remuneration for its existence. The man who enters the medical profession may expect to earn a more than adequate living; he may expect to work

long and irregular hours; but his decision to practice medicine is not dependent only upon these considerations — the psychic reward is equal in weight to these.

To the teacher the psychic reward which, in addition to and in spite of the physical considerations of the teaching profession, determines his decision to teach is his love of learning, his concern with knowledge, and his desire to disseminate it so that he likewise may contribute to the making of a better world.

The fact that this inducement, this psychic reward, has all but disappeared from the teaching profession is, I believe, the real and serious cause of the present poor quality of instruction in our public schools. One effect of the absence of this most important inducement in the teaching profession is the barring of what may be considered a significant number of suitable and qualified persons from the ranks of public school teachers. A look at our present method of training and securing teachers will, I believe, show why the teaching profession has barred this group, why the profession does not attract the best potential teachers, and why, as a result, teaching quality is suffering.

#### CERTIFICATE REQUIREMENTS

In order to become qualified as a teacher in the public schools it is necessary not only to earn a university degree, but also to secure a valid teaching certificate. Although this requirement is waived when it is impossible to secure licensed teachers, such a teacher is in most cases issued a temporary permit to teach which may be renewed annually only if the teacher agrees to attempt to meet the standards for certification.

The practice of licensing teachers, a relatively recent one, was adopted as a means of strengthening the qualifications of teachers and of distinguishing between career teachers and those who taught only as a means of sustaining themselves until they could secure other positions. In theory the standardization of teaching qualifications is undoubtedly desirable. But the situation which has resulted from the certification of teachers is, in fact, because of the nature of the criteria for certification, defeating its original purpose of raising and maintaining a high quality of teaching.

In most states the securing of a valid teaching certificate requires that the prospective teacher receive special training in the field of education. In some state universities it is possible for an undergraduate to satisfy the certification requirements as he completes his general college courses; that is, a student may major in history, art,

literature, music, physics, biology, mathematics, earn a Bachelor's Degree in the college of liberal arts in such subject, and, at the same time, take enough courses in the school of education to fulfill the certification requirements in that state. In some cases students who wish to earn both the academic degree and the certificate must attend college for an extra quarter or semester in order to accomplish this dual purpose; in other cases it is necessary, because of the number of education courses required for certification, not only that the student take the required education courses but that he declare a major in school of education as well.

#### BEST POTENTIAL TEACHERS LOST

One would expect that a student interested in learning and imparting learning would be best served by entering the school of education. There, we should think, his desire to prepare himself to be a person capable of teaching would be fulfilled. There, if anywhere within the confines of the university, we should expect that the pursuit of knowledge, the mastery of subject matter (who needs information more than a teacher?), and the regard for knowledge of all branches of human study would appeal to a prospective scholar whose business in life is to profess to know. There we should expect the student teacher to find a fellowship of persons whose main concern is the acquisition of learning, the fostering of good scholars. There we should expect to find a studious, there the scholastic cream of the university.

But we would be disappointed if every one of these expectations were the truth is the very opposite. Students who major in education, far from being the best students in the university, are more often than those with the least inclination to learning. Students who cannot obtain a high scholastic average are frequently shuttled into education, the more rigorous colleges of the university. From the fields of engineering, pre-medicine and pre-law and the liberal arts college, students who are unable to make the grade are diverted to major in education.

The reason for the low caliber of students attracted by the college of education is obvious when one examines the teacher training curriculum where amid the numerous course offerings is there to be found a single content course. Instead the teacher devotes himself to the problem of how to teach. That he may know how to teach is not considered relevant.

It is small wonder, then, that the

students who love learning and who we might suppose, would be eminently suited to teach others, turn away from the college of education and enter other fields. Even if the salaries of teachers were increased, the intelligent student would hesitate to forfeit his opportunity to take content courses for the dubious education he would receive in the teacher training program. The choice between content courses and the theoretical blanks offered by the educators, between an academic degree and an education degree, is no real choice to the student who wishes to spend his college money and time in gaining knowledge. In choosing to enter the college of education or even in choosing to take a number of education courses he must deny himself the opportunity to learn content and thereby both limit the scope of his education and deny himself the chance of obtaining the knowledge which will enable him to be a well-prepared teacher.

#### LACK OF CONTENT COURSES

Not only does the student in the college of education forfeit his opportunity to increase his store of knowledge while in college, but also he may forfeit his chance to pursue knowledge professionally in the future. As a teacher he will be required to supplement his training from time to time by taking courses in summer school. But once in the educational certification game his chances of pursuing content courses diminish. If he wishes to advance professionally, or even to maintain his status as a qualified teacher, he must do so largely within the school of education. A trip to Italy to study Roman culture, a course in medieval philosophy, a course in advanced mathematics will do him less professional good than a "workshop" in teacher-pupil relationships or a seminar in curriculum planning at the local level. As to earning a graduate degree in an academic subject, the professional compensation for such an accomplishment is almost nonexistent.

Thus, the very students who would be the most competent teachers are faced with a difficult choice. If their concern with learning is primary, they may feel that a career as a teacher in the public schools will not offer them the opportunity to pursue their interests. The student who is less interested in educational methodology than in subject matter, rather than enter the teacher training program, may choose to satisfy his desire to know and to teach by following another and longer route. By gaining an advanced academic degree in his special field of interest, he may become qualified to teach on the college level, where at the present time, mastery

of subject matter rather than educational theory still determines one's competence to teach.

If, however, he determines to bypass the education courses and gains a liberal arts degree, hoping to teach in the public schools without satisfying the certification requirements, he will find it difficult to secure a position; for no matter what his abilities and accomplishments, no matter how broad his education, he will not be able to qualify in regard to the teacher training requirements. At best he can hope for a temporary certificate.

The situation which has brought about the decline of instructional quality in public education is not, as is commonly supposed, mass education. It is possible to equip sufficient numbers of persons with the knowledge necessary to instruct young people. If it is possible for the present number of college students to profit at all from higher education, it is also possible to secure teachers who are adequately trained in the fundamentals of mathematics, grammar, history, literature, and science. But we shall not secure teachers who are concerned with teaching until we find a means of reinstating in the colleges of education the regard for learning, for fundamentals, and for the discipline of the mind and the formation of character through mastery of simple facts. Unless the importance of content courses in the training of teachers becomes recognized by those whose business it is to secure and train teachers, and until educators in charge of certification re-adopt the examination method of determining competence to teach which they have abandoned, nothing — not even a substantial increase in teachers' salaries — can raise the quality of instruction in the public schools.

#### PUBLIC SUPPORT NEEDED

It is necessary, however, to understand the difficulties involved in any attempt to reorganize and re-evaluate the teacher training and certification programs. First of all, since certification is a state function which is under the authority of an elected official, usually the state superintendent of public instruction, any change in certification policy must, of necessity, come from the public as it makes its concern known to its elected officials. Second, certification requirements, once adopted, are incorporated into the state education code and thus acquire legal status. Finally, at the present time state educational affairs are controlled by a select group of persons, some of whom are professors of education at the state universities, and some of whom are state officials, em-

ployees, and appointees. This group is especially close-knit, since by training its own principals, administrators and supervisors, the educators are able to perpetuate their policies. For this reason those who control educational policy by recommending and approving certification requirements enjoy an almost unlimited authority and a nearly unshakeable security.

It would seem then, that if we are to combat the anti-intellectual trend in public education, public support will have to be enlisted. Without public backing, intellectuals in the liberal arts and in the sciences, though they are well aware of the de-emphasis of learning which has taken place under their noses, cannot hope to revise the criteria for teacher certification, nor can they bring about a change in the prevailing philosophy which governs the teacher training programs. END

## Management Listens

(Continued from Page 15)

twentieth century form of free enterprise which is little understood by much of the world.

The United States is, above all else, a business nation and business has become its way of life. The primary function of business, and therefore of capitalism, is to provide goods and services needed by human beings at prices they can pay. Profits are essential to keep the wheels turning, but business will neither get profits nor deserve them unless it performs this basic function, and performs it well.

At the beginning there were only two people to talk — the man with the idea and the man with the money. Today everyone is "in on the act" — millions of "junior capitalists," today's great army of stockholders, now take their places. Today, instead of one man with an idea, there are numbers of executives with their specialized functions. And when, as so often happens, the stockholder is also a customer, a dealer, a worker, a manager, or a fellow-citizen of your town, he can talk with authority and command respect for his business views.

What is more, management listens — for this is the voice in control today. END

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# The Operation

Here is a glimpse of the privations and indignities endured by those living under the Soviet heel, as observed by one who has lived and worked among the Russian people for several years. This is the second such story *Facts Forum News* has published by the author, who writes under a pseudonym for the protection of his family behind the Iron Curtain.

*Three weeks after the German invasion of Poland in September, 1939, the Russians also made a treasonous attack on the rear of the Polish Army, in spite of the nonaggression and friendship pact between these countries. It was a good example of Soviet "friendship."*

*Profiting from the critical Polish situation, these Russians occupied a big part of the country, taking from Poland more than one million civilians and soldiers as prisoners and sent them to labor camps in Siberia.*

*One of these prisoners was a well-known Polish surgeon, a colonel of the Sanitary Corps, about whom this true story is told.*

• • •

**I**N THE prisoner camp at Siazovietz water was delivered in a barrel, of course. A pleasant old man, a prisoner himself, struggled methodically at his task, pulling the water barrel from one hut to another. Unruffled and kind, he was liked and respected by all. Standing on the rotten, sagging threshold of a hut, he smilingly measured out the water, never complaining, though the work obviously was beyond his strength.

From time to time, when a fellow prisoner became ill — and they seemed to be ailing constantly — he helped and advised with a strange dignity. He was rumored to have a "lucky hand," that of a healer.

And so it went for a long, long time — measuring water, showing mercy, measuring water. . .

One winter evening, when the icy blast froze the breath on the face of this human horse, a soldier from the Russian command burst into the hut.

"You, there!"

"Yes?"

"You are a doctor?"

"Yes."

"Are you sure?"

"I have said so."

"The commander wants to see you at once."

Startled by the summons, he hastily pulled on the frozen rags which he had taken off just moments before.

On the way, stumbling with cold, he wondered what awaited him. Probably the worst. He was baffled. How did they suddenly discover that he was a physician? His appointment to be water carrier seemed to indicate they had not known it before.

The Russian commander was a mountain of a man, with projecting jaw and narrow eyes that roved uneasily. His huge hand, tightened into a fist, tensely prodded the table. When he saw the water carrier step into the room,

he jumped up so abruptly that the old man staggered. "You're a doctor? Surgeon?" he shouted.

"Yes," the water carrier replied quietly.

"Nu. We have a sudden emergency. A young officer been taken seriously ill."

"Where is he?" The doctor had an overwhelming feeling of trouble.

"Here, opposite." He led him to an adjoining room. Upon a smelly couch lay a tall, thin young man, his legs drawn up, his face convulsed with pain.

After a brief examination, the surgeon-prisoner declared: "Acute inflammation of the appendix. An immediate operation is indispensable. But with what? Where? Have you surgical instruments and a clean table? I do not see it. . ."

"Nu. We'll sharpen a knife, and you will perform the operation, if you are really a surgeon. Maybe not? Well, speak up!"

"Major, under these conditions I cannot undertake the operation. I need instruments, surgical dressings, a table. Otherwise I would only finish the patient."

"So, you don't want to save our soldier! Because you're a Russian, aaah?" He came close to the old man, gripped the edge of his coat, shook him, and roared: "So, you're a saboteur! Will you operate or not? If you don't, you're a saboteur! What is waiting for you!"

**W**ILLFULLY keeping his composure, the surgeon said: "I don't want to refuse to operate, and I want to save the patient. But I repeat that under these conditions I cannot do it — I will not!"

"Saboteur! Saboteur!" raged the major. "I know you're a kind! Get out! We'll manage without you! Take him to the camp!"

The old man who, back in his country, had been a professor of surgery, went away with a heavy step, as if he were deadly tired.

Hardly had he thrown himself on his dirty cot when another messenger burst in.

He stumbled along the path again, half dragged by a soldier, and stood once more before the commissar's table. The time the major sat at the table, oddly peaceful. From the neighboring room came moans.

"You are a surgeon? Even a professor?" he asked in a changed tone. "Sit down, please. So — under what

tions would you agree to perform this operation, professor?"

The old man breathed again. "Under any conditions even remotely resembling hospital requirements."

"There is a small town twenty kilometers away with a hospital. I have just learned they have an operating room. Can you take the patient there and operate?"

"Naturally; willingly."

"We have a truck outside, rather broken down perhaps, but it will get you there. I'll order the patient carried out. You will ride with him."

In a matter of moments they were driving slowly through the darkness, over a road full of holes. They arrived at the hospital about eleven o'clock.

The commandant of the hospital, already informed by a messenger on horseback, was waiting tensely, his protruding eyes betraying his fear of anything varying from his regular routine.

"The operating table is ready." He bowed briefly to the old water carrier. "But now I must hurry to the president of the town Soviet, so we may be assured of electricity while you work." And he disappeared into the darkness.

The doctor glanced around. The room was fair — at least there was a clean table, and against one wall was a case with instruments. An assistant and a nurse were waiting to help him.

"Do you have . . ." — the doctor paused thoughtfully — "candles?"

"The requisition has been made, but unfortunately they haven't arrived. It isn't time yet, according to the Plan."

"Well, a lamp, then?"

"We have a lamp. Oh, yes," the assistant replied with pride, "we always have a lamp at hand."

"Please have it ready here, on the side."

"The wicks are not due to arrive yet, either, but we expect them in three weeks."

The patient was moaning terribly when they placed him on the table. The doctor scrubbed his hands as best he could with the small piece of gray soap, looked apprehensively at the electric light bulb — it was all right — and began the operation.

Maybe a minute after opening the abdominal cavity, the light suddenly went out. A groan escaped from the breasts of two men — the doctor and the patient.

"Have you *any* kind of light?" The doctor's voice was a hoarse whisper.

"Nu."

"Maybe," his voice was trembling, "maybe a torch? A piece of wood or bark?" he added almost inaudibly, with his hands at the opened abdomen of the patient.

IN RESPONSE to the assistant's shouting, someone rushed in with a lighted piece of kindling wood. Then another, and another. From each side, sleepy, disheveled heads bent over the table with light from the burning sticks of wood illuminating the open wound. Perspiration ran freely down the doctor's forehead, as it never did in this weather, even when pulling the heavy barrel of water. . .

At last, the operation was finished. The incision had been carefully sewed up. Acrid smell of smoke filled the entire room.

Suddenly the commandant of the hospital burst into the room, almost sobbing in his despair:

"The president of the Soviet agreed to extend the

service of electricity, but it went out anyway!" The significance of the scene, with the nurse and the assistant beginning to put things away, the doctor bending over the still form of the patient, struck him with sudden force. "What happened? Tell me quickly! This is a very important patient, son of a marshal, a hero. We can have a terrible responsibility!"

"Somehow it was all right," the old man replied, already at ease. "If God wills, the patient will live. I did my work, and in Russia —" he hesitated — ". . . in Russia there is no lack of good kindling wood, fortunately. I saw clearly."

Within an hour he had returned to his hut to sleep, without any bedclothes and with only his torn rags for covering. The next morning he was again delivering water, methodically and peacefully. And so a few weeks went by. . .

ONE MORNING, when he was again doing service as a horse, pulling the water barrel, there stood before him a young and handsome lieutenant, who extended his hand to him and said:

"Don't you recognize me, professor?"

The old man was startled, realizing as he looked up that he had lost count of the number of barrel loads he still had to deliver.

"No, I don't recognize you."

"How's that? You have saved my life!"

The young man, dressed in a gala uniform covered with medals, certainly did not recall to his mind the sight of the thin body writhing in pain.

"I am grateful to you, doctor. I would like to bring you some present. I insist. I have even decided what to give you!" Like a child who couldn't wait to tell an exciting secret, the lieutenant leaned close. "I will get you a bottle of real — you understand? — *real red wine from the Crimea!* It is very difficult to obtain, but I will get it! Although you prisoners cannot drink wine, according to the rules, I have heard that you will be released soon . . . some agreement, or something. When you are free, the bottle of wine is yours!"

From that day, the life of the water carrier was changed. He was summoned to headquarters where he was entrusted with examining the sick. Now he could treat his fellow prisoners, dispense from hard labor those who were most exhausted. He could help his countrymen, with the double satisfaction of working in his professional capacity. He was treated tolerably well, for he was the only doctor for miles around.

By this time the Germans were advancing on Russia. After three weeks the Polish prisoners were released in order to form a separate army to fight the Germans.

The lieutenant, son of one of the chief Soviet generals, kept his promise. He brought the bottle, but with an apology. Everyone in Russia knows that this special luxury is accessible only to members of the NKVD, or for receptions for foreign dignitaries. He could not obtain a full bottle, but half is better than none at all. From the Crimea! Red wine! Real wine! That was for the operation. . .

Actually the doctor knew that it was a royal gift. He thanked his former patient with a smile. Then, with a trembling hand, he poured the wine for his friends into their rusty tin cups, one gulp for each one, especially for those whose misery the doctor knew could not last much longer.

Let no one say that merit is not rewarded in Russia. END

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84TH CONGRESS  
1st Session

**H. R. 5550**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 14, 1955

Mr. COOPER introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

**A BILL**

To amend the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to the administration of the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
That part III of title III of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended (relating to foreign-trade agreements), is hereby amended by inserting after section 350 the following new section:

"SEC. 351. (a) The President is hereby authorized to accept membership for the United States in the Organization for Trade Cooperation provided for in the Agreement on the Organization for Trade Cooperation drawn up by the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade at their ninth session and opened for acceptance at Geneva on March 10, 1955.

"(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated annually to the Department of State—

"(1) such sums as may be necessary for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the Organization for Trade Cooperation as determined in accordance with article 9 of the agreement referred to in subsection (a); and

"(2) such additional sums as may be necessary to pay the expenses incident to participation by the United States in the activities of the Organization for Trade Cooperation, including—

"(A) the salaries of the United States representative or representatives and alternates, and appropriate staff, without regard to the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended;

"(B) amounts for services as authorized by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a); and

"(C) such other expenses as the Secretary of State deems necessary to participation by the United States in the activities of the Organization."

Hon. Jere Cooper (D-Tenn.), Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, has assured the President that **H.R. 5550** will come up for consideration very early in the 2nd Session of the 84th Congress.

↑  
Organization for  
Trade  
Cooperation

↑  
International  
Trade  
Organization

↑  
General  
Agreement on  
Tariffs and  
Trade

↑  
OTC Offspring of the ITO

↑  
**THE OTC  
and Its Relation to the GATT**

\* \* **Against OTC** \* \*

\* \* **For OTC** \* \* \*

IT WAS HATCHED OUT in the ninth session of GATT held in Geneva late in 1954 and early 1955. It is the result of a revision of the General Agreement. The OTC was devised to take over the administration of GATT.

"Why was a new name necessary? Why was the title 'International Trade Organization' dropped? Was it done deliberately as an act of concealment? Was it so that the public would not recognize the character of the new organization? Why were the innocent words 'trade cooperation' bestowed on an organization that is designed consciously through built-in mechanisms to evolve into an international trade-governing body?"

The above statements and questions are those of O. R. Strackbein, Chairman of the Nation-Wide Committee of Industry, Agriculture and Labor on Import-Export Policy, published in his treatise on tariffs and trade, entitled *ITO, GATT and OTC, The Grand Goal of the Free-Trade Cabal*. . . Mr. Strackbein states below his views on:

**NEW ISSUES ON THE TARIFF FRONT**

IN THE long course of American tariff history, the treatment of the tariff, including the manner of changing particular rates and administering the law, have taken new turns from time to time.

For more than a century Congress itself wrote or revised the tariff in keeping with election results. The actual work of revision was done principally in the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate.

From 1910 on, the need for an expert commission to advise Congress on the technical aspects of the tariff was recognized and such a board was set up in the Taft administration. It was, however, not until 1922 that the Tariff Commission was given authority to recommend to the President actual changes in rates. This was made possible by the delegation of power by Congress to the President. Such a delegation was necessary since Con-

(Continued on Next Page)

Reprinted from *TRADE TALK*, a Special Supplement issued on Organization for Trade Cooperation, published by the Committee for a National Trade Policy.

ON MARCH 21, 1955, Assistant Secretary of State Samuel C. Waugh signed, on behalf of the United States, several documents which represented the results of a thoroughgoing review of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. This review had a dual purpose: first, to simplify and strengthen the "trade rules" of the General Agreement and secondly, to provide permanent machinery for its administration. This latter was accomplished by the agreement establishing the Organization for Trade Cooperation, which Mr. Waugh signed subject to the concurrence of Congress.

The distinction between the general provisions or "trade rules" of the GATT on the one hand, and the OTC on the other, should be made clear. The General Agreement with its trade rules has the same status as any of the bilateral agreements entered into since 1934 under the authority of the Trade Agreements Act and under that authority it need not be submitted to the Congress for approval.

The President, apparently on the basis of a policy decision, is submitting the OTC, the permanent machinery for administration, to the Congress for its approval. As Secretary Dulles stated to the Senate Finance Committee, this is being done for reasons of courtesy and propriety, not because there is any conviction that it is a legal requirement.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is a multilateral agreement, first negotiated in 1947, and now adhered to by 34 nations. The General Agreement has three major functions: (1) It provides a means whereby tariffs may be reduced by reciprocal concessions among the member countries, and other barriers to trade relaxed. The Agreement contains the schedules of rates which have been reduced, or "bound" against increases,

(Continued on Next Page)

## Against OTC

gress itself is empowered by the Constitution to regulate foreign commerce and to shape the tariff.

Nevertheless, despite the delegation of power to the President in 1922, Congress itself again wrote a tariff law in 1929-30. This was called the Hawley-Smoot Tariff but officially was known as the Tariff Act of 1930. It is still the basic law. That was the last time, twenty-five years ago, that Congress itself overhauled the tariff structure.

In 1934 the so-called Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was passed, amending the 1930 Act by empowering the President to enter into foreign trade agreements under which tariff rates might be raised or lowered by as much as 50 per cent. The principle of reciprocity, though not mentioned in the Act itself, became the ostensible guide of the Department of State in negotiating reduction of our tariff rates as a means of reducing trade barriers to our exports to other countries.

Some twenty-nine individual or bilateral agreements were made with other countries by 1945. Thereafter the multilateral system was introduced and under it the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, known as GATT, was negotiated in Geneva in 1947. Subsequently three more tariff-cutting conferences have been held and we have another one coming up early this year. By this time our tariff has been reduced a full 75 per cent during the twenty-one years since 1934.

The relinquishment by Congress of direct tariff-making functions (with minor exceptions) and the delegation of power to the President, as just described, took place during the same twenty-one year period.

### U. S. OR UN IN CONTROL

Today, however, a new departure is proposed. This would not be a relinquishment by Congress of its authority through delegation to the executive, but would represent a virtual abdication by Congress and the shift of control over our tariff to an international body.

In 1955 the State Department nego-

tiated a new agreement. This is an agreement to set up what is to be called the Organization for Trade Operation or OTC. The new organization would be an agency of the United Nations, and it would be dedicated to the attainment of the purposes and objectives of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which it would administer. It would accomplish this through an Assembly, Executive Committee and a Secretariat General. The United States would have one vote.

A bill has already been introduced into Congress to approve U. S. membership in the OTC. It is H. R. 55 and will come up during this session of Congress.

This proposal marks a radical departure from control by Congress of tariffs and trade. It represents a double delegation of authority, from Congress to the President to OTC. It would in practice cut Congress out of its constitutional power and responsibility, and thus destroy the power of the electorate to determine the direction of public affairs in this field. In short, the proposal precipitated a crisis in democratic government.

## For OTC

in the three multilateral trade negotiations that have been undertaken since 1947. (2) It sets down in its general provisions trade rules to guide the conduct of international trade among the member countries. These trade rules are designed to protect the lower tariff rates that have been agreed upon by prohibiting the use of certain practices that would impair the benefits of those rates. (3) It provides a forum for discussion and voluntary settlement of international trade problems and disputes.

Recognition of the need for such a multilateral agreement arose out of the experience of the U. S. and other countries in the '30's in concluding bilateral trade agreements. By the beginning of the postwar period it had become clear to most countries that there were inherent limitations in the bilateral approach which would make difficult or impossible any further real progress in reducing world trade barriers.

There were several kinds of limita-

tions in the bilateral approach. In the first place, when a country engages in a purely bilateral agreement, it is usually not prepared to make concessions of major importance because to do so would seriously reduce its bargaining power in subsequent negotiations with other countries. This is so because under the most-favored-nation principle, which most nations follow, any rate reduction made to one country must be extended automatically, and for nothing, to all its trading partners. It became apparent that only under a system of multilateral negotiation, where many countries were prepared to grant concessions simultaneously, could a given country expect to get enough in return to make significant concessions on its part worthwhile.

Secondly, bilateral negotiations tended to be carried on in a sporadic and piecemeal fashion. A tariff concession was usually made on an item in negotiation with a country which was the principal supplier of that item. The result was that no country could have any confidence that tariffs on products of which it was a secondary supplier (and therefore not a primary negotiator) would be reduced

through negotiations between principal traders. The multilateral simultaneous negotiations under GATT have gone far to insure that the most important products of a country would be treated somewhat equally in the multilateral negotiations, thus all countries would have the benefit of the concessions granted. For example, the U. S. has discussed negotiated within the General Agreement concessions with each of the other parties benefiting some 40 per cent of U. S. exports, amounting in 1953 to 6.7 billion dollars. In addition we got the advantage of concessions resulting from negotiations between other countries affecting 8.7 per cent of our exports or 1.3 billion dollars in 1953.

Thirdly, there was little stability in the rates established under the bilateral system. . . . Countries enjoying concessions they received under the most-favored-nation principle as long as the negotiating partner countries kept to their agreements. The continued enjoyment of such concessions thus depended on decisions reached by only two countries, over which other countries had no control. Under the General

# TRADE COOPERATION

What is at stake here goes far beyond the mere question of whether the tariff on books, for example, may be reduced; or whether what remains of the "manufacturing clause" of our Copyright Law may be set aside by an international agreement. It involves the question of who determines how the flow of our commerce is to be regulated: we, the American citizenry, or an international body in which there is no direct representation of the electorate — only representation through a State Department delegate and his secretariat.

The proponents of the OTC vigorously deny that the OTC would have supernatural power. This denial is a clear case of using a strong offense as a means of making the best defense.

They deny that Congress would be by-passed. The contention is that OTC would merely call the various GATT members together for consultation on how to adjust differences, and to see that the General Agreement is carried out.

I say this explanation is not open and aboveboard. The State Department has been trying for ten years to gain control over the tariff to use it as an instrument of diplomacy. The State

Department is very restive under constitutional arrangement that places the tariff and trade under the direction of Congress. The reason for this restiveness is that under congressional control the State Department cannot properly commit this country to any particular line of future action, as the department would like to do. Any new Congress or even the same Congress can amend or repeal any law previously enacted. A new election often brings about a change in legislative sentiment, as a reflection of changed sentiment in the country. Under the Constitution such changed sentiment has the right to express itself in new laws, changes in old laws or complete repeal of existing legislation.

The State Department finds that this freedom to legislate makes it very difficult to introduce stability and continuity into our tariff and trade policies. This fact in turn makes it difficult to bargain with other countries. Therefore the State Department would like to get rid of congressional authority in this field.

Also, the idea of international control of trade, such as is proposed in the OTC, would facilitate world-wide

economic planning and this is one of the objectives that is deeply imbedded in the economic philosophy of the State Department. Again, congressional control of the tariff would interfere with the manageability and the ease of manipulation necessary to planning of international trade by a world body. Such planning can be successful only if the subordinate units, in this case nations, behave according to plan.

It is just such manageability and subordination that the State Department wants to establish. In order to do so the American electorate must be deprived of the means of carrying out any changes it might from time to time seek in the field of tariffs and trade. The way to do this would be to put Congress into a position of helplessness — to draw its legislative teeth and thus to reduce it to the level of a debating society.

How can this be done? Only by doing it without seeming to do it! Otherwise the people will not stand for it.

This is exactly what the State Department is up to!

How does it seek to accomplish this difficult maneuver?

Let us recall that the State Depart-

ment each country receives as a direct right all concessions negotiated between the other parties, in addition to those it has itself directly negotiated. There can be no withdrawal of concessions without the concurrence of all parties, except in exceptional circumstances (for example, the escape clause), and in such circumstances the procedure is carefully laid down in the Agreement.

Finally, an important disadvantage of the bilateral method lay in the necessity for writing into each agreement the trade rules or principles which would apply and the safeguards against nullification or impairment of the concessions mutually granted by the two countries concerned. Obviously, this could mean that any particular country itself would have a score or more of separate sets of trading rules, varying much or little with the trading partner concerned, and yet have to take cognizance of scores of other rules governing trading relations between other pairs of countries which might affect certain commodities important to its trade.

The General Agreement provides a single set of rules adhered to by all

members and maintained by the combined moral suasion of thirty-four countries, each of which has formally undertaken to observe these rules in all trading relations with each other. Clearly, this system has an enormous advantage in stability and simplicity over the old method, especially to the United States.

## PROVISIONS AND FUNCTIONS

The general provisions of the Agreement are divided into three parts:

**Part I** — Tariffs and Preferences — gives legal effect to the tariff concessions set out in the Schedules of the Agreement and, in addition, lays down the basic rule of non-discrimination in tariff and custom matters generally. The schedules, one for each member country, contain over 50,000 "bound" or guaranteed tariff rates which are the result of the three major negotiations at Geneva, Annecy and Torquay, from 1947 to 1951. No product will be subject to a duty higher than this listed rate in the country to which it applies. The total in products covered by these rates amounted to 40 billion dollars in 1953 or more than

half of the world's total trade. Part I also safeguards these tariff concessions against adverse changes in methods of tariff valuation or currency conversion; against changes in tariff classifications; and against unwarranted increases in rates of specific duties in event of currency depreciation.

**Part II** — Non-tariff Trade Barriers — deals with barriers to trade other than tariffs, such as quotas, protective excise taxes, restrictive customs formalities and the like. The main purposes of the provisions of this part of the Agreement are to protect the value of the tariff concessions, to accomplish a gradual relaxation of these non-tariff trade restrictions and controls, and to assure the greatest possible observance of the principle of non-discrimination whenever these restrictions are used.

In this connection probably one of the most important provisions of the General Agreement is the general prohibition against the use of quantitative restrictions or quotas. Quotas have a far more drastic effect on trade than tariffs because they set final and definite limits on imports. With tariffs, even high tariffs, the element of competition always exists and they

## Against OTC

ment tried it before, i.e., from 1945 to 1950, and failed. It tried at that time to take this country into the International Trade Organization. The attempt failed in 1950 when the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, after a public hearing, refused to report the ratifying resolution out of Committee. The ITO died as a result.

### BEWARE OF CAMOUFLAGE

Now, having learned a lesson, the State Department, with no change in final objective, has hit upon an approach that appears completely innocent. The protective and deceptive coloration is almost perfect.

The ITO proposal, though clumsy and intricate and unwieldy, was at least honest. It was designed as an instrument of world economic planning, and it went down to ignominious defeat because the Congress would have nothing of it. Now, like the Disney fox, it is back in an innocent-looking and even attractive garb.

The OTC looks innocent, indeed. It has no powers! No powers at all! Except to call international conferences: how innocent!

But please note, such conferences would have power. In such a conclave the General Agreement could be amended by the Assembly in any manner agreed upon. The International Trade Organization Charter, defeated in Congress, could itself be resurrected and Congress would not have another shot at it.

Yes, say the proponents, but Congress could still assert its supremacy.

Well, I will leave the morality and integrity of it to you. Congress could, of course, in the extremities kick over the traces, precipitate ill will among the Western nations and generally act irresponsibly and willfully obstreperous as a means of reasserting its power.

The question is not only is the OTC proposal constitutional, but is it wise and would it promote good international practice? Would it be sound policy to put Congress into a position in which it cannot legislate as it might wish to, without violating an international agreement?

How, in other words, can the State Department properly make an international agreement that binds Congress against exercising its legislative authority? Yet that is precisely what has been done in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade! Approval of the OTC would mean approval of the General Agreement, which the State Department has agreed that certain tariff rates will be changed by legislation, and that there will be no import quotas established or maintained.

These are all methods of regulating commerce and that power lies with Congress.

Obviously the State Department cannot in fact thus bind Congress; it can agree with other countries that Congress will not act and thus place Congress in the position of acting at the expense of dishonoring the United States! This means that the State Department has put a roadblock across the legislative path of Congress equal in weight to the honor of the country.

What kind of maneuvering is that permits one branch of the

(Continued on Top of Next Page)

## For OTC

can often be surmounted by quality or style factors, by reducing costs or effecting other economies. With quotas this is not possible.

For many years U. S. export trade has suffered greatly from such restrictions imposed by other countries and a major aim of U. S. commercial policy has been to outlaw their use as protective devices. The achievement, therefore, of an agreement among all the major trading nations of the world not to use such restrictive devices for that purpose is a victory of the first magnitude for the principles of foreign trade policy which the United States has itself followed and long urged on the rest of the world.

There are certain exceptions to this general prohibition against quantitative restrictions that are rigorously defined in the General Agreement. The exceptions cover, in general, three situations: (1) to protect the foreign exchange position of countries in balance of payments difficulties; (2) to promote the industrial development of economically underdeveloped

countries; (3) to limit the imports of agricultural products into countries which have domestic price-support schemes and production controls for these products. (The U. S. has been granted a waiver permitting import quotas required by Section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, even in those cases where production controls are not used.)

All countries entitled to maintain quotas by virtue of these provisions must consult periodically with the organization, provide justification for their continued use, and indicate steps taken for their ultimate elimination.

Part II also contains provisions permitting any country to take steps necessary to protect its national security, public morals, health and similar matters.

Finally, the General Agreement also contains the so-called "escape clause." Under this clause a country may modify or withdraw a specific concession if, as a result of unforeseen circumstances, imports of the particular article concerned have caused or threaten to cause serious injury to one of its own industries. This clause is essentially the same as the escape clause the U. S. has included in all its

trade agreements since 1943 which has been part of the Trade Agreements Act since 1951.

**Part III** — The Organization for Trade Cooperation — deals with procedural matters and with other provisions relevant to the Agreement as a whole. Article XXV, now revised, establishes the Organization for Trade Cooperation to administer the General Agreement and to perform the following additional functions:

- (a) to facilitate intergovernmental consultations on questions relating to international trade;
- (b) to sponsor international trade negotiations;
- (c) to study questions of international and commercial policy and, where appropriate, make recommendations thereon;
- (d) to collect, analyze and publish information and statistical data relating to international trade and commercial policy, due regard being paid to the needs in this field of other international bodies.

"The Organization shall have authority to amend the provisions of the General Agreement; no decision or other action of the Assembly"

\*The Assembly consists of all the contracting parties of GATT.

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# TRADE COOPERATION

ernment to place another coordinate branch in such an untenable position?

The Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, himself enunciated the doctrine that has guided State Department action since 1945. Responding to questions from Senator Byrd, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, during hearings on the Trade Agreements Extension bill of 1955, on March 23, 1955, Mr. Dulles declared:

I would go on the theory that when you give the President discretion to negotiate tariff reductions you impliedly also give him discretion to negotiate the conditions and terms under which those reductions are made, and the terms and conditions under which we will get reciprocal advantages.

There you have it in a nutshell! Mr.

Dulles evidently did not stop to think of the implication of this doctrine.

Its fallacy is more readily appreciated if its perils are brought home to us in other fields. When a sheriff deputizes a citizen, for example, to help arrest a citizen suspected of crime, certainly there is no implied discretion vested in the deputy to do as he likes. He is not at liberty to arrest without a warrant, to wield a club or brandish a gun to subdue the suspected person in the absence of strong resistance.

The Secretary is thus obviously on false ground in suggesting that the President *can in his discretion* negotiate the conditions and terms under which the tariff reductions are made. He should rather have said:

The President, subject to constitu-

tional or other legal limitations, can in his discretion negotiate. . . .

Certainly if the condition to be agreed to internationally is that Congress will not legislate, will maintain a standstill in legislative action in a particular field, the agreement would be a gross violation of good faith in the international field and an abominable grasp for unjustified power, in the domestic.

U. S. membership in the OTC should therefore be defeated. Then Congress should call the General Agreement before it for a thorough review. After all, that is what Congress is asked to approve, lock, stock and barrel, without looking at it, in approving the OTC.

END

*any other subsidiary body of the Organization shall have the effect of imposing on a member any new obligation which the member has not specifically agreed to undertake."*

## THE NECESSITY FOR GATT AND THE OTC

It is, of course, difficult to estimate what part the General Agreement has played in the tremendous expansion in world trade in recent years. The value of world trade as a whole during each of the last three years has been more than double that of the best prewar year and its volume has been roughly 25 per cent higher during each of these years than any time in history.

There can be no question that GATT's contribution to this development has been as much in what it has prevented as in what it has positively achieved. During the life of GATT from 1947 on, nothing has happened such as occurred following the first World War when the practice of increasing tariffs and other forms of trade restrictions was so universal as to create virtually a chronic state of trade warfare between nearly all nations. The restrictions which have resulted from the dislocations of World War II have been the subject of constant international consultation under rules laid down by the General Agreement and are now on the decrease. If GATT should be terminated, even now, and no arrangements were made to take its place, the situation after World War I might well be repeated.

Congressional failure to approve

the proposed OTC would greatly weaken the position of the United States in its trade relationships with the other countries of the free world. It would make unworkable the most effective system ever devised by governments for cooperative reduction of the barriers to world trade.

There can be no doubt that such a development would be disastrous for the free world system of alliances, for GATT is the counterpart, in the field of commercial relations, of the free world's military and political alliances, formal and informal. If the free world should not maintain unity and strength in the economic field there can be little hope that our common front in defense against the Communist bloc could endure for long. The GATT system is an essential part of that strength and unity.

## CONTENTIONS AND ANSWERS TO THE OPPOSERS

Opposition to the GATT is based on protectionist and alleged legal grounds. The protectionist contentions are similar to those that have been put forward in opposition to the Trade Agreements Program from the beginning and that are advanced today in opposition to HR I. These need not be enumerated here. The alleged legal arguments rest on the following contentions:

- (1) That the Trade Agreements Act is an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power;
- (2) That the Trade Agreements Act contemplated only the negotiation of bilateral agreements, not a multilateral agreement such as GATT;
- (3) That some of the authority granted

by Congress to the President has been unconstitutionally "redelegated" by him to the GATT organization.

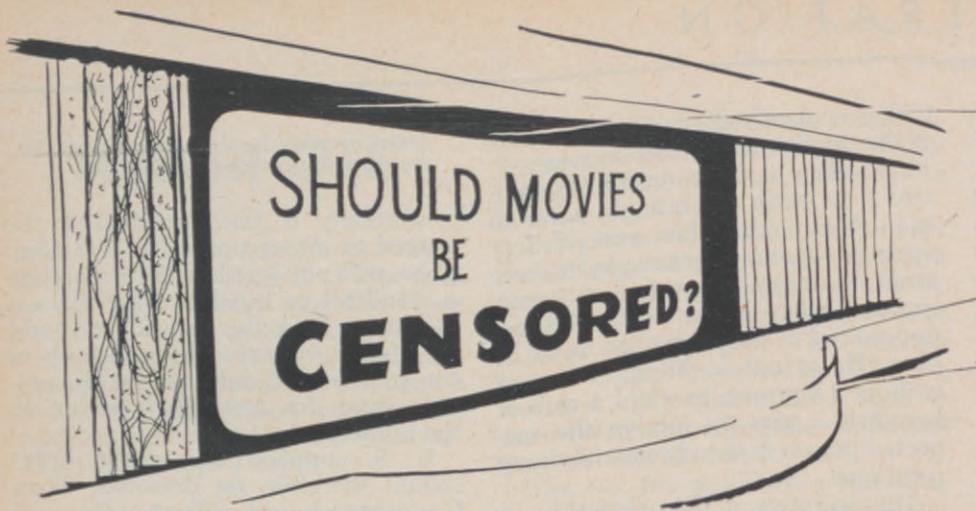
## Constitutionality of the Trade Agreements Act

Under the separation of powers principle of our Constitution the Congress cannot delegate any of its law-making powers to the President. The Supreme Court has held, however, that by legislating an "intelligible principle" or standard in connection with a grant of discretion to the President in administering an act, the Congress has fulfilled its law-making function. In the Trade Agreements Act the main standard laid down to govern the exercise by the President of his discretion is that reductions in the U. S. tariff shall be for the purpose of expanding foreign markets for the products of the U. S., and in order to secure such benefits such reductions shall correspond to action taken by other countries to reduce their barriers against U. S. exports. Congress has renewed this Act nine times since 1934 and thus has repeatedly confirmed its view that this delegation is constitutional.

## Validity of a Multilateral Agreement

The Trade Agreements Act does not limit the President to the negotiation of bilateral agreements nor is there anything in the legislative history of the Act to indicate that Congress intended to confine the authority to the negotiation of bilateral agreements. The purpose of the Act was to expand

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**O**FFICIAL state censorship of movies as currently practiced by six states is distinctly opposed by Arthur De Bra, Director of Community Relations for the Motion Picture Association of America, and guest on a recent Facts Forum Panel program that considered the pro's and con's of the subject. Submitting motion pictures to the famous production code of his organization, however, is on a purely voluntary basis and proves to be a help both to the producers of pictures and to the movie-viewing public, according to Mr. De Bra's interpretation of the system.

All of the regular panelists on the program agreed that state censorship is undesirable, but sharply disagreed as to the merits of the production code or any organized boycotts. These panelists included Professor Charles Hodges, former foreign correspondent and now professor of international politics at New York University; George Hamilton Combs, radio and TV commentator of note and former Democratic congressman from Missouri; and William Buckley, Jr., author of best-sellers and a nationally known lecturer. News analyst Hardy Burt served as moderator.

#### INFLUENCE OF MOVIES USUALLY CONSTRUCTIVE

"Do movies have any moral effects on their audiences?" was the first question projected, with the guest of the hour giving his views first.

"I think that answer needs to be both positive and negative," stated Mr. De Bra. "Movies, by and large, over a period of time do have an effect on the morals of their audiences. But the proposal that any particular movie materially affects the moral thinking or the moral standards of an individual or many individuals is to me quite unthinkable." In ex-

plaining his views further, he stated that the aggregate influence of the movies is a very constructive one, although occasionally there is a movie that could be questioned as to its constructive moral influences.

Mr. Buckley agreed that motion pictures usually do have a positive moral effect, and that there is a lot of uplift in many inspirational-type movies, but added that *any* lapse from a moral standard induced by a single movie is serious and certainly worth talking about.

#### STRONG IMPACT FROM SINGLE PICTURE

Turning to Mr. Combs, Mr. Burt asked the same question and got a very definite answer. "Of course they have an influence," he stated. "We are a part of everything we have seen and heard and read and done. To deny the impact of any single life experience is to deny reality itself." While agreeing with this, panelist Hodges also pointed out that movies not considered "moral" are not necessarily "immoral." As an example he mentioned a movie from several years back, "All Quiet on the Western Front." "It so happens I did a world-wide study of the effects of this single picture, with the alarm it produced in foreign governments wanting to militarize in the face of development of dictatorial approaches to aggression," he recalled. "It was a terrific preachment. A single picture can be a tremendous force."

Mr. Hodges also recognized the problem of the difference between the movie which meets the needs of the mass audience, a typical American family seeking entertainment, and other types of movies. Many pictures are not suitable for mass dissemination, but rather are for adult or limited use. There are many movie houses which run popular pictures, not box

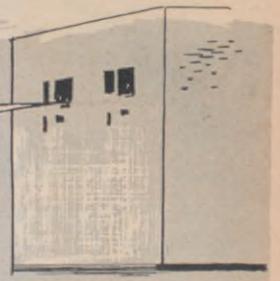
office successes, which do not give anything justifying a Hollywood production. Yet they are splendid, artistic and honest presentations of material in Mr. Hodges' estimation.

Turning to another case in point, moderator Burt referred to a recent movie, "I Am A Camera," which does not meet the moral standards of the production code, and asked the guest panelist his opinion as to whether it should be shown in the general movie houses throughout the United States. "Tell me," he said, "why did the production code of the Motion Picture Association reject this particular movie, and what is the production code exactly?"

"Well, I should like to begin by pointing out to you," stated Mr. De Bra, "that while any producer is free to come to submit his picture to the production code, there is nothing compulsory about it. There are many movies produced here and abroad that are distributed without ever coming within the purview, so to speak, of the production code and its administration. The code was composed largely from the Ten Commandments and from the years of criticism that came to us from all over the world through the years. . . . We kept a record of what was complained about."

#### PRODUCTION CODE REGULATES SELF

"To give you a concrete illustration, most people would complain bitterly," De Bra continued, "when we see a hanging of a man from the top of a tree as you would see in a close-up on the camera, swinging and forth. So one day an imaginary camera man down in Mexico in a court was caught by the shadow in the sharp shadow on a wall. A hanging was to take place, and he focused his camera on the shadow on the



- X State censorship and organized boycotts are vigorously opposed by some participants on a recent Facts Forum Panel program.
- ✓ Voluntary censorship by submitting pictures to a production code is approved by guest panelist Arthur De Bra and another portion of the panel.

instead of upon the deceased body. . . . We got no letters of protest!"

Continuing his description of the Production Code Administration, Mr. De Bra emphasized that its function is one of self-regulation. All producers have voluntarily entered into agreement, with nothing imposed from the outside. Twelve men review all the pictures with the companies in the process from the time the script begins



Guest panelist Arthur De Bra, Director of Community Relations for the Motion Picture Association of America.

until the picture is finished. In the case of the film, "I Am A Camera," according to Mr. De Bra, these men pointed out difficulties in this script when it first came in, and worked with the studio as they went along. Even so, the studio and the producer involved insisted on putting some things into the picture which were a violation of the production code. Mr. De Bra ex-

plained also that once the Production Code Administration has denied a code seal to a picture, the producer has a right to appeal to the board of directors of the Motion Picture Association, composed of the presidents of these companies, "whose judgment about entertainment is motivated to a good extent by economic necessity, and consequently are pretty careful judges. And in this instance they upheld the Production Code Administration," he said. Also, there is nothing to preclude the producer of this picture from releasing his film to the exhibitors, without approval, although he would be taking certain financial risks.

#### OPPOSITION TO STATE CENSORSHIP

Moving from the discussion of the voluntary production code to that of state censorship, Mr. Buckley and Mr. Combs both voiced their strong opposition to such laws. According to Mr. Buckley, "We ought always to resist the temptation to let the state do our work for us: (A) because it implies giving additional coercive authority to the state, which, as a libertarian, I disapprove of; and (B) because the state is not as sensitive as individual human beings are to various shades and distinctions and innuendoes which ought to be taken into account. Therefore it's infinitely better to have a private organization and private individuals exercise their own judgment."

Although agreeing on opposition to censorship laws, Mr. Combs and Mr. Buckley sharply disagreed over the merits of privately organized boycotts. The latter approved of a voluntary boycott, or action of the kind that an enraged society "ought occasionally to take to curb people who refuse to discipline themselves . . .," that is, producers who affront society. Mr. Combs, on the other hand, expressed disapproval of any form of boycott if organ-

ized, branding it "outrageous, indefensible in every respect."

Mr. Buckley asked of Mr. Combs, "Would you go so far as to condemn the Anti-Defamation League for boycotting an anti-Semitic movie? For example, certain scenes from 'Oliver Twist'?"

"I think they are wrong to boycott," replied Mr. Combs. "It would seem to me that it would depend entirely upon the spirit animating them, and I question very seriously whether any social group is justified in organizing what is an economic weapon. When you come right down to it, that's what it is."

Conversely, Mr. Buckley observed that it is up to the individual whether or not to observe the boycott. Also, he expressed doubt that the Anti-Defamation League has any coercive authority over the Jews patronizing controversial movies, but thought they have the right to point out such movies, and to urge Jewish people not to patronize them.

#### AFFECTS BOX OFFICE

Also opposed to state censorship of moving pictures, Professor Hodges had the further observation to make that state censorship is an impossible situation in a union of 48 states. What it actually does is possibly to tip the balance of judgment so that a few states can really affect the whole success of a given movie by denying permission for its showing and disagreeing with very respectable organizations. In regard to privately organized boycott, Mr. Hodges expressed again his very firm opposition, labeling it "collective control" of his freedom.

Taking a more intermediary stand between the two extremes of opinion regarding group boycotts, guest panelist De Bra went back to the workings

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## NO SECRETS ANYMORE?

By WARREN E. BURGER

Assistant Attorney General of the United States

ONE OF THE earliest recollections I have of the judicial process goes back to an early visit to a courtroom in the early 1930's when I was admitted to practice law. The care used in the selection of the jurors, the careful explanation by the judge of the duties and responsibilities of the jury as a part of the judicial system, and later the solemnity of the oath of the witness and the careful charge of the judge, all made a very vivid impression on me. But no single phase of the process of trial by jury left such a strong impact on my mind as the oath which the judge personally administered to the court bailiff when the judge's charge to the jury was closed.

The judge called two bailiffs — a man and a woman — before the Bench and all raised their right hands as the judge administered an oath by which the bailiffs pledged that they would keep the jurors together, separate and apart from all other persons until they reached a verdict. They also swore that they would permit no person to approach the jurors or speak to them or permit anyone to overhear their deliberations — further that they, the bailiffs, would not communicate with jurors except to convey messages from or to the judge.

I checked two federal districts and found two fairly typical oaths of this kind — although some courts use no oath at all, merely giving the bailiff or marshal an instruction. One reads thus:

*Address delivered recently before the Northwest Regional Meeting of the American Bar Association.*

You do solemnly swear that you will take this jury to some safe, quiet and convenient place and permit no one to speak to them nor to speak to them yourself unless it be to ask if they have agreed upon their verdict, so help you God.

Another spells out the duty more fully; thus:

Do you solemnly swear that when this court commits these twelve jurors to your care and custody you will use all reasonable means to keep them in a body as they deliberate, that you will not suffer them to speak to any other person, nor suffer others to speak to them, and that you will preserve and protect the privacy of their deliberations on this case and that you will report promptly to this court any deviations from their complete privacy until they have reached a verdict, so help you God?

Each of these oaths, of course, is merely declaratory of what lawyers and judges under the English and American systems of law have taken for granted for hundreds of years. Spoken or unspoken, every judge and every officer of the court, the clerk, the bailiff, the reporter, and, of course, the lawyers have always had a solemn obligation to protect the complete and absolute privacy of jury room deliberations.

This concept of the sanctity and utter privacy of juries has been carried to the point that it appears to be the general rule that most courts will not even receive the affidavit of a juror or outsider *after* trial to impeach the verdict because of misconduct of the jury. This is not the universal rule, but it is clearly the majority rule. The records are replete with cases in which eavesdropping on

jury deliberations by newspaper reporters or others has been punished for contempt. In one case which is typical, a reporter concealed himself in a closet and took shorthand notes which he later published. Although he had made no effort to influence the verdict and his presence was not even known to the jury, the (Texas) court in imposing a sentence, said:

This indefensible conduct of the reporter . . . was a flagrant contempt of the court, and a most reprehensible invasion of the precincts of justice, which should have been . . . promptly and severely punished by the trial court. (6 S.W. 544.)

It is possibly of some significance that the jury system as we know it has been one of the distinguished judicial features of the two countries — England and the United States — in which individual liberties, rights, if you please, and respect for the worth and dignity of the individual have had the longest and strongest standing. This recognition of the worth and importance of the individual has historically gone hand in hand with the willingness of people in these two systems to trust private disputes and even their liberties to the decision of their neighbors and fellow citizens. The Anglo-Saxon system of justice and our own — have rejected the notion that trial of basic issues of right and wrong is the province of experts of science, sociology, or of the law. We have always preferred to have a case presided over by one man, preferably an expert in the law. The tradition, of course, affirmatively guar-

tees the right of trial by jury and vests in jurors all powers as triers of the facts.

No one should contend that the system of trial by jury is the perfect attainment or that it cannot be improved upon. But as human institutions go, it has served pretty well to resolve private quarrels and to try public offenders. It is within the reach of recorded history when these issues were tried by having a man thrust his hand in scalding water and then judge the matter by the degree of the burn or infection — or carry live coals five paces with the same end in view. Trial by battle of the litigants or their nominees is not too far back in the history of man.

### THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC FINANCES RESEARCH

Slowly and painfully and haltingly, man has seen trial by jury develop as the best means of dealing with certain human problems. But since it is not a perfect machine, scientifically accurate and reliable, like an IBM machine or UNIVAC, the jury system has been subjected to some criticism by a small — a very small — minority of well intentioned men who are impatient with the slow process in the evolution of human institutions.

Let me state first what we have thus far learned about the genesis and development of this research project into what goes on in the jury room.

A group of professors and researchers formed a team to take a close look into what goes on in a jury room.

They were financed by a very liberal grant from a large philanthropic foundation. The size of the grant may be judged from the fact that it took two years and a large outlay of cash to develop the first look at five Federal Court juries in Wichita, Kansas, and the whole project is said to contemplate a check on five hundred to a thousand juries in all.

The location of the court, and the identity of the judge are known but the research group laid down such careful safeguards of internal security that as yet they have declined to identify the particular cases — even to the government of the United States.

This latter precaution is of course understandable because the indignation of those jurors whose jury room conversations were recorded for posterity will doubtless have an unhappy effect on the future progress of this research project.

One of the professors guiding this project described the problem in this way:

The committee recognizes that if a significant job is to be accomplished that it will be necessary to obtain specific and concrete information as to

what actually goes on in a jury room. The only means by which the committee can assimilate scientific, accurate information concerning the actual functioning of a jury is to obtain the assistance of trial courts to the extent that actual recordings are made of a substantial number of actual jury deliberations. It is the hope of the research committee that a minimum of five hundred transcriptions can be assembled over the next three-year period.

The committee would prefer to obtain these records in the various federal courts because of their belief that a testing program in an area where juries are generally considered to be of the highest quality would more accurately reflect the true worth of the jury system than would recordings taken from some jurisdictions where the administration of the jury system has been questioned.

Naturally it is not intended any testing methods be made of jury deliberations in criminal cases nor is it intended that such transcriptions be made of any particular case without the consent of trial counsel for the respective litigants.

It is proposed that the experimental work be carried out under very definite rules designed to fully protect all jurors against any identification.

The committee has already made preliminary experiments with various types of recording equipment. In the committee's opinion the technical aspects of this problem will be easily handled.

A formal set of rules for use of the equipment will be approved by each trial judge . . . before the project is commenced in any court. In order to be specific we have prepared the following proposed rules with the expectation that there will be suggestions made for their improvement. . . .

1. A recording microphone will be placed in each jury room. The recording instrument with a satisfactory looking device will be placed in the judge's office or at such other place as the trial judge may designate. The trial judge will be the sole custodian of the key. The operation of the instrument will be the responsibility of the court reporter or such other person as the trial judge may designate.

2. No recordings will be made in criminal cases. No recordings will be made in civil cases without the consent of counsel for each party.

3. When a recording is taken of a jury deliberation the record will be sealed and will remain in the custody of the trial judge or such other person as he may designate until final judgment has been entered and all appeals have been terminated. . . .

Careful instructions were laid down to insure secrecy and to prevent any influence whatever on the particular case. The instructions continue:

4. The entire project insofar as it involves the recording of jury deliberations will receive no publicity from any source until after the project is completed.

These are by no means all the instructions and safeguards but they are the essential parts.

In setting forth all these factors, I would like to emphasize that my primary purpose is to provoke . . . a searching debate on the validity of this kind of inquiry into the jury room.

On a matter of this kind a lawyer

is likely to have strong feelings, and even if I were disposed to withhold my own views, I would find difficulty in doing so.

### BROWNELL UPHOLDS JURY PRIVACY

Very shortly after this matter became known, Attorney General Brownell made a statement to the press in which he expressed — and I might say, with great restraint — his views. He said:

. . . in the spring of 1954, apparently with the consent of the Judge and the lawyers on both sides, a Federal Court jury room was wired with a hidden microphone and all the deliberations of the jury were fully recorded. This was done without the knowledge or consent of the jurors and without the knowledge or consent of the Attorney General, in at least five civil cases.

We in the Department of Justice are unequivocally opposed to any recording or eavesdropping on the deliberations of a jury under any conditions regardless of the purpose. Such practices, however well intentioned, obviously and inevitably stifle the discussion and free exchange of ideas between jurors. They tend to destroy the very basis for common judgment among the jurors, upon which the institution of trial by jury is based, and are inconsistent with the purposes of the Seventh Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which requires that trial by jury shall be preserved.

The Department of Justice will present for the consideration of Congress at the first opportunity a proposed bill to prevent such intrusions upon the privacy of the deliberations of both grand and petit juries of the courts of the United States by any persons whomsoever and by any means whatsoever.

I might add that this also represents the unanimous opinion of Mr. Brownell's assistants. In fact, when I first heard of the newspaper stories, I personally felt that an enterprising lawyer had played a very nasty practical joke on some hapless newspaper reporter who failed to check on his facts. But it is not a hoax. It is a fact that this has occurred.

The question is simply this: Is there any objective, any circumstance which justifies an invasion of the traditional privacy and confidence of jury deliberations by permitting surreptitious eavesdropping by means of hidden microphones and recording devices?

Trial by jury is as deeply and firmly rooted in our system of justice as any single part. It is more than a major stone in the structure — it is the keystone in a very real sense. It is the ordinary citizen's leavening in a system necessarily operated by trained professionals. Anything which strikes at the jury system strikes at the heart of our administration of justice.

It is relevant to inquire then as to what place the secrecy and privacy of jury deliberations holds in this sys-

tem. Is privacy a luxury appended to the institution simply to make the job of jurors easier and less embarrassing? Or is the confidence of the jury room part of the very fabric of the system itself?

### SANCTITY OF JURY RESPECTED THROUGH CENTURIES

It is an interesting thing that in this slow evolution of the jury system, there is a common thread which runs virtually without interruption as we look at the history from a period about four hundred years ago. This common thread of fundamental principle that runs through this history of the trial by jury is that the jury should be protected and isolated from all extraneous disturbances or influences, not only during the trial, but in the course of their deliberations and until it reaches a verdict. As early as the fourteenth century, the English jury was prevented from separating or breaking up while it was carrying on its deliberations and it was prohibited from having any contact or conversation with other persons until after the verdict had been reached. One historian, commenting on the fourteenth century origin of this concept, points out that this was a necessary rule during that period of time in the litigation when the parties or friends of the parties would be only too ready to use all the devices, either of corruption, intimidation, or persuasion to influence the verdict. Blackstone has this to say in his work in discussing the jury system:

The jury, after the proofs are summed up, unless the case be very clear (when presumably they could decide it in the open courtroom) withdraw from the bar so as to consider their verdicts. . . . If they speak to either of the parties or their agents after they are gone from the bar, or if they receive any fresh evidence in private, or if to prevent disputes they cast lots for whom they shall find, any of these circumstances will entirely vitiate the verdict.

There is a very interesting case reported in Volume 279, United States Reports, page 749. In that case, an important criminal trial was being conducted in Washington. One of the defendants requested the court to lock the jury up during the course of the trial because he feared it would be tampered with by those bent upon his conviction. The court refused to lock the jury up and so the defendant decided that he would conduct a surveillance at his own expense of the members of the jury and he employed fourteen detectives of the Burns Detective Agency to keep surveillance on the jurors at all times when they were not in the courtroom. When the case reached the Supreme Court it was conceded that all of the detectives were explicitly directed not to speak

to the jurors, not to attempt to influence them in any way, but merely to keep track of their activities and to report to the principal who was the defendant in the case. Justice McReynolds, speaking for the Supreme Court of the United States, had this to say, and I would like to quote directly from the case:

Counsel (for the defendant) maintained that the petition does not adequately charge and the record fails to show misbehavior by appellants which obstructed the administration of justice within Section 268 of the Judicial Code since there is neither an averment nor evidence that any operative actually approached or communicated with a juror or attempted so to do or that any juror was conscious of observation. The insistence is that to establish misbehavior within that section it was essen-



Warren E. Burger

tial to show some act both known by a juror and probably sufficient to influence his mind. We cannot accept this view. It would destroy the power of the courts adequately to protect themselves — to enforce their right of self-preservation. . . . The situation is controlled by the reasonable tendencies of the acts done and not by extreme and substantial impossible assumptions on the subject. . . . The wrong depends upon the tendency of the acts to accomplish this result without reference to considerations of how far they may have been without influence in a particular case.

Under the doctrine so stated, we think the trial judge rightly held it unnecessary to allege or show actual contact between an operative of the detective agency and a juror or that any juror had knowledge of being observed. The reasonable tendency of the acts done is the proper criterion. Neither actual effect produced upon a juror's mind nor his consciousness of extraneous influence was an essential element of the offense.

That the acts here disclosed, and for which three of the appellants were certainly responsible, tended to obstruct the honest and fair administration of justice, we cannot doubt. The jury is an essential instrumentality — an appendage — of the court, the body ordained to pass upon guilt or innocence. Exercise of calm and informed

judgment by its members is essential to the proper enforcement of law. The most exemplary resent having their footsteps dogged by private detectives. . . . The mere suspicion that he, his family, and friends are being subjected to surveillance by such persons is enough to destroy the equilibrium of the average juror and render impossible the exercise of calm judgment upon patient consideration. If those fit for juries understand that they may be freely subjected to treatment like that here disclosed, they will either shun the burdens of service or perform it with disquiet and disgust. Trial by capable juries in important cases probably would become an impossibility.

Here we have a case in which the Supreme Court of the United States has held that the mere act of having members of the jury observed in the out-of-court hours and followed whether the purpose be to protect them from tampering, or whatever was an act which not only violated the right of privacy of the jurors individually and collectively but also contempt of the court itself.

The more important thing is the Court's language which points out the pernicious effect of such practices upon jurors, and upon the deliberations of juries. If that be true, the violation of merely having a juror followed from the courthouse to his home to see that he is not tampered with, how much more true it is of the process of recording the most intimate comments of the jury about the conduct of the case, about the witnesses, probably about the lawyers certainly about the litigants, and possibly even about the judge?

This project of examining into the function of the jury mind was apparently not to be an isolated or a tentative thing by any means. The fact that only five cases were the subject of this surreptitious eavesdropping and the identity of the cases has yet been learned by anyone in government, so far as we know. Correspondence which has been made public to some extent, indicates that the research project was of sweeping proportions and contemplated the surveillance and surreptitious eavesdropping of five hundred to a thousand juries to get a cross-section of the entire country. Just as they were going to allocate these districts or otherwise, it not yet known.

It has been suggested by the searchers in defense of this project that the lawyers consented and the court consented. I suggest that would be no different and no more defensible if the jurors and the lawyers together arranged to place a microphone in the judge's chambers to record his discussions with his clerk. . . .

I leave this subject for your consideration and debate.



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## Secretary Stimson: A Study in Statecraft

By Richard N. Current, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J., 1954, ix, 272 pp., \$4.50.

This is the first presentation of the motives and conduct of any of the outstanding American public figures who put the United States into the second World War which is both realistic and concentrates almost wholly upon foreign policy. John T. Flynn's *The Roosevelt Myth* dealt more at length with the President's domestic policy than with his foreign program. Robert Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins* was an unabashed apology for the works and personalities of these two men and gave as much attention to domestic as to foreign policy. Professor Current devotes his book almost entirely to a critical and informed survey of Stimson's career in relation to the various phases of our foreign policy in which Stimson took a leading part for nearly forty years. The book is a masterpiece both of historical scholarship and objective restraint. It gives us the first true picture of Stimson the man and Stimson the public servant. Current lets the facts tell their own story, rather than selecting facts to fit into a preconceived interpretation.

Although Stimson has been hailed by powerful newspapers, generals and politicians as a great "tower," "pillar" and "column" among the Americans of our time, few public reputations crumble more completely before realistic exposition and objective analysis. Bertrand Russell once wrote an article on "The Harm That Good Men Do." This is essentially the story that Professor Current's book tells relative to the public career of Henry L. Stimson. Few men brought more disaster to the United States and the world in recent times than Mr. Stimson, and if he had not been restrained by more level heads like that of President Hoover, he would have been even more dangerous to his country and humanity. It is not an exaggeration to state that virtually every act and policy associated with Stimson's public life, so far as it touched foreign policy, was mistaken and detrimental to the cause of peace and justice. Two concessions may be made to the Stimson "myth." He did, insofar as his failing intellectual and physical powers permitted,

conduct the War Department from June, 1940, until the end of the war in an efficient and non-partisan manner, and he vigorously opposed the disastrous Stalin-White-Morgenthau Plan for the economic destruction of Germany after the war.

Professor Current examines the origins and nature of Stimson's lifelong program of setting the world straight by law or force in a brilliant chapter on "The Yale Man's Burden." Then, he begins the appalling story of the career of "Wrong-Horse Harry" in public life, mainly as it touches international affairs, by reference to his unsuccessful attempt to get President Taft to intervene in Mexico to put down a revolution. After assuming a prominent role in the propaganda leading the United States to intervene in the first World War, Stimson took a creditable personal part in the war as an artillery commander, although he saw to it that the rigors of war were tempered by ample sampling of the French cooking which he so relished. Under President Coolidge, he undertook the task of man-handling the radical forces in Nicaragua, an assignment which his predecessor, Lawrence Dennis, had declined to execute.

As Secretary of State under President Hoover, he presided with great unction and fanfare over the signing of the greatest international fraud of our time, the Kellogg-Briand Pact to renounce war. Naively but disastrously, he took this fakery seriously enough to contend that it outlawed all aggression and made the aggressors "war criminals." This led to the famous Stimson policy of the non-recognition of nations whom Stimson regarded as "aggressors," and the use of sanctions to hold them in line, unless their defiance of sanctions made it necessary to restrain them by force. No other dogma or policy did as much to give a disastrous turn to American foreign policy and threaten the peace of the world. Fortunately, President Hoover's good judgment prevented Stimson from plunging the world into war with Japan in the early 1930's. This Stimson doctrine was also used as the basis of the prosecution of war criminals after the war, an ill-starred process which assured that no possible methods of brutal and destructive warfare will be withheld in the next war.

Irrked by Hoover's statesmanlike restraint, Stimson was determined to sell his bellicose program to President-elect Roosevelt. He had no problem in achieving this aspiration because one of his former assistants had been Felix Frankfurter, then the closest confidant of Mr. Roosevelt. Stimson saw Roosevelt at Hyde Park on January 9, 1933. Since Roosevelt's attitude toward Japan was very hostile and was based almost entirely on quasi-infantile prejudices against Japan and for China, Stimson had no difficulty in selling his "bill of goods" to Roosevelt, who followed the Stimson doctrine in regard to Japan without serious variations right down to the provocation of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Stimson aided the trend with almost frantic vigor all along the way by speeches, letters and articles in which he deplored Mr. Roosevelt's ostensible isolationist policies, urged the use of a strong Stimsonian hand in dealing with both European and Asiatic nations, initiated the plan for the peacetime draft, advocated giving unneutral aid to England, and the like. He was suitably rewarded by being made Secretary of War in June, 1940. From that point onward, the Stimson program became in more forthright fashion the policy of Roosevelt and Hull in dealing with both Germany and, especially, Japan.

Stimson took a leading part in the diplomatic game designed to provoke the Japanese to make an attack on the United States, an attack which came at Pearl Harbor. He advocated the rejection of the conciliatory Japanese gestures and diplomatic proposals which would have preserved peace with no danger to American interests in the Far East, and his policy of using economic and financial pressure to strangle Japan was put into active operation within two weeks after he entered the War Department — a policy which Roosevelt had been toying with ever since he had his talk with Stimson in 1933 and had planned to launch as early as 1937. Stimson encouraged this aggressive diplomatic strategy which had as its aim enticing the Japanese to launch a surprise attack on the United States and thus facilitate our entry into the war, even confessing openly to this with a famous entry in his *Diary* on November 25, 1941. Although he had available the decoded Japanese messages revealing the imminent attack on Pearl Harbor, he failed to order the warning of the American commanders there, and later went to discreditable extremes in the effort to obscure or cause the evidence exposing this serious delinquency to be considered false. Stimson was, however, personally impatient about waiting for the



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Japanese attack. He wished to execute his own "Pearl Harbor" by a surprise sneak airplane attack on the Japanese fleet as it by-passed the Philippines on its way to the South Pacific. President Roosevelt vetoed this proposal on the ground that it would torpedo the "official record" of the administration in regard to its promise not to move without being attacked. But Stimson's proposal of a sneak attack by the United States provides a not too oblique commentary on the moral hypocrisy of Mr. Roosevelt in his remarks before Congress about "the Day of Infamy" when he asked for a declaration of war the day after Pearl Harbor.

Other chapters deal with Stimson's role in the disgraceful transplantation of loyal Japanese-American citizens to concentration camps remote from their homes on the Pacific Coast; his advocacy of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima after he knew that the Japanese were trying to surrender and had offered peace terms much like those accepted in August, 1945; his deplorable fantasy in helping to formulate the legal subterfuges under which Nazi "war criminals" were tried at Nuremberg; and his role in launching the United States into the Orwellian era in which it is proclaimed that "war is peace" and vice-versa.

The only weak spot in Professor Current's book lies in his treatment of the attitude of Roosevelt and his entourage in the days immediately preceding Pearl Harbor. Here he indulges in a degree of myth and fancy equal to that of writers like Robert Sherwood and Jonathan Daniels, although obviously not from the same motives or for a similar purpose.

Professor Current's argument is the following. With Roosevelt's approval, we had entered into a secret agreement with the British and the Dutch at Singapore in the spring of 1941. We would make war upon Japan if her forces crossed a mystic line in the Pacific (100° East and 10° North) even though the Japanese made no attack on American forces or territory. For a brief moment, it looked as though the Japanese were not going through with their attack on Pearl Harbor, but were moving toward this arbitrary line. This so excited and alarmed Roosevelt and his associates that they feared the attack on Pearl Harbor would not come off, some

perhaps being so distracted that they even momentarily forgot the danger there.

There is no doubt that the White House and the warmongering strategists in the Cabinet were panic-stricken for a time over this possibility of having to make war without any Japanese attack — and the probable effect on the American people if Mr. Roosevelt tried to get a declaration of war without the hoped-for attack on the United States, thus violating the Democratic campaign promises and platform of 1940.

But this alarm passed away with the receipt of the welcome news (decoded Japanese messages) which revealed, as clearly as daylight, that the Japanese would attack Pearl Harbor. The Japanese government had ordered its spies in the Hawaiian Islands to make daily reports on the American military and naval situation at Pearl Harbor, but requested no such information about any other American outpost in the Pacific. By the evening of December 6th, the Japanese reply to Hull's ultimatum of November 26th convinced Roosevelt that war with Japan was about to break out. By 8:00 a.m. on the morning of December 7th, it was clear that the Japanese would attack Pearl Harbor at 1:00 p.m. that day, or 7:30 a.m., Pearl Harbor time. On December 7th, as sources friendly to the White House tell us, President Roosevelt was fully relaxed over his stamp collection while Harry Hopkins fondled Fala, the President's Scotty terrier, both impatiently and expectantly awaiting the news of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Admiral Theobald has made it clear that Roosevelt had ordered that no warning should be sent to General Short or Admiral Kimmel at Pearl Harbor before noon of December 7th, thus making it certain that any information that arrived would be too late to make possible any defensive preparations that might frighten off the Japanese task force.

Only one favorable tribute may be paid to the public career of Henry L. Stimson. He was not a physical coward. In his politics, he may have been almost invariably "Wrong-Horse Harry." But he never asked others to do what he himself was afraid to tackle. Although he was the chief author of the draft of 1940, he was also a volunteer in the first World War

and, but for his age, he might well have asked to fight in the second conflict — unless he felt that he could serve his country better in a civilian role.

—HARRY ELMER BARNES

## Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace

Edited by Harry Elmer Barnes, The Century Company, Inc., New York, 1953, 679 pp., \$6.00.

No less an authority than the *New York Times* recently confirmed, inadvertently, the thesis of this outstanding book. In an editorial, the *Times* proclaimed, as one phase of our "partisan" foreign policy, that the U.S. government is continually engaged in a "war for peace." Well, that is exactly what revisionist historians such as Harry Elmer Barnes, the editor of this book, and Charles A. Beard, the originator of its title, have contended along. That our present foreign policy — inaugurated by Roosevelt and continued by his successors — is one of perpetual intervention and war under the pretense of establishing peace, presented with devastating documentation. The highly publicized version of history — history written to seduce and preserve Roosevelt's prestige — does not hold up well under the penetrating scrutiny of these authors.

Now that a leading example of "liberal" journalism and a violent revisionist has agreed with other revisionists on what our foreign policy is, perhaps the virtues of such a policy can be debated. Inasmuch as global meddling consumes about 10 per cent of our national expenditures (not to mention the casualties of two and-a-half foreign wars), foreign policy would appear to be a debatable subject. How we reached where we are might also be of interest to Americans.

The sentiments of interventionist liberals may have been well expressed in another *Times* editorial which indignantly denounced Khrushchev's recent attempt to rewrite history. This new-found attitude does not square with the lofty frowns which the *Times* and other journals have greeted various scholarly attempts to contest American "history." But it is always difficult to get any decent recording of history as long as hordes of journalists, editors, and politicians have a vested interest in the official mythology. That as it may, one of the main purposes of the writers of this volume is that of combatting the body of "history" that is still being maintained in many quarters. They have a right, too, for any sort of intelligent approach to contemporary problems is difficult, if not impossible, when

derives from a fraudulent statement of recent history. All we get is a frustrating repetition of past mistakes. We have, at least, furnished an impressive illustration of the scriptural injunction, "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper."

There is nothing remarkable about the creation of a great mass of false history during a war. History is the first casualty of any war. The pragmatic necessities of uniting the populace in the war effort, of withholding information from the enemy, not to mention the temptation experienced by politicians and pundits to conceal their indiscretions and magnify their reputations — these all militate against historical truth in any war, in any country. The normal process in a free republic, after the unpleasantness are concluded, is to set the record straight. And in this endeavor, historians usually enlist with great zest. In our present case, it would appear that our Republic has lost a measure of freedom, or else that a large number of historians have lost their customary zest. The purveyors of stale mythology are many, and the communication facilities they control are great. Those who question the phony record are few and have, at best, a difficult time of it. And, according to the *Times*, these boorish questioners should be called to account by the American people, — whatever the *Times* may mean by that.

The problem is not so much that of a number of historians placed on the public payroll to write history as the politicians want it written. In a totalitarian country this is the only history — take it and like it. The depressing aspect, as Dr. Barnes sees it, is the vast horde of voluntary conspirators of silence — those who, without compulsion, participate in perpetuation of obviously false versions of history. Dr. Barnes stated the case neatly in one of his earlier brochures:

"Nothing worse has happened to any prominent Russian historian behind the Iron Curtain in the last twenty-five years, even though in the Soviet realm telling the unvarnished truth may be a capital crime. In some ways, the 'voluntary servitude' of the American court historians and whitewashers is more deplorable and corroding to the soul than enforced subservience. It is less reprehensible to want to tell the truth and yet be unable to tell it than it is to be free to be truthful and not wish to be."

Those who plead with us not to dredge up past mistakes have, at times, displayed almost a psychopathic hatred toward those who are unduly inquisitive in these matters. Dr. Charles A. Beard wrote two great and unchallengeable volumes on the

Roosevelt foreign policy: *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940*; and *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941*. For his pains, he was subjected to the most incredible sort of smear by some of the very journals that had theretofore hailed him as the greatest American historian. The performance was one of the most obscene in the history of American journalism. The pitiful thing about the whole performance was not in any remote prospect that Dr. Beard's reputation for scholarly and objective work would be damaged. The tragedy lay in the dense blindness which prevented the smear artists from seeing what they were doing to themselves. Once enmeshed in the toils of deception, there would be few to display the moral and intellectual integrity to break away. The sorry spectacle today is not so much that of honest writers being given the smear or silent treatment. It is the spectacle of historical and journalistic degeneracy brought about by those who seem to feel such a compulsion to return to their folly and who are so

allergic to any discussion of the dishonest methods used to bring about this "war for peace" or inconsiderate mention of the obvious fruits. If a few innocent bystanders, such as Admiral Kimmel and General Short, get hurt in the process, that would presumably come under the heading of "just too bad."

So, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* is a most welcome volume. While the account of the secret manipulations leading up to American intervention in World War II, together with even the most cursory examination of the fruits, is not a pretty picture, it is somehow far more refreshing than reading pitiable and futile attempts to bar the door to truth in these matters. This compendium represents the best overall survey of foreign policy for the general reader. The most extensive development can be found in Charles Callan Tansill's great work, *Back Door to War*.

In fact, Professor Tansill has contributed two comprehensive chapters for this book. One deals with diplomatic history in Europe, beginning

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## Book Reviews

with the Treaty of Versailles. The other deals with Far Eastern policy. Professor Tansill, probably America's leading authority on diplomatic history, is professor of American diplomatic history at Georgetown University. He is the author of many books in his field, including one of the best revisionist histories of World War I.

Before turning to successful intervention in the Pacific, President Roosevelt had been carrying on an undeclared shooting war in the Atlantic. But Hitler, for all his criminal folly, had been shrewd enough to avoid giving Roosevelt the incident which would provoke an open American declaration of war. A chapter, "Roosevelt is Frustrated in Europe," is provided by Dr. Frederic R. Sanborn. Dr. Sanborn, who specializes in international law and diplomacy, had already written an earlier revisionist study, *Design for War: A Study of Secret Power Politics, 1937-1941*.

Dr. William L. Neumann is a leading authority on Far Eastern history, especially Japanese history. His chapter is an excellent concise history of American-Japanese relations from 1921 to Pearl Harbor. Dr. Neumann's *Making the Peace, 1941-1945*, published in 1950, is one of the very best accounts we have on how we lost the peace in the wartime conferences.

George Morgenstern got the smear treatment when he published his book, *Pearl Harbor*, in 1947. But Charles A. Beard termed the book "a permanent contribution to the quest for an understanding of the tragedy of Pearl Harbor." Dr. Beard's estimate now stands as being well-confirmed. For this compendium, Mr. Morgenstern has written on the same subject in a chapter entitled, "The Actual Road to Pearl Harbor."

Percy L. Greaves, Jr., has devoted himself mainly to research rather than to writing. But his experience particularly qualified him to treat the subject of his chapter, "The Pearl Harbor Investigations." Mr. Greaves was employed personally by Senator Owen Brewster to assist the minority members of the joint Pearl Harbor investigating committee. For the revelation of a considerable number of facts that were supposed to be kept concealed, a generous measure of credit must go to Mr. Greaves. And, if the secret manipulation of America into the war presents a sorry spectacle, the efforts

to conceal and suppress the truth later are even more disgusting.

William Henry Chamberlain, a journalist who spent twelve years in Moscow, writes a chapter appropriately entitled, "The Bankruptcy of a Policy." Mr. Chamberlain has been persistent in calling attention to the awful and tragic fruits of global interventionism and war. His earlier book, *America's Second Crusade*, is a brilliant treatment of the results in moral and physical destruction and slavery.

George A. Lundberg, an eminent sociologist, served as consultant for the National Resources Planning Board. He later became head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Washington. His chapter approaches the subject of American foreign policy from the sociological standpoint, and as it may be regarded in the light of national interest. While some might be inclined to disagree with his eco-

logical approach at some points, the will find Dr. Lundberg's discussion of American foreign policy based on a concept of continentalism informative and helpful.

In reasoning from the standpoint of ecology, Dr. Lundberg keeps his feet squarely on the ground. Here we get a welcome relief from the fanciful flights of our amateur UNESCO-oriented ecologists. One paragraph brings these things back into the realm of reason and deserves quotation:

"The current definition of the issue, therefore, in terms of internationalism versus isolation, is a thoroughly erroneous and mischievous categorization designed to obscure the real problem and to prevent our coming to grips with it. It is not at all a question of nationalism versus internationalism but purely a question of the type and extent of international organization and the definition of the units to

### SENATOR WATKINS CORRECTS INACCURACY

(in "Water Resources and Power," December issue of *Facts Forum News*)

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#### United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

December 19, 1955

Facts Forum, Inc.  
1710 Jackson Street  
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Editor:

Your December issue carried a summary of a radio interview with me on the program, "Reporters Roundup".

I greatly appreciate your willingness to print this summary. I agree heartily with the expressed purpose of your magazine, which is dedicated to "arousing public interest in important current events and stimulating individual participation in the shaping of public policy." I have seen, rather infrequently, copies of your magazine. I think you have, generally speaking, accomplished your objective, and in doing so have rendered a very distinct beneficial service in bringing discussions of important issues to the knowledge of the American people.

As oftentimes happens in reporting radio interviews, some inaccuracies have crept into the summary which you printed of the interview with me. On page 29, at the end of the first full paragraph in the left-hand column, it is stated: "The project as authorized in the Senate bill will take between 10 and 35 years to complete and represent a total cost of \$1,900,000,000." This sum is referred to as the total cost of \$ 500, which was passed by the Senate during the last session. The total sum as mentioned in the paragraph quoted is inaccurate. What I intended to say, and what I believe I did say, was that the total cost of \$ 500 would be \$1,099,800,000. There are several other inaccuracies of a minor nature which I shall not attempt to correct at this time. Had I known this interview was to be reprinted in part, I would have requested permission to see the transcript for the purpose of making whatever corrections were necessary. I think you will agree with me that the error which in effect added approximately \$800,000,000 to the total cost was one which would create an unfavorable impression of the project's value. I should appreciate very much publication of this letter calling attention to this error. I realize that the error would be easy enough to make by either the speaker or the reporter of what was said.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur V. Watkins

Arthur V. Watkins

AW:3

organized. Clichés about the interdependence of nations overlook this fact. The Universal Postal Union, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization are also forms of international organizations. Doctrinaire internationalism, on the other hand, is based on the assumption of a divinely ordained or philosophically deduced end to which the whole creation is destined to move. There is a fondness for the unwarranted projection of 'trends' which points out that since the size of political units had been growing for centuries, therefore they must continue to grow to include at least the whole planet. By the same reasoning, trees should reach the clouds, men should become giants, and elephants should become mountainous in size. Biologists find, on the contrary, that these matters are governed by principles of optimum limits and *balance*. Similar principles govern the life of human groups."

And, if one wants to be quite prag-

matic about it, the virtues of limited constitutional government and minding one's own business hardly need further demonstration.

It is difficult to find, in one volume, such a wealth of valuable information on the many facets of foreign policy. While there is, necessarily, a degree of repetition, this detracts little from the compendium and enables each chapter to stand alone. This becomes appreciated more as one returns to the book for rereading and reference—as he surely will. It is definitely a book that belongs on the pro-American bookshelf. Not the least of value is Dr. Barnes' exposure of the techniques used to suppress just such books as this. Many Americans are more or less aware of these "blackout" operations, but Dr. Barnes spells them out in shocking detail. For the degree of breaking of the "historical blackout" that has been achieved to date, these writers deserve a good measure of credit.

—JOAN H. DEARMOND

## FOR OTC

(Continued from Page 43)

foreign markets for the products of the U. S. If a multilateral agreement, consistent with all the provisions and limitations in the law, were found by the President to be the best means of accomplishing the congressional purpose, the presumption clearly would be that a multilateral agreement would be permissible. Multilateral agreements have, in fact, proved to be a superior way of achieving the aims of the Trade Agreements Act, because they help to insure that a concession given by our country will not be enjoyed by another without some quid pro quo.

### The Redelelegation of Authority

The "intelligible principle" of reciprocity to which the President must conform under the Trade Agreements Act is also basic to the General Agreement. The GATT and its Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC) have the effect of protecting the reciprocal concessions we have received from other countries and thus of expanding the foreign commerce of the U. S.

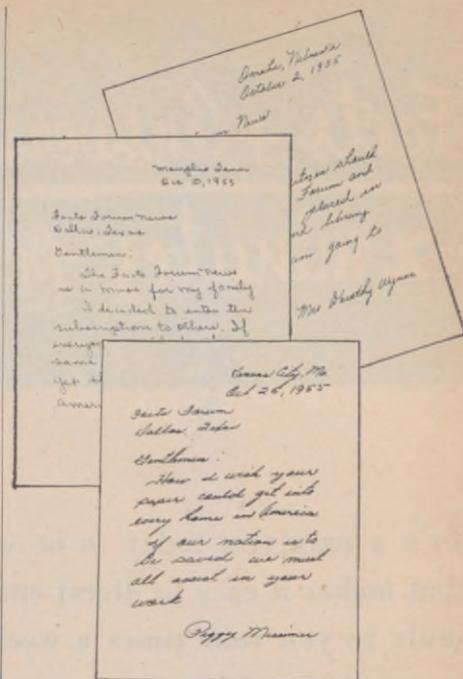
There has been no "redelegation of authority" by the President to the GATT to fix our tariffs nor will there be to the OTC. The issue here is really limited to whether, on questions of interpretation of our obligations and rights under the General Agreement, which we have legally entered into,

we will accept decisions taken by a majority vote of the member countries as a whole. It should be understood, in this connection, that decisions by a majority vote are not necessarily binding on the U. S. No action by any organization can ultimately bind the Congress of the U. S. nor indeed the President who can denounce the General Agreement at any time, in accordance with the procedures laid down.

The President in accepting a majority decision of the organization in a case affecting the U. S., would do so only because, and on condition that, the other member countries accept the majority decision in cases affecting them. It is to our advantage to accept decisions because, as has been indicated, the General Agreement largely represents U. S. trade policy and we are the gainers when that policy is followed by others. Secondly, a decision by the organization limits and defines the extent of retaliation which may be imposed against a violator.

If the U. S. should not accept a decision of the organization, the GATT for practical purposes would collapse. Countries would then be free to retaliate as they pleased and we would be in the position of having to deal with each on an ad hoc basis with no agreed rules or guiding principles to restrain either party. The very purpose of the GATT is to avoid that situation.

END



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Here is a practical, proven, fund-raising plan which can be used by civic, religious and patriotic organizations . . . in fact, any kind of regularly organized group of which you are a member.

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## FACTS FORUM NEWS

Dept. O DALLAS 1, TEXAS



# Facts Forum

## Radio and TV Programs

### Facts Forum Panel Radio and TV

A SERIES of stimulating debates on significant issues in the news. Moderator Hardy Burt experiences difficulty in piloting the lively discussions among the three regular Facts Forum panelists and guest-panelists.

On these weekly programs, two of the regular panelists are aroused by the differing opinions of their political beliefs — William F. Buckley, Jr., noted author of best-selling books and well-known lecturer, draws the steady fire of George Hamilton Combs, former congressman (D-Missouri) and noted radio and TV commentator. The third panelist, Charles Hodges, is professor of international politics at New York University, whose middle-of-the-road philosophy ignites contradiction from all

panel participants. Matching wits with these panelists commands a high I-Q on the guest's part.

The Facts Forum Panel invites you to submit questions on public issues which you would like to hear debated on these programs. If your question is selected as the winning topic, the first award is a set of new Collier's Encyclopedia; the second award, a set of Wedgewood china. Additional awards of lesser value are presented to persons whose sub-questions are selected for use on the program.

This radio and TV series in December, January and February includes a broad coverage of topics and guests of renown:

**No. 73-A — *Who Is the Next President?***

GUEST: Larry Newman of *The American Weekly*

**No. 74-A — *Can Organized Crime Be Combated?***

GUEST: Judge Louis Goldstein, former District Attorney and prosecuting attorney of Kings County, New York

**No. 75-A — *Are Schools Used for Propaganda?***

GUEST: Professor E. Merrill Root, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana

**No. 76-A — *UNESCO — Good or Bad Influence?***

GUEST: Willmoore Kendall, Professor of political science at Yale University, and a staff editor of *National Review*

**No. 77-A — *How Hot Is the Cold War?***

GUEST: Arnaud de Borchgrave, Foreign Affairs Editor of *Newsweek*

**No. 78-A — *How Influential is TV in American Life?***

GUEST: Charles Alicoate, Executive Editor of *Radio TV Daily and Film Daily*



BURT



BUCKLEY

(Continued on next page)

FACTS FORUM PANEL • RADIO AND TV PROGRAMS (Continued)



COMBS



HODGES

**No. 79-A** — *Should Public Power Be Private?*

GUEST: Jonathan Mitchell, an editor of *National Review*

**No. 80-A** — *What's in Store for the Future?*

GUEST: Morris L. Ernst, author of *Utopia 1976*, noted lawyer and civil libertarian

**\*No. 81-A** — *Should the UN Charter Be Amended?*

GUEST: James Burnham, author of *Web of Subversion* and an editor of *National Review*

**\*No. 82-A** — *Are Taxes Too High?*

GUEST: Vivien Kellems, Connecticut industrialist.

**\*No. 83-A** — *Is Communism Conquering the World?*

GUEST: Louis Bromfield, author

**\*No. 84-A** — *Can America Buy Friendship?*

GUEST: Eugene Castle, author of *Billions, Blunder & Baloney*

\*Programs to be featured in February  
Consult Facts Forum's Radio and TV  
schedules on the following pages  
your local timetable.

## Reporters' Roundup

A WEEKLY radio panel of veteran news reporters who interrogate top business or government strategists on prominent subjects in the daily press. Facts Forum Reporters' Roundup each week ushers in new faces and new insights on front page issues.

Robert F. Hurleigh is the moderator of this program, where by-lines make headlines.

The subjects and the guests featured during December and January were those claiming headline attention in the press:



HURLEIGH

*Problems For Democrats in 1956*

GUEST: Gov. Albert B. Chandler, Kentucky

*What Faces Congress in 1956 Election Year?*

GUEST: Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Speaker of the House

*1955 Prosperity and Prospects for 1956*

GUEST: Hon. Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce

*A Close Look at the State of the Nation*

GUEST: James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary

*Democratic Political Outlook for 1956*

GUEST: Sen. Estes Kefauver, (D-Tenn.)

*Methods of Easing Burdens of Presidency*

GUEST: Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.)

*Republican Picture for 1956*

GUEST: Sen. William Knowland (R-Calif.)

*Stevenson's Views on Political Future*

GUEST: Adlai Stevenson

**Check**

the above programs of which you would like to receive a transcript, and drop a card to FACTS FORUM, Dallas 1, Texas. To facilitate ordering, kindly indicate the designated program number, except in the case of REPORTERS' ROUNDUP which it is necessary to identify by title.

A geographical schedule of the stations and channels carrying FACTS FORUM RADIO and TV programs is listed on the following pages.

# Facts Forum Radio-TV

| ALABAMA        |           |      |                 |
|----------------|-----------|------|-----------------|
| Albertville    | WAVU*     | 630  | Sun 4:00 p      |
| Alexander City | WAVU**    | 630  | Sun 1:30 p      |
| Andalusia      | WRFS*     | 1050 | Sun 12:15 p     |
| Anniston       | WCTA*     | 920  | Mon 7:15 p      |
| Atmore         | WCTA†     | 920  | Mon 8:30 p      |
|                | WSPC*     | 1390 | Wed 7:30 a      |
|                | WATM*     | 1580 | Tues 9:15 a     |
| Auburn         | WATM**    | 1580 | Sun 12:30 p     |
|                | WAUD*     | 1230 |                 |
|                | WAUD**    | 1230 |                 |
| Birmingham     | WBRC-TV** | 6    |                 |
| Brewton        | WEBJ†     | 1240 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Clanton        | WKL†      | 980  | Sun 12:15 p     |
| Decatur        | WHOS*     | 800  | Wed 7:15 a      |
|                | WHOS**    | 800  | Sat 12:15 p     |
|                | WMSL†     | 1490 | Mon 8:30 p      |
|                | WMSL-TV** | 23   | Sat 7:00 p      |
| Demopolis      | WXAL*     | 1400 | Sun 2:15 p      |
| Dothan         | WOOF*     | 560  | Sun 5:00 p      |
|                | WOOF**    | 560  | Sun 12:15 p     |
| Enterprise     | WIRB*     | 1230 | Sun 12:15 p     |
|                | WIRB**    | 1230 |                 |
| Eufaula        | WULA*     | 1240 | To be announced |
| Fayette        | WWWF*     | 990  | Sun 1:00 p      |
|                | WWWF**    | 990  | Sun 12:30 p     |
| Florence       | WOWL*     | 1240 |                 |
|                | WJOI**    | 1340 |                 |
| Ft. Payne      | WZOB*     | 1250 | Sun 12:30 p     |
| Gadsden        | WGAD*     | 1350 | Sun 12:45 p     |
|                | WGWD**    | 570  |                 |
| Guntersville   | WGSV*     | 1270 | Sun 12:45 p     |
| Hamilton       | WERH*     | 970  | Fri 7:30 a      |
| Huntsville     | WBHP†     | 1230 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Jackson        | WPBB*     | 1290 | Mon 4:30 p      |
| Jasper         | WWWB*     | 1360 |                 |
|                | WWWB**    | 1360 |                 |
| Marion         | WJAM*     | 1310 | Thurs 7:30 a    |
| Mobile         | WABB*     | 1480 | Wed 7:00 p      |
| Monroeville    | WMFC*     | 1220 | Sun 5:30 p      |
|                | WMFC**    | 1220 | Sat 10:30 p     |
| Montgomery     | WAPX*     | 1600 |                 |
|                | WSFA-TV** | 12   | Sat 2:30 p      |
|                | WJH†      | 1170 | Mon 8:30 p      |
|                | WCOV-TV** | 20   | Wed 6:00 p      |
| Oneonta        | WCRL*     | 1570 |                 |
|                | WCRL**    | 1570 |                 |
| Opp            | WAMI*     | 860  | Sun 1:00 p      |
| Ozark          | WOZK*     | 900  | Sun 5:00 p      |
| Phenix City    | WPNX*     | 1460 | Sun 7:15 p      |
|                | WPNX**    | 1460 | To be announced |
| Piedmont       | WPID*     | 1280 | Sun 5:00 p      |
| Roanoke        | WELR*     | 1360 | Sun 12:15 p     |
|                | WELR**    | 1360 |                 |
| Russellville   | WWWR*     | 920  | Sun 12:45 p     |
|                | WWWR**    | 920  | Sun 3:30 p      |
| Selma          | WHBB*     | 1490 |                 |
|                | WHBB**    | 1490 |                 |
| Sylacauga      | WMLS*     | 1290 | Sun 12:15 p     |
| Talladega      | WHTB*     | 1230 |                 |
| Troy           | WTBF*     | 1490 | Sun 6:45 p      |
|                | WTBF**    | 1490 |                 |
| Tuscaloosa     | WJRD*     | 1150 | Thurs 9:45 p    |
|                | WJRD**    | 1150 |                 |
|                | WTBC*     | 1230 |                 |
| ALASKA         |           |      |                 |
| Anchorage      | KFIA-TV** | 2    | Thurs 6:30 p    |
| Fairbanks      | KTVE-TV** | 11   | Sat 6:00 p      |
| ARIZONA        |           |      |                 |
| Bisbee         | KSUN**    | 1230 | To be announced |
| Flagstaff      | KGPM*     | 690  |                 |
| Phoenix        | KOOL-TV** | 10   | Sun 1:00 p      |
| Winslow        | KVNC*     | 1010 | Sun 7:30 p      |
| ARKANSAS       |           |      |                 |
| Arkadelphia    | KVRC†     | 1240 | Mon 10:30 p     |
| Benton         | KBBA*     | 690  | To be announced |
| Camden         | KAMD†     | 1450 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| El Dorado      | KRBB*     |      |                 |
| Fayetteville   | KGRH†     | 1450 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Forrest City   | KXJK*     | 950  | To be announced |
| Fort Smith     | KWHN†     | 1320 | Mon 8:30 p      |
|                | KWHN**    | 1320 | Sun 6:00 p      |
|                | KWHN*     | 1320 | Sat 6:15 p      |
|                | KFSA-TV** | 22   | Sun 1:00 p      |
| Hope           | KXAR†     | 1490 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Hot Springs    | KWFC*     | 1340 | Sat 10:15 p     |
| Little Rock    | KARK*     | 920  | Fri 9:15 p      |
|                | KXLR†     | 1150 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Magnolia       | KSSC*     | 550  | To be announced |
|                | KVMA**    | 630  | Sun 3:30 p      |
| Mena           | KENA†     | 1450 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Mountain Home  | KTLO†     | 1490 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Paragould      | KDRS*     | 1490 |                 |
| Pine Bluff     | KOTN†     | 1490 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Pocahontas     | KPOC†     | 1420 | Sun 9:15 a      |
| Russellville   | KXRR†     | 1490 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Stuttgart      | KWAK†     | 1240 | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Texarkana      | KCMC-TV** | 6    | Sat 8:30 p      |
| CALIFORNIA     |           |      |                 |
| Coalinga       | KBMX**    | 1470 | Sun 1:00 p      |
| Fort Bragg     | KDAC*     | 1230 | Sun 6:00 p      |
|                | KDAC**    | 1230 | Mon 9:00 p      |
| Hollywood      | KCOV-TV** | 13   | Sun 11:00 p     |
| Los Angeles    | KHJ†      | 930  | Mon 8:30 p      |
| Needles        | KSFE*     | 1340 | Sun 7:30 p      |
|                | KSFE**    | 1340 | Sun 6:15 p      |

## What they're saying . . .



### about FACTS FORUM

Your program Facts Forum Panel on TV is wonderful and very educational. Keep up the good work.

S/SGT. LAWRENCE BENARD  
2624 W. Edgemont Avenue  
Montgomery 8, Alabama

I want to congratulate you on your very interesting article told in story form by R. W. Burton. "Natalka" is a human interest story that should do much to awaken Americans to the Communist menace. I also liked "Labor's December Wedding" very much.

Mrs. B. LEONHARDT  
817 6th Street  
Modesto, California

\*Appeared in December, 1955 Issue

It is refreshing to hear a conservative point of view — especially from Mr. Buckley.

WILLIAM G. SHUTE  
85 North Elm Street  
Wallingford, Connecticut

I am so proud of the Facts Forum News. . . . cannot measure its value . . . in reporting facts the daily papers seem to avoid. I surely wish that every family in America were receiving a copy each month.

Mr. T. T. GAFFORD  
Box 1282  
Cortez, Colorado

. . . You folks say more in fifteen minutes than all the other programs (commentators) combined. Your analysis of both sides of a question is doing much to stimulate thinking upon which logical conclusions can be reached. . . .

WALTER BIRDSALL BROWN  
5415 Connecticut Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D. C.

Your Facts Forum News is so helpful to those whose time for reading is limited, yet who want to keep up on the issues of the day. I just hope your fine ideas for getting the public better informed will be successfully carried out for they are so deserving. You are certainly doing your part, and now it is up to the readers.

Mrs. M. McDUFFEE  
606 S. 26th Court  
Hollywood, Florida

. . . Our gift subscription to Facts Forum News . . . will indeed enhance our library collection and make more complete our services.

LOUISE J. MOSES, Librarian  
Albany State College  
Albany, Georgia

I watch your program most every day. Get lots of good information by listening to your panel discussions.

OSCAR J. NEUMER  
210 West Plum Street  
Robinson, Illinois

## CALIFORNIA — (Continued)

|               |           |      |                 |         |
|---------------|-----------|------|-----------------|---------|
| Ontario       | KOCS*     | 1510 | Sun             |         |
| Oroville      | KMOR*     | 1340 | Sun             | 5:00 p  |
| Petaluma      | KAFF*     | 1490 | Mon             | 7:30 p  |
| Sacramento    | KBET-TV** | 10   |                 |         |
| San Diego     | KFMB-TV** | 8    | Sat             | 1:00 p  |
| San Francisco | KGO*      | 810  | Sat             | 10:30 a |
|               | KGO-TV**  | 7    | Sat             | 9:30 a  |
| San Luis      |           |      |                 |         |
| Obispo        | KVEC-TV** | 6    | Thurs           | 8:30 p  |
| Santa Cruz    | KSCO*     | 1080 | Thurs           | 7:30 p  |
| Susanville    | KSUE*     | 1240 | Wed             | 6:45 p  |
|               | KSUE**    | 1240 | Mon             | 7:00 p  |
| Turlock       | KTUR*     | 1390 | To be announced |         |

## COLORADO

|                |           |      |                 |         |
|----------------|-----------|------|-----------------|---------|
| Alamosa        | KGIW†     | 1450 | Mon             | 7:30 p  |
| Cortez         | KVFC*     | 740  | Sun             | 12:00 n |
| Delta          | KDTA*     | 1400 | To be announced |         |
| Denver         | KOA*      | 850  | Wed             | 8:15 p  |
| Grand Junction | KFXJ†     | 920  | Mon             | 7:30 p  |
|                | KFXJ-TV** | 5    | Sun             | 10:00 p |
| La Junta       | KBNZ†     | 1400 | Mon             | 7:30 p  |
|                | KBNZ**    | 1400 | Sun             | 5:30 p  |
| Sterling       | KGEK*     | 1230 | Sun             | 12:45 p |

## CONNECTICUT

|           |           |      |     |        |
|-----------|-----------|------|-----|--------|
| New Haven | WYBC**    | 1640 |     |        |
| Putnam    | WPCT*     | 1350 | Sun | 1:00 p |
| Waterbury | WATR-TV** | 53   | Fri | 6:30 p |

## DELAWARE

|            |           |      |     |        |
|------------|-----------|------|-----|--------|
| Dover      | WDOV**    | 1410 | Sun | 4:00 p |
| Wilmington | WPFH-TV** | 12   | Fri | 9:00 p |

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

|            |        |      |      |         |
|------------|--------|------|------|---------|
| Washington | WEAM** | 1390 | Tues | 10:00 p |
|            | WINX*  | 1600 |      |         |
|            | WOOK*  | 1340 |      |         |

## FLORIDA

|               |           |      |     |         |
|---------------|-----------|------|-----|---------|
| Cocoa         | WKKO*     | 860  | Sun | 12:00 n |
|               | WKKO**    | 860  | Sun | 4:30 p  |
| Gainesville   | WRUF†     | 850  | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Key West      | WKWF**    | 1600 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Kissimmee     | WRWB**    | 1220 | Sun | 3:00 p  |
| Live Oak      | WNER*     | 1450 | Wed | 6:30 p  |
|               | WNER**    | 1450 | Fri | 7:30 p  |
| Marianna      | WTYS†     | 1340 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Miami         | WGBS-TV** | 23   | Wed | 9:30 p  |
|               | WKAT†     | 1360 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
|               | WITV-TV** | 17   | Fri | 7:30 p  |
| Naples        | WNOG*     | 1270 | Fri | 5:45 p  |
| Palm Beach    | WJNO-TV** | 5    | Mon | 10:00 p |
| Panama City   | WPCF*     | 1400 | Sat | 5:45 p  |
|               | WPCF†     | 1400 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
|               | WDLP*     | 590  | Sun | 2:00 p  |
| Pensacola     | WPFA-TV** | 15   | Sat | 4:30 p  |
|               |           |      | Sun | 6:00 p  |
| St. Augustine | WSTN*     | 1420 | Sat | 5:00 p  |
| Sanford       | WTRR*     | 1400 |     |         |

## GEORGIA

|               |           |      |                 |        |
|---------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--------|
| Atlanta       | WSB*      | 750  | Thurs           | 6:45 p |
| Columbus      | WDAK-TV** | 28   | Sat             | 7:30 p |
| Cordele       | WMJM†     | 1490 | Mon             | 9:30 p |
| Covington     | WGFS*     | 1430 | Sun             | 1:15 p |
|               | WGFS**    | 1430 | To be announced |        |
| Dalton        | WBL†      | 1230 | Sat             | 6:45 p |
| Dublin        | WMLT†     | 1340 | Mon             | 9:30 p |
| Gainesville   | WGGA†     | 550  | Mon             | 9:30 p |
| Griffin       | WKEL†     | 1450 | Mon             | 9:30 p |
| Jesup         | WBGR*     | 1370 | Sun             | 1:00 p |
| La Grande     | WLAG†     | 1240 | Mon             | 9:30 p |
| Macon         | WIBB*     | 1280 |                 |        |
| Milledgeville | WMVG†     | 1450 | Mon             | 9:30 p |
| Monroe        | WMRE**    | 1490 | Sun             | 8:15 p |
| Statesboro    | WWNS†     | 1490 | Mon             | 9:30 p |
| Swainsboro    | WJAT*     | 800  | Sun             | 5:15 p |
| Toccoa        | WLET†     | 1420 | Mon             | 9:30 p |
| Valdosta      | WGOV†     | 950  | Mon             | 9:30 p |
| Waycross      | WAYX†     | 1230 | Mon             | 9:30 p |

## HAWAII

|              |       |     |     |        |
|--------------|-------|-----|-----|--------|
| Hilo         | KILA* | 850 | Sun | 8:45 p |
| Wailuku, Mau | KMVI* | 550 |     |        |

## IDAHO

|            |           |      |                 |         |
|------------|-----------|------|-----------------|---------|
| Blackfoot  | KBLI*     | 1490 | Sun             | 9:00 a  |
| Boise      | KIDO-TV** | 7    | Sun             | 11:00 p |
| Moscow     | KRPL*     | 1400 | To be announced |         |
| Twin Falls | KLIX-TV** | 11   |                 |         |
| Weiser     | KWEI**    | 1240 | Sun             | 5:30 p  |

## ILLINOIS

|             |        |      |     |        |
|-------------|--------|------|-----|--------|
| Belleville  | WIBV*  | 1260 |     |        |
|             | WIBV** | 1260 |     |        |
| Bloomington | WJBC*  | 1230 |     |        |
|             | WJBC** | 1230 |     |        |
| Cairo       | WKRO†  | 1490 | Mon | 8:30 p |
| Canton      | WBYS*  | 1560 | Sun |        |
|             | WBYS** | 1560 |     |        |
| Carbondale  | WCIL*  |      |     |        |
|             | WCIL** |      |     |        |
| Carmi       | WROY*  | 1460 |     |        |
|             | WROY** | 1460 |     |        |

\*Facts Forum; \*\*Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters' Roundup

**ILLINOIS - (Continued)**

|              |           |      |      |         |
|--------------|-----------|------|------|---------|
| Chicago      | WGN†      | 720  | Mon  | 8:30 p  |
|              | WMAQ*     | 670  |      |         |
|              | WMAQ-TV** | 670  |      |         |
| Cicero       | WHFC*     | 1450 |      |         |
| Decatur      | WDZ*      | 1050 |      |         |
|              | WDZ-TV**  | 1050 |      |         |
|              | WTVP-TV** | 17   | Sat  | 9:00 p  |
| Dixon        | WSDR*     | 1240 |      |         |
| Du Quoin     | WDQN*     | 1580 |      |         |
|              | WDQN-TV** | 1580 |      |         |
| East Peoria  | WEEK*     | 1350 |      |         |
|              | WEEK-TV** | 1350 |      |         |
| Elgin        | WRMN*     | 1410 |      |         |
|              | WRMN-TV** | 1410 |      |         |
| Evanston     | WEAW*     | 1330 |      |         |
| Fairfield    | WFIW*     | 1390 |      |         |
| Freeport     | WFRL*     | 1570 |      |         |
|              | WFRL-TV** | 1570 |      |         |
| Galesburg    | WGIL*     | 1400 |      |         |
|              | WGIL-TV** | 1400 |      |         |
| Harrisburg   | WEBQ*     | 99.9 | Wed  | 8:00 p  |
|              | WEBQ-TV** |      |      |         |
|              | WSIL-TV** |      |      |         |
| Herrin       | WJPF*     |      |      |         |
|              | WJPF-TV** |      |      |         |
| Jacksonville | WLDS*     | 1180 |      |         |
| Joliet       | WJOL*     | 1340 |      |         |
|              | WJOL-TV** | 1340 |      |         |
| Kankakee     | WKAN*     | 1320 |      |         |
|              | WKAN-TV** | 1320 |      |         |
| Kewanee      | WKEL*     | 1450 | Sun  | 12:15 p |
|              | WKEL-TV** | 1450 | Sun  | 1:00 p  |
| Lincoln      | WPRC*     | 1370 | Sun  | 3:00 p  |
|              | WPRC-TV** | 1370 | Sun  | 3:30 p  |
| Litchfield   | WSMI*     | 1540 | Sun  |         |
| Marion       | WCGH*     | 1150 |      |         |
|              | WCGH-TV** | 1150 |      |         |
| Mt. Carmel   | WVMC*     | 1360 |      |         |
|              | WVMC-TV** |      |      |         |
| Mt. Vernon   | WMIX*     | 940  | Sun  | 1:00 p  |
|              | WMIX-TV** | 940  |      |         |
| Olney        | WVLN*     | 740  |      |         |
|              | WVLN-TV** | 740  |      |         |
| Ottawa       | WCMY*     | 1430 |      |         |
|              | WCMY-TV** | 1430 |      |         |
| Pekin        | WSIV*     | 1140 |      |         |
|              | WSIV-TV** | 1140 |      |         |
| Pittsfield   | WBBA*     | 1580 |      |         |
|              | WBBA-TV** | 1580 |      |         |
| Quincy       | WGEM*     | 1440 |      |         |
|              | WGEM-TV** | 1440 |      |         |
|              | WGEM-TV** | 10   |      |         |
| Rock Island  | WHBF*     | 1270 | Mon  | 9:15 p  |
|              | WHBF-TV** | 1270 | Tues | 9:30 p  |
|              | WHBF-TV** | 4    | Sun  | 3:00 p  |
| Rockford     | WREX-TV** | 13   | Sun  | 2:30 p  |
| Sparta       | WHCO*     | 1230 |      |         |
|              | WHCO-TV** | 1230 |      |         |
| Sterling     | WSDR*     | 1240 |      |         |
| Streator     | WIZZ*     | 1250 |      |         |
|              | WIZZ-TV** | 1250 |      |         |
| Waukegan     | WKRS*     | 1220 | Sun  | 1:15 p  |
|              | WKRS-TV** | 1220 |      |         |

**INDIANA**

|               |           |       |       |         |
|---------------|-----------|-------|-------|---------|
| Anderson      | WCBC*     | 1470  |       |         |
|               | WCBC-TV** | 1470  |       |         |
| Bedford       | WBIW*     | 1340  | Sun   | 9:15 p  |
|               | WBIW-TV** | 1340  | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Bloomington   | WITS*     | 1370  |       |         |
|               | WITS-TV** | 1370  |       |         |
| Connersville  | WCNB*     | 1580  |       |         |
|               | WCNB-TV** | 1580  |       |         |
| Elkhart       | WSJV-TV** | 52    |       |         |
| Evansville    | WEHT-TV** | 50    | Sun   | 11:00 a |
|               | WEOA*     | 1400  |       |         |
|               | WEOA-TV** | 1400  | Sun   | 9:30 p  |
| Ft. Wayne     | WANE*     | 1450  |       |         |
|               | WOWO*     | 1190  |       |         |
|               | WOWO-TV** | 1190  |       |         |
|               | WKJG†     | 1380  | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Frankfort     | WILO*     | 1570  |       |         |
| Goshen        | WKAM*     | 1460  |       |         |
|               | WKAM-TV** | 1460  |       |         |
| Indianapolis  | WISH-TV** | 8     | Sun   | 12:00 n |
|               | WIBC*     | 1070  | Sun   | 8:45 p  |
| Jasper        | WITZ*     | 990   |       |         |
|               | WITZ-TV** | 990   | Sun   | 1:00 p  |
| Kokomo        | WIOU*     | 1350  |       |         |
| Lafayette     | WASK†     | 1450  | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
|               | WFAM-TV** | 59    | Mon   | 9:00 p  |
|               | WSAL*     | 1230  | Thurs | 9:30 p  |
| Logansport    | WSAL-TV** | 1230  | Sun   | 12:15 p |
|               | WMRI*     | 860   | Sun   | 11:00 a |
| Marion        | WORX*     | 1440  |       |         |
| Madison       | WORX-TV** | 1440  |       |         |
|               | WIMS*     | 1420  |       |         |
| Michigan City | WIMS-TV** | 1420  |       |         |
|               | WPCO*     | 1590  |       |         |
| Mt. Vernon    | WPCO-TV** | 1590  | Sat   | 1:00 a  |
|               | WMUN*     | 104.1 |       |         |
| Muncie        | WMUN-TV** | 104.1 |       |         |
|               | WLBC-TV** | 49    |       |         |
|               | WLBC*     | 1340  | Fri   | 10:15 p |
| New Castle    | WCTW*     | 102.5 |       |         |
| North Vernon  | WOCH*     | 1460  |       |         |
|               | WOCH-TV** | 1460  |       |         |

**INDIANA - (Continued)**

|             |           |      |     |         |
|-------------|-----------|------|-----|---------|
| Peru        | WARU*     | 1600 |     |         |
|             | WARU-TV** | 1600 |     |         |
| Portland    | WPGW*     | 1440 |     |         |
|             | WPGW-TV** | 1440 |     |         |
| Salem       | WSLM*     | 1220 |     |         |
| Seymour     | WJCD*     | 1390 | Sun | 12:45 p |
|             | WJCD-TV** | 1390 | Sun | 5:00 p  |
| South Bend  | WSBT*     | 960  |     |         |
|             | WSBT-TV** | 960  |     |         |
|             | WSBT-TV** | 34   |     |         |
| Terre Haute | WBOW*     | 1230 |     |         |
|             | WTHI-TV** | 10   | Mon | 4:00 p  |
| Vincennes   | WAOV*     | 1450 |     |         |
|             | WAOV-TV** | 1450 |     |         |
| Washington  | WAMW*     | 1580 | Sun | 6:15 p  |
|             | WAMW-TV** | 1580 | Sun | 11:30 p |

**IOWA**

|              |           |      |       |        |
|--------------|-----------|------|-------|--------|
| Cedar Rapids | KCRG†     | 1600 | Mon   | 8:30 p |
|              | KCRG-TV** | 9    | Thurs | 9:30 p |
| Clinton      | KROS†     | 1340 | Mon   | 8:30 p |
| Decorah      | KDEC†     | 1240 | Mon   | 8:30 p |
|              | KDEC-TV** | 1240 | Sat   | 5:30 p |
| Des Moines   | WHO*      | 1040 | Mon   | 5:00 p |
| Fort Dodge   | KQTV-TV** | 21   | Sun   | 8:30 p |
|              | KVFD*     | 1400 | Thurs | 8:30 p |
| Marshalltown | KFJB†     | 1230 | Mon   | 8:30 p |
| Mason City   | KRIB†     | 1490 | Mon   | 8:30 p |
| Muscatine    | KWPC*     | 860  |       |        |
| Newton       | KCOB*     | 1280 |       |        |
|              | KCOB-TV** | 1280 |       |        |
| Oelwein      | KOEL*     | 950  | Sun   | 7:45 p |
|              | KOEL-TV** | 950  | Sun   | 8:30 p |
| Ottumwa      | KBIZ†     | 1240 | Mon   | 8:30 p |
| Spencer      | KICD†     | 1240 | Mon   | 8:30 p |
| Waterloo     | KWWL†     | 1330 | Mon   | 8:30 p |
|              | KWWL-TV** | 7    | Sat   | 6:30 p |

**KANSAS**

|              |           |      |                 |        |
|--------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--------|
| Chanute      | KCRB*     | 1460 | To be announced |        |
|              | KCRB-TV** | 1460 | Sat             | 8:30 p |
| Dodge City   | KGNO†     | 1370 | Mon             | 7:30 p |
| Garden City  | KIUL†     | 1240 | Mon             |        |
| Hutchinson   | KWHK*     | 1260 | Sun             | 8:30 p |
| Independence | KIND†     | 1010 | Mon             | 8:30 p |
| McPherson    | KNEX*     | 1540 | To be announced |        |
| Pittsburgh   | KSEK*     | 1340 | Sat             | 9:00 p |
|              | KSEK-TV** | 1340 | Sun             | 9:00 p |
| Pratt        | KWSK*     | 1570 |                 |        |
| Salina       | KSAL†     | 1150 | Mon             | 8:30 p |

**KENTUCKY**

|                |           |      |                 |        |
|----------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--------|
| Benton         | WCBL*     | 1290 | Sun             | 6:30 p |
|                | WCBL-TV** | 1290 | Sun             | 9:30 p |
| Campbellsville | WTCO*     | 1150 | To be announced |        |
| Cumberland     | WCPM†     | 1490 | Mon             | 8:30 p |
| Danville       | WHIR†     | 1230 | Mon             | 8:30 p |
| Elizabethtown  | WIEL*     | 1400 | Fri             | 8:30 p |
| Hazard         | WKIC†     | 1340 | Mon             | 8:30 p |
| Henderson      | WSON†     | 860  | Mon             | 8:30 p |
| Lexington      | WLEX*     | 1300 | Sun             | 8:30 p |
| Louisville     | WGRG†     | 790  | Mon             | 1:00 p |
| Madisonville   | WFMW*     | 730  | Sun             |        |
|                | WFMW-TV** | 730  |                 |        |
| Mayfield       | WKTM*     |      |                 |        |
|                | WKTM-TV** |      |                 |        |
| Monticello     | WFLW*     | 1570 | Sun             |        |
| Murray         | WNBS*     | 1340 |                 |        |
|                | WNBS-TV** | 1340 |                 |        |
| Owensboro      | WVJS*     | 1420 |                 |        |
| Pikeville      | WPKE†     | 1240 | Mon             | 9:00 p |
| Prestonsburg   | WPRT*     | 960  | To be announced |        |
| Vancleve       | WMTC*     | 730  |                 |        |
| Winchester     | WWKY*     | 1380 |                 |        |

**LOUISIANA**

|              |           |      |                 |  |
|--------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--|
| Baton Rouge  | WJBO*     | 1450 | To be announced |  |
| Crowley      | KSIG*     | 1450 | Sun             |  |
|              | KSIG-TV** | 1450 | Sun             |  |
| Lake Charles | KTAG-TV** | 25   | Thurs           |  |
| Mansfield    | KDBC*     | 1360 | Sun             |  |
| Minden       | KAPK*     | 1240 | Sun             |  |
| Monroe       | KMLB*     | 1440 | Sat             |  |
|              | KNOE-TV** | 8    | Sun             |  |
| Natchitoches | KWCJ*     | 1450 |                 |  |
| New Orleans  | WJMR-TV** | 20   | Sun             |  |
|              |           |      | Tues            |  |
|              |           |      | Retelecast      |  |
|              | WJMR*     |      |                 |  |
|              | WJMR-TV** |      |                 |  |
| Opelousas    | KSLO*     | 1230 | Sun             |  |
|              | KSLO-TV** | 1230 | Tues            |  |
| Ruston       | KRUS*     | 1490 | Sun             |  |
| Shreveport   | KTBS*     | 710  | Wed             |  |
|              | KTBS-TV** |      |                 |  |
| Tallulah     | KTLD*     | 1360 | Sun             |  |

**MAINE**

|        |            |   |  |  |
|--------|------------|---|--|--|
| Bangor | W-TWO-TV** | 2 |  |  |
|--------|------------|---|--|--|

**MARYLAND**

|           |       |     |     |  |
|-----------|-------|-----|-----|--|
| Annapolis | WASL* | 810 |     |  |
| Salisbury | WBOC† | 960 | Mon |  |

**MASSACHUSETTS**

|               |           |      |       |  |
|---------------|-----------|------|-------|--|
| Boston        | WNAC†     | 680  | Mon   |  |
|               | WTAO-TV** | 56   | Thurs |  |
| New Bedford   | WBSM*     | 1230 |       |  |
| Pittsfield    | WMGT-TV** | 74   | Fri   |  |
| West Yarmouth | WOCB*     | 1240 | Fri   |  |
| Worcester     | WWOR-TV** | 14   | Wed   |  |

**MICHIGAN**

|        |       |      |     |  |
|--------|-------|------|-----|--|
| Alpena | WATZ† | 1450 | Mon |  |
|--------|-------|------|-----|--|

*What they're saying . . .*



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Facts Forum News has arrived and . . . I find it a valuable source for information on current controversial topics because of the comprehensive analysis of different points of view which are given. . . .

DEAN LONG  
Acting President  
Evansville College  
Evansville, Indiana

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MRS. ROBERT P. FLOOD  
Legislative Chairman  
Onondaga County  
American Legion Auxiliary  
Syracuse 3, New York

. . . Facts Forum News, a medium through which America can be alerted, to know the truth of all "isms" that would destroy our beloved land. Long may it live and reach into the hearts and homes of every true American.

ROBERT L. NEWMAN  
643 S. Ridge Drive  
Lexington, Kentucky

The "Natalka" piece [December, 1955, Issue] was wonderful. You did a fine thing to publish it. That will bring reality home to lots of people who can't get it from the usual political discussion.

DR. MEDFORD EVANS  
Northwestern State College  
Natchitoches, Louisiana

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ROBERT L. WILLETT  
President, Ricker College  
Houlton, Maine

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MRS. R. H. CASTO  
636½ N. Prospect Street  
Hagerstown, Maryland

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ROBERT F. HART  
Associate Editor  
The Sentinel  
Lowell, Massachusetts

\*Facts Forum

\*\*Facts Forum Panel

†Reporters' Roundup

**MICHIGAN - (Continued)**

|                  |           |      |       |         |
|------------------|-----------|------|-------|---------|
| Ann Arbor        | WPAG-TV** | 20   | Mon   | 8:00 p  |
| Battle Creek     | WBCK†     | 930  | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Cadillac         | WATT†     | 1240 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
|                  | WTVV-TV** | 13   | Thurs | 7:30 p  |
| Cheboygan        | WCBY*     | 1240 | Fri   | 12:45 p |
| Coldwater        | WTVB*     | 1590 |       |         |
| Detroit          | WJBK*     | 1490 | Sun   | 7:30 p  |
| Escanaba         | WDBC†     | 680  | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Flint            | WBBC†     | 1330 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Grand Rapids     | WFUR**    | 1570 | Sat   | 12:30 p |
|                  | WFUR**    | 1570 | Mon   | 5:30 p  |
| Hillsdale        | WBSE*     | 1340 |       |         |
| Iron River       | WIKB†     | 1230 | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Lansing          | WJMS†     | 630  | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Midland          | WILS-TV** | 54   | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Mt. Pleasant     | WMDN*     | 1490 | Sun   | 3:45 p  |
| Petoskey         | WCEN*     | 1150 |       |         |
| Saginaw          | WMBN†     | 1340 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
|                  | WKNX-TV*  | 57   | Mon   | 3:00 p  |
|                  |           |      | Sun   | 5:00 p  |
| Saginaw-Bay City | WSGW†     | 790  | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Sturgis          | WSTR**    | 1230 | Sun   |         |
|                  | WSTR*     | 1230 |       |         |

**MINNESOTA**

|              |           |      |                 |        |
|--------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--------|
| Austin       | KAUS†     | 1480 | Mon             | 8:30 p |
|              | KMMT-TV** | 6    | Sun             | 9:30 p |
| Bemidji      | KBUN†     | 1450 | Mon             | 8:30 p |
| Breckenridge | KBMW*     | 1450 | To be announced |        |
| Grand Rapids | KBZY†     | 1490 | Mon             | 8:30 p |
| Minneapolis  | KSTP*     | 1500 | Sun             | 9:45 p |
| Red Wing     | KAAA*     | 1250 |                 |        |

**MISSISSIPPI**

|                 |           |      |                 |         |
|-----------------|-----------|------|-----------------|---------|
| Aberdeen        | WMPA*     | 1240 | Sun             | 5:30 p  |
|                 | WMPA**    | 1240 | To be announced |         |
| Biloxi          | WYMI*     | 570  | Sun             | 4:30 p  |
|                 | WYMI**    | 570  | To be announced |         |
| Biloxi-Gulfport | WLOX†     | 1490 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
| Brookhaven      | WMB†      | 1340 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
| Canton          | WDOB*     | 1370 | Sat             | 11:30 a |
|                 | WDOB*     | 1370 | Sun             | 3:00 p  |
| Clarksdale      | WROX*     | 1450 |                 |         |
|                 | WROX*     | 1450 |                 |         |
| Columbus        | WCB†      | 1050 |                 |         |
|                 | WCB†      | 1050 |                 |         |
| Corinth         | WACR*     | 1050 | Mon             | 10:30 p |
| Greenwood       | WCMA*     | 1230 | Sun             | 6:30 p  |
| Gulfport        | WGRM**    | 1240 |                 |         |
| Indianola       | WMLA*     | 1400 |                 |         |
|                 | WMLA*     | 1400 |                 |         |
| Jackson         | WRBC†     | 1300 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
|                 | WJTV-TV** | 12   | Tues            | 6:00 p  |
|                 | WLBT-TV** | 3    |                 |         |
| McComb          | WAPP*     | 1010 | Sun             | 2:00 p  |
|                 | WAPP**    | 1010 | To be announced |         |
| Philadelphia    | WHOC*     | 1490 | Sun             | 6:45 p  |
| Starkville      | WSSO*     | 1230 | Tues            | 6:15 p  |
|                 | WSSO*     | 1230 | Fri             | 6:30 p  |
| Tupelo          | WELO*     | 1490 |                 |         |
|                 | WELO*     | 1490 |                 |         |
| West Point      | WROB*     | 1450 | Tues            | 7:00 p  |
|                 | WROB*     | 1450 | Thurs           | 7:00 p  |
| Yazoo City      | WAZF†     | 1230 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |

**MISSOURI**

|                |                        |      |                 |         |
|----------------|------------------------|------|-----------------|---------|
| Cape Girardeau | KFVS†                  | 960  | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
|                | KFVS-TV**              | 12   | Sun             | 12:30 p |
|                | KGMO*                  |      |                 |         |
|                | KGMO**                 |      |                 |         |
| Caruthersville | KCRV*                  |      |                 |         |
|                | KCRV**                 |      |                 |         |
| Charleston     | KCHR*                  | 1350 | To be announced |         |
|                | KCHR**                 | 1350 |                 |         |
| Clinton        | KDKD**                 | 1280 | Sun             | 12:00 p |
| Festus         | KJCF*                  |      |                 |         |
|                | KJCF**                 |      |                 |         |
| Flat River     | KFMO*                  |      |                 |         |
|                | KFMO**                 |      |                 |         |
| Hannibal       | KHMO†                  | 1070 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
|                | KLIK**                 | 950  | Sun             | 1:45 p  |
| Jefferson City | KWOS†                  | 1240 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
|                | KFSB*                  | 1310 | Sun             | 3:30 p  |
| Joplin         | WMBH†                  | 1450 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
|                | WMBH**                 |      |                 |         |
|                | KSWM-TV**              | 12   | Tues            |         |
| Lebanon        | KLWT†                  | 1250 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
| Malden         | KTCB*                  |      |                 |         |
|                | KTCB**                 |      |                 |         |
| Maryville      | KNIM*                  | 1580 | Sun             | 2:45 p  |
|                | KNIM**                 | 1580 | Fri             | 3:45 p  |
| Moberly        | KNCM*                  | 1230 | Sun             | 1:30 p  |
| Mountain Grove | KLRS*                  |      |                 |         |
| Nevada         | KNEM*                  | 1240 | Sun             | 1:05 p  |
| Poplar Bluff   | KWOC*                  | 930  | Sun             | 6:30 p  |
|                | KWOC**                 |      |                 |         |
| Portageville   | American Broadcast Co. |      |                 |         |
| St. Joseph     | KFEQ-TV*               | 2    | Sun             | 1:00 p  |
| St. Louis      | KWK†                   | 1380 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
|                | KWK*                   |      |                 |         |
| Ste. Genevieve | KFUO*                  | 850  | Thurs           | 3:45 p  |
|                | KSGM*                  | 980  | Wed             | 7:45 p  |
|                | KSGM**                 | 980  |                 |         |
| Sedalia        | KDRO†                  | 1490 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
|                | KSIS*                  | 1050 | To be announced |         |
|                | KSIS**                 | 1050 |                 |         |
| Sikeston       | KSIM*                  |      |                 |         |
|                | KSIM**                 |      |                 |         |
| Springfield    | KICK†                  | 1340 | Mon             | 8:30 p  |
|                | KICK*                  |      |                 |         |
|                | KICK**                 |      |                 |         |
|                | KTTS-TV**              |      |                 |         |

**MISSOURI - (Continued)**

|         |        |      |     |        |
|---------|--------|------|-----|--------|
| Thayer  | KALM*  |      |     |        |
|         | KALM** |      |     |        |
| Trenton | KTTN** | 1600 | Sun | 5:30 p |

**MONTANA**

|             |           |      |                 |        |
|-------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--------|
| Anaconda    | KANA*     | 1230 | To be announced |        |
| Billings    | KGHL*     | 790  | Thurs           | 7:30 p |
| Bozeman     | KXLO*     | 1230 | Sat             | 9:00 p |
|             | KXLO**    | 1230 | Sat             |        |
| Butte       | KXLF*     | 1370 | Sat             | 9:00 p |
|             | KXLF**    | 1370 | To be announced |        |
|             | KXLF-TV** | 6    | Sun             | 9:45 p |
| Glasgow     | KLTZ*     | 1240 | Tues            | 7:30 p |
| Glendive    | KXGN*     | 1400 | Sun             | 6:15 p |
| Great Falls | KXLK*     | 1400 | Sat             | 9:00 p |
|             | KXLK**    | 1400 | To be announced |        |
| Havre       | KOJM†     | 610  | Mon             | 7:30 p |
| Helena      | KXLJ*     | 1240 | Sat             | 9:00 p |
|             | KCAP†     | 1340 | Mon             | 7:30 p |
|             | KXLJ**    | 1240 | To be announced |        |
| Lewiston    | KXLO*     | 1230 |                 |        |
| Livingston  | KPRK†     | 1340 | Mon             | 7:30 p |
| Miles City  | KATL†     | 1340 | Mon             | 7:30 p |
|             | KATL*     | 1340 | Sun             | 7:00 p |
|             | KATL**    | 1340 |                 |        |
| Missoula    | KXLL*     | 1450 | Sat             | 9:00 p |
|             | KXLL**    | 1450 | To be announced |        |
| Shelby      | KGVO-TV** | 13   | Fri             | 9:30 p |
| Sidney      | KIYH*     | 1230 | Mon             | 7:30 p |
|             | KGCX†     | 1480 | Mon             | 7:30 p |

**NEBRASKA**

|             |        |      |     |         |
|-------------|--------|------|-----|---------|
| Chadron     | KCSR** | 1450 | Wed | 7:45 p  |
|             | KCSR*  | 1450 | Sun | 4:00 p  |
| Columbus    | KJSK*  | 900  |     |         |
| Hastings    | KHAS†  | 1230 | Mon | 8:30 p  |
| McCook      | KBRL†  | 1450 | Mon | 8:30 p  |
| Norfolk     | WJAC** | 780  | Sat | 10:15 a |
| Scottsbluff | KNEB†  | 960  | Mon | 7:30 p  |

**NEVADA**

|      |           |      |     |        |
|------|-----------|------|-----|--------|
| Ely  | KELY*     | 1230 |     |        |
| Reno | KZTV-TV** | 8    | Sun | 3:00 p |

**NEW HAMPSHIRE**

|            |           |   |                 |  |
|------------|-----------|---|-----------------|--|
| Manchester | WMUR-TV** | 9 | To be announced |  |
|------------|-----------|---|-----------------|--|

**NEW JERSEY**

|               |        |      |     |        |
|---------------|--------|------|-----|--------|
| Atlantic City | WLDB** | 1490 |     |        |
|               | WLDB*  | 1490 | Sun | 4:30 p |
| Millville     | WMLV*  | 1440 | Sun |        |
| Pleasantville | WOND*  | 1400 |     |        |
|               | WOND** | 1400 |     |        |
| South Orange  | WSOU*  |      |     |        |
|               | WSOU** |      |     |        |

**NEW MEXICO**

|             |           |      |      |        |
|-------------|-----------|------|------|--------|
| Albuquerque | KHFH*     |      | Tues | 7:15 p |
| Clayton     | KLMX*     | 1450 | Tues | 6:30 p |
| Hobbs       | KWEW†     | 1490 | Mon  | 7:30 p |
| Las Vegas   | KFUN†     | 1230 | Mon  | 7:30 p |
|             | KFUN*     | 1230 | Fri  | 9:15 p |
| Portales    | KENM*     | 1450 | Wed  | 7:15 p |
|             | KENM**    | 1450 | Fri  | 6:30 p |
| Roswell     | KSWV-TV** | 8    | Sun  | 2:30 p |
| Tucumcari   | KTNM*     | 1400 |      |        |

**NEW YORK**

|              |           |      |     |         |
|--------------|-----------|------|-----|---------|
| Albany       | WPTR†     | 1540 | Sun | 9:30 p  |
| Amsterdam    | WCSS*     | 1490 |     |         |
| Auburn       | WMBO†     | 1340 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Binghamton   | WKOP†     | 1360 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Bronx        | WFUV-FM*  | 90.7 | Fri | 7:45 p  |
| Buffalo      | WXRA*     | 1080 | Sun | 9:30 a  |
| Dunkirk      | WFCH*     | 1410 |     |         |
| Elmira       | WTVE-TV** | 24   | Sun | 6:30 p  |
| Hornell      | WWHC*     | 1320 |     |         |
| Hudson       | WHUC*     | 1230 | Wed | 1:00 p  |
| Kingston     | WKNY-TV** | 66   | Fri | 10:00 p |
| Little Falls | WLPH*     | 1230 |     |         |
| Malone       | WICY†     | 1490 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| New York     | WOR†      | 710  | Mon | 9:30 p  |
|              | WPX-TV**  |      | Fri | 12:00 n |
| N'th Albany  | WROW-TV** | 41   | Fri | 9:00 p  |
| Plattsburg   | WIRY†     | 1340 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Port Jervis  | WDLG*     | 1490 | Wed | 7:00 p  |
| Ticonderoga  | WIPS*     |      |     |         |
| Watertown    | WATN†     | 1240 | Mon | 9:30 p  |

**NORTH CAROLINA**

|                |        |      |     |         |
|----------------|--------|------|-----|---------|
| Asheville      | WWNC*  | 570  | Sat | 6:30 p  |
| Belmont        | WCGC*  | 1270 |     |         |
| Brevard        | WPNF*  | 1240 |     |         |
|                | WPNF** | 1240 |     |         |
| Burlington     | WBBS*  | 920  | Sun | 1:00 p  |
| Concord        | WEGO*  | 1410 |     |         |
|                | WEGO** | 1410 | Wed | 10:00 a |
| Elizabeth City | WCNC†  | 1240 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Forrest City   | WBBO*  | 780  | Mon | 7:15 p  |
|                | WBBO** | 780  | Sun | 5:30 p  |
| Greensboro     | WBIG*  | 1470 | Sun | 12:30 p |
| Henderson      | WHNC†  | 890  | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Hickory        | WIRC*  | 630  |     |         |
| High Point     | WNOS*  | 1590 | Sun | 3:00 p  |
|                | WNOS** | 1590 | Sun | 9:30 p  |
| Jacksonville   | WJNC†  | 1240 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Kings Mountain | WKMT*  | 1220 |     |         |
|                | WKMT** | 1220 |     |         |
| Leaksville     | WLOE†  | 1490 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Lenoir         | WJRI†  | 1340 | Mon | 9:30 p  |

*What they're saying . . .*



**about FACTS FORUM**

. . . weekly Facts Forum programs enable us, the American people, to keep abreast of the events affecting our daily lives. . . .

RICHARD RANSONE  
17529 Mackay  
Detroit, Michigan

. . . It is my ambition to see that the Facts Forum magazine will be better known in my vicinity. . . .

MISS FRANCES HILLA  
Donnelly, Minnesota

I had never seen an issue of Facts Forum [News] until a friend loaned me her copy of September issue. I immediately subscribed and also sent for fifty copies of this issue to use in the meetings of our Rosebud County Women's Republican Club. . . .

We are studying the Bricker Amendment and Armed Forces Treaty and this issue [June and Sept., 1955] gives the best explanation of both topics that I have ever seen. . . .

Mrs. L. B. PAINE  
Forsyth, Montana

I know of no magazine that gives you the wealth of information that you do by giving both sides.

Mrs. E. O. HULSE  
409 Sewall Avenue  
Asbury Park, New Jersey

. . . Your patriotic activities are the most effective anti-Communist weapon I have seen so far. . . .

EDWARD VINTEN  
565 Third Avenue  
New York, New York

. . . Timely, sensational, and packing a wallop, I find it [Facts Forum News] both interesting and very educational.

ALFRED NEVAREZ  
Las Cruces, New Mexico

I did not realize the appalling dangers to our way of life until I began reading your magazine. It should be on the desk of every educator and every professional person.

J. P. WHITTINGHILL  
Falls of Rough, Kentucky

. . . Thank you for the fine informative and educational programs you are putting on TV and radio. You are doing a wonderfully fine and patriotically splendid job. . . .

GEORGE BISSETT  
Box 915  
Delray Beach, Florida

I cannot resist complimenting you on the excellent method of presenting both sides of problematical questions of the day.

HENRY FRYCKBERG  
Office of the Rector  
Belmont Abbey College  
Belmont, North Carolina

\*Facts Forum \*\*Facts Forum Panel †Reporters' Roundup

**NORTH CAROLINA — (Continued)**

|               |           |      |       |         |
|---------------|-----------|------|-------|---------|
| Lexington     | WBUY**    | 1450 | Thurs | 7:30 p  |
|               | WBUY*     | 1450 |       |         |
| Mt. Airy      | WPAQ*     | 740  | Sun   | 1:15 p  |
| New Bern      | WHIT†     | 1450 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Raleigh       | WNAO-TV** | 28   | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
|               | WPTF*     | 680  | Sun   | 1:15 p  |
|               | WRAL†     | 1240 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Roxboro       | WRXO*     | 1490 |       |         |
| Salisbury     | WSAT*     | 1280 | Wed   | 8:00 p  |
|               | WSTP†     | 1490 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Statesville   | WSIC†     | 1400 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Tyron         | WTYN*     | 1580 |       |         |
| Wallace       | WLSE†     | 1400 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Washington    | WHED**    | 1340 | Wed   | 9:30 p  |
|               | WHED*     | 1340 |       |         |
| Wilmington    | WGNI†     | 1340 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
|               | WMFD-TV** | 6    | Tues  | 10:30 p |
| Winston-Salem | WTOB-TV** | 26   | Sun   | 5:30 p  |

**NORTH DAKOTA**

|             |           |      |                 |        |
|-------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--------|
| Devils Lake | KDLR†     | 1240 | Mon             | 8:30 p |
| Dickinson   | KDIX**    | 1230 |                 |        |
|             | KDIX*     | 1230 |                 |        |
| Fargo       | WDAY-TV** | 6    | Sun             | 4:00 p |
|             |           |      | alternating Sun | 4:30 p |
| Hettinger   | KNDC*     | 1490 | Sun             | 4:30 p |
| Valley City | KOVCF†    | 1490 | Mon             | 8:30 p |

**OHIO**

|            |           |      |     |         |
|------------|-----------|------|-----|---------|
| Ashtabula  | WICA**    | 970  | Sat | 8:00 p  |
|            | WICA-TV** | 15   | Wed | 8:00 p  |
| Canton     | WCMW*     | 1060 | Sun | 12:15 p |
| Cincinnati | WLW*      | 700  | Sun | 12:30 p |
| Cleveland  | WHK†      | 1420 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
|            | WDOK*     | 1260 |     |         |
| Coshocton  | WTNS*     | 1560 |     |         |
| Delaware   | WLSN**    |      |     |         |
| Elyria     | WEOL*     | 930  | Sun | 9:45 a  |
|            | WEOL**    | 930  | Wed | 7:30 p  |
| Gallipolis | WJEH**    | 990  |     |         |
| Lima       | WIMA-TV** | 73   | Sun | 1:30 p  |
| Hamilton   | WMOH**    | 1450 | Sun | 12:30 p |
| Marietta   | WMOA†     | 1490 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Middletown | WPFB*     | 910  | Mon | 7:45 p  |
| Newark     | WCLT**    | 1430 | Sun | 6:30 p  |
| Portsmouth | WNXT*     | 1260 | Mon | 8:15 p  |
| Toledo     | WSPD*     | 1370 | Mon | 8:15 p  |
| Warren     |           |      |     |         |
| Youngstown | WHHH†     | 1440 | Mon | 9:30 p  |
| Youngstown | WFMJ*     | 1390 | Sat | 6:45 p  |
| Zanesville | WHIZ-TV** | 18   | Sun | 3:30 p  |

**OKLAHOMA**

|               |           |      |       |         |
|---------------|-----------|------|-------|---------|
| Altus         | KWHW†     | 1450 | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Blackwell     | KBWL**    | 1580 | Wed   | 10:30 a |
| Cushing       | KWHP*     | 1600 | Sun   | 12:45 p |
| Duncan        | KRHD†     | 1350 | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Elk City      | KASA†     | 1240 | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Enid          | KCRC*     | 1390 | Sun   | 10:15 p |
| Miami         | KGLC*     | 910  |       |         |
| Oklahoma City | KOMA*     | 1520 | Sat   | 5:45 p  |
|               | KTVQ-TV** | 25   | Sun   | 9:30 p  |
| Okmulgee      | KHBC†     | 1240 | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Ponea City    | WBBZ†     | 1230 | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Poteau        | KLCO**    | 1280 |       |         |
|               | KLCO*     | 1280 |       |         |
| Shawnee       | KGFF†     | 1450 | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
| Tulsa         | KTUL*     | 1430 | Tues  | 9:45 p  |
|               | KVOO*     | 1170 | Thurs | 9:30 p  |
| Woodward      | KSIW†     | 1450 | Mon   | 8:30 p  |
|               | KSIW*     | 1450 |       |         |

**OREGON**

|             |        |      |     |        |
|-------------|--------|------|-----|--------|
| Hillsboro   | KRTV** | 1360 | Sun | 1:00 p |
| McMinnville | KMCM*  | 1260 | Sun | 7:45 p |
|             | KMCM** | 1260 | Wed | 8:45 p |

**PENNSYLVANIA**

|               |           |      |       |         |
|---------------|-----------|------|-------|---------|
| Barnesboro    | WNCC*     | 950  | Fri   | 9:15 p  |
| Bradford      | WESB†     | 1490 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Butler        | WBUT*     | 1050 | Sun   | 4:30 p  |
| Carbondale    | WCDL*     | 1230 | Thurs | 6:30 p  |
| Carlisle      | WHYL*     | 960  | Sat   | 8:15 a  |
| Coudersport   | WFRM*     | 600  | Sat   | 4:30 p  |
| Easton        | WGLV-TV** | 57   | Sun   | 9:00 p  |
|               | WEST*     | 1400 | Tues  | 10:15 p |
|               | WCET**    | 1450 | Sun   | 7:30 p  |
| Gettysburg    | WARD-TV** | 56   | Tues  | 10:30 p |
| Johnstown     | WBPF†     | 1230 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Lock Haven    | WHWL*     | 730  |       |         |
| Nanticoke     | WKST†     | 1280 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| New Castle    | WKST-TV** | 45   | Wed   | 8:30 p  |
|               | WKRZ†     | 1340 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Oil City      | KYW*      | 1060 | Sun   | 6:15 p  |
| Philadelphia  | KDKA*     | 1020 | Sun   | 10:15 p |
| Pittsburgh    | WPTS*     | 1540 |       |         |
| Pittston      | WPAM†     | 1450 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Pottsville    | WPAM*     | 1450 |       |         |
| St. Marys     | WKBI**    | 1400 | Sun   | 9:00 p  |
| Scranton      | WARM-TV** | 16   | Thurs | 10:00 p |
| Shamokin      | WISL†     | 1480 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| State College | WMAJ†     | 1450 | Mon   | 9:30 p  |
| Tyrone        | WTRN*     | 1290 | Sat   | 4:30 p  |
|               | WTRN**    | 1290 | Sun   | 12:30 p |
| Wellsboro     | WNB†      | 1490 | Sat   | 9:00 p  |
|               | WNB**     | 1490 | Sun   | 9:00 p  |
| Williamsport  | WLYC*     | 1050 | Sun   | 1:00 p  |
|               | WLYC**    | 1050 | Sun   | 5:00 p  |
| York          | WNOW**    | 1250 | Sun   | 5:30 p  |
|               | WNOW*     | 1250 | Sun   | 3:30 p  |
|               | WNOW-TV** | 49   | Sun   | 8:00 p  |
|               | WSBA*     | 910  |       |         |

*What they're saying . . .*



**about FACTS FORUM**

I would not want to miss even one issue of the magazine that I consider one of the most important sources for getting the "FACTS," . . . not just biased and slanted opinions.

EDWARD R. GAFFNEY  
1419 Comly Street  
Philadelphia 49, Pennsylvania

In reading your November issue I noticed an article . . . written by Henry W. Westheider, called "Truth," . . . More articles along this line should help the reading public.

H. M. ALEXANDER  
M. L. Alexander & Sons, Inc.  
1930 Carew Tower  
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

It is a great comfort to me to know that this great publication has such a wide circulation and creates such interest in all sections of America. It seems to me that for a long time intimidation has swept the country to the extent that those who could be aroused from their apathy were afraid to speak their mind on any controversial subject. *Facts Forum News* certainly is a good remedy for that. . .

MAY S. NEWBERRY  
21 Watauga Apts.  
Nashville 3, Tennessee

I enjoy *Facts Forum News* very much . . . because it stands for truth and no pleasure is comparable to standing upon the vantage ground of truth.

GLADYS ALEXANDER  
Rocky, Oklahoma

I particularly appreciate the column in your magazine headed "What They're Saying" . . . because prior to becoming acquainted with it I thought there was hardly an American left in the country. Now to know that great numbers of people all over this land are having their hearts torn out as mine is by this current slaughtering of American principles makes me feel a kinship with your contributors for which I am profoundly grateful.

MARIAM H. KEEFER  
4403 N. E. 32nd Place  
Portland, Oregon

The opportunity to read "It's Your Business" by Nicholas Nyaradi [December, 1955, Issue, *Facts Forum News*] is something for which I ask you to accept my sincere thanks. A wonderful message, indeed.

W. W. LONG  
714 Buckalew Street  
Dallas, Texas

. . . My appreciation for the splendid presentation of the two sides to the many controversial questions.

FRED HANSELMANN  
Casper Junior College  
Casper, Wyoming

**PHILIPPINES**

|        |           |   |     |        |
|--------|-----------|---|-----|--------|
| Manila | DZAQ-TV** | 3 | Mon | 9:30 p |
|--------|-----------|---|-----|--------|

**PUERTO RICO**

|          |        |      |      |        |
|----------|--------|------|------|--------|
| Mayaguez | WTIL** | 1300 |      |        |
| San Juan | WFOA** | 1400 | Tues | 8:00 p |

**SOUTH CAROLINA**

|             |           |      |       |         |
|-------------|-----------|------|-------|---------|
| Beaufort    | WBEU*     | 960  | Sun   | 2:30 p  |
| Bishopville | WAGS*     | 1380 |       |         |
| Camden      | WACA*     | 1590 | Sun   | 2:30 p  |
| Charleston  | WHAN*     | 1340 |       |         |
| Cheraw      | WCRE**    | 1420 | Sat   | 12:30 p |
|             | WCRE*     | 1420 |       |         |
| Chester     | WGCD*     | 1490 | Sun   | 6:00 p  |
|             | WGCD**    | 1490 | Sun   | 6:00 p  |
| Columbia    | WCOS-TV** | 25   | Sun   | 2:30 p  |
| Conway      | WLAT†     | 1490 | Mon   | 8:00 p  |
| Florence    | WJMX**    | 970  | Thurs | 8:00 p  |
|             | WJMX*     | 1230 | Sun   | 9:00 p  |
| Georgetown  | WGTM†     | 1400 | Mon   | 10:00 p |
| Greenville  | WFBC*     | 1330 | Wed   | 10:00 p |
| Greenwood   | WGSW†     | 1350 | Mon   | 9:00 p  |
| Mullins     | WJAY*     | 1280 |       |         |
|             | WJAY**    | 1280 |       |         |
| Orangeburg  | WTND*     | 920  | Sun   | 7:00 p  |
| Rock Hill   | WTYC*     | 1150 | Sat   | 9:00 p  |
| Seneca      | WSNW*     | 1150 | Sun   | 9:00 p  |
| Sumter      | WFIG†     | 1340 | Mon   | 9:00 p  |

**SOUTH DAKOTA**

|            |       |      |     |        |
|------------|-------|------|-----|--------|
| Brookings  | KBRK* | 1430 |     |        |
| Mitchell   | KORN† | 1490 | Mon | 9:00 p |
| Rapid City | KRSD† | 1340 | Mon | 9:00 p |
|            | KRSD* | 1340 | Sun | 9:00 p |
| Watertown  | KWAT† | 950  | Mon | 9:00 p |

**TENNESSEE**

|                 |           |      |                 |        |
|-----------------|-----------|------|-----------------|--------|
| Athens          | WLAR**    | 1450 |                 |        |
| Chattanooga     | WAGC†     | 1450 | Mon             | 9:00 p |
|                 | WMFS*     | 1260 |                 |        |
| Clarksville     | WDXN*     | 540  |                 |        |
| Cleveland       | WBAC†     | 1340 | Mon             | 9:00 p |
| Cookeville      | WHUB†     | 1400 | Thurs           | 9:00 p |
| Dyersburg       | WDSG*     | 1450 | Thurs           | 9:00 p |
|                 | WDSG†     | 1450 | Mon             | 9:00 p |
| Etowah          | WCPC*     | 1220 | Sun             | 9:00 p |
| Harriman        | WDEH*     | 800  |                 |        |
|                 | WDEH**    | 800  |                 |        |
|                 | WHBT*     | 1230 |                 |        |
|                 | WHBT**    | 1230 |                 |        |
| Jackson         | WTIS*     | 1390 | Tues            | 9:00 p |
|                 | WTIS**    | 1390 | Thurs           | 9:00 p |
|                 | WDXI†     | 1310 | Mon             | 9:00 p |
| Johnson City    | WJHL-TV** | 11   | Tues            | 9:00 p |
| Knoxville       | WKXV*     | 900  |                 |        |
|                 | WKXV**    | 900  |                 |        |
|                 | WTSK-TV** | 26   | Thurs           | 9:00 p |
| Lawrenceburg    | WDXE*     | 1370 | Sun             | 9:00 p |
| Lebanon         | WCOR*     | 900  |                 |        |
|                 | WCOR**    | 900  |                 |        |
| Lexington       | WDXL*     | 1490 | Sun             | 9:00 p |
| Maryville       | WGAP*     | 1400 | Sun             | 9:00 p |
| Memphis         | WHBQ*     | 560  | Sat             | 9:00 p |
| Morristown      | WCRK†     | 1450 | Mon             | 9:00 p |
| Murfreesboro    | WGNS*     | 1450 | Sun             | 9:00 p |
| Nashville       | WSM*      | 650  | Fri             | 9:00 p |
| Newport         | WLK*      | 1270 |                 |        |
| Paris           | WTPR*     | 710  | Mon             | 9:00 p |
|                 | WTPR†     | 710  | Sun             | 9:00 p |
| Pulaski         | WKSR*     | 1420 | Mon             | 9:00 p |
| Sevierville     | WSEV*     | 930  |                 |        |
| South Pittsburg | WEPG*     | 910  | To be announced |        |
|                 | WEPG**    | 910  | To be announced |        |
| Sparta          | WSMT*     | 1050 | Sun             | 9:00 p |
| Springfield     | WDBL*     | 1430 | Sun             | 9:00 p |
| Union City      | WENK*     | 1240 | Tues            | 9:00 p |
| Winchester      | WCDT†     | 1340 | Mon             | 9:00 p |

**TEXAS**

|                 |           |      |       |        |
|-----------------|-----------|------|-------|--------|
| Abilene         | KWKC*     | 1340 | Sun   | 9:00 p |
| Amarillo        | KGNC*     | 710  | Wed   | 9:00 p |
|                 | KAMQ†     | 1010 | Mon   | 9:00 p |
|                 | KRUN*     | 1400 |       |        |
| Ballinger       | KBMT-TV** | 31   | Mon   | 9:00 p |
| Beaumont        | KIBL*     | 1490 | Sun   | 9:00 p |
| Beeville        | KIBL**    | 1490 | Mon   | 9:00 p |
| Big Spring      | KTXC†     | 1400 | Sun   | 9:00 p |
| Bonham          | KFYN*     | 1420 | Sat   | 9:00 p |
|                 | KFYN**    | 1420 | Sun   | 9:00 p |
| Borger          | KHUZ†     | 1490 | Mon   | 9:00 p |
| Breckenridge    | KSTB*     | 1430 | Sun   | 9:00 p |
| Brownsville     | KBOR*     | 1600 | Mon   | 9:00 p |
| Brownwood       | KBWD†     | 1380 | Mon   | 9:00 p |
| Bryan           | KORA†     | 1240 | Mon   | 9:00 p |
| Clarksville     | KCAR*     | 1350 | Sun   | 9:00 p |
| Cleburne        | KCLE*     | 1120 | Fri   | 9:00 p |
| College Station | WTAW*     | 1150 | Sun   | 9:00 p |
| Colorado City   | KVMC*     | 1320 | Fri   | 9:00 p |
| Corpus Christi  | KRIS*     | 1360 | Wed   | 9:00 p |
|                 | KVDO-TV** | 22   | Sat   | 9:00 p |
| Crockett        | KIVY*     | 1290 | Thurs | 9:00 p |
|                 | KIVY**    | 1290 | Tues  | 9:00 p |
| Dallas          | KRLD-TV** | 4    | Sat   | 9:00 p |
|                 | WFAA*     | 820  | Wed   | 9:00 p |
|                 | WFAA**    | 570  | Mon   | 9:00 p |
|                 | WRR**     | 1310 | Mon   | 9:00 p |
| Eastland        | KERC*     | 1590 | Sun   | 9:00 p |

(Continued on Page 60)

## CONTEST RULES

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

Write letters of 150 or less words to your favorite paper about any subject of national interest. If you need more than 150 words to express your views, divide the material into two or more letters. Letters must have been published in newspaper or magazine, and clipping sent for entry. First award, \$25 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS for persons specified by winner; second award, \$10 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, \$5 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; with a token award of 5 six-month subscriptions for all other letters published by FF NEWS.

### SLOGAN:

An award of \$10 will be made for the slogan adopted for use each month. This contest will close four days prior to the closing of each Facts Forum Monthly Poll. Each person is invited to keep one slogan only in this competition. Entries may be changed at any time.

### POLL QUESTIONS:

Do you have questions regarding subjects of national interest which you feel would be suitable for use in our Monthly Poll? Facts Forum offers a prize of \$10 for each question selected by our judges for such use. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces. EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN EACH CONTEST. Questions will be judged for their current interest, fairness and conciseness. Keep questions "unloaded." Questions must be worded so that they can be answered Yes or No.

### SUBJECT FOR PROGRAM:

Send questions to be discussed on the FACTS FORUM PANEL programs to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. Those whose entries are selected as the subject of a broadcast will receive a set of Collier's Encyclopedia. Each runner-up will receive a set of Wedgewood china. Additional awards of lesser value will be sent to the persons whose sub-questions are used on each program.

### QUESTIONS FOR REPORTERS' ROUNDUP:

Send questions for this program to REPORTERS' ROUNDUP, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The three persons submitting questions used on each program will receive Cyma dual-purpose clocks.

### PROVOCATIVE PROSE:

Send quotations worth reading and remembering. Be sure to list authors and sources. Persons whose entries are chosen for publication in FF NEWS will receive one-year subscriptions to FF NEWS. If winners are already subscribers, they may in turn designate someone whom they want to receive the award subscription. In case of duplication, the entry with the earliest postmark will be used.

## Award Winners



## LETTERS to the EDITORS

\*\*\*\*\*

### 1st Award

#### REDS FISHING

To the *Los Angeles Times*:

"Russia fishes best in troubled waters."

A prominent man recently sounded this warning before an assembly of industrialists gathered to discuss the nation's future.

The speaker did not imply that Russia was in any way responsible for the glaring headlines of the day. He simply stated that while we were reading of the latest antics of the Ford Foundation, labor disputes, Korean real estate improvements, and Wall Street hysterics, plus race trial court farces, Commies quietly fished.

He gave no details of power-greedy labor leaders forcing a great industry to cease operating in utter defiance of law and local authorities. No explanation why the governor of that state played hide-and-seek with politicians before making the brave gesture of calling out the soldiers.

The speaker did not recall the petty events leading up to a strike.

He just remarked, "Russia fishes best in troubled waters."

PAT B. WINSELL  
163 North Murray  
Banning, California

\*\*\*

### 2nd Award

#### THE BIG WHY?

To the *Des Plaines Suburban Times*:

A state department historian is fired for condemning a "cover up" (by deletion), of important government documents . . .

While —

The head of a Longshoreman's union (with a dubious background) averts deportation.

An ex-communist professor bears his heart to a congressional committee, and is threatened by his university faculty of losing his job.

While

Another professor (defiant before a congressional committee) is secure in his job at a leading university.

A perjury case was dropped against another professor, who not only has been at large in Europe lecturing, but

has been re-hired at his alma mater . . .

A young war hero, and recipient of many decorations, who gave secret reports to a congressional committee, in an effort to protect America against espionage and treason, faces the possibility of a long prison sentence . . .

BEA VON BOESELAGER  
716 Merrill Avenue  
Park Ridge, Illinois

\*\*\*

### 3rd Award

#### APPALLED

To the *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph*:

The lack of public indignation and protest over the atrocities committed by the Chinese on our returned fliers is appalling!

The bleeding-heart politicians and professors, columnists and commentators who recently championed the "rights" of alleged, accused, admitted and convicted Commies, spies, subversives and traitors are now strangely silent.

I have yet to read that our fliers were allowed legal counsel or had the right to plead silence under any "amendment" to the Chinese Peoples' "Constitution" or Communist Manifesto.

Apparently the quickest way to lose your "rights" either as a human being or as an American is to be captured by Communists while performing duties for your country.

WILLIAM J. MACKAY  
8 Mesa Place

Colorado Springs, Colorado

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### STOP POURING MONEY DOWN FOREIGN DRAINS

To the *San Diego Union*:

Maybe the average American does not know what is to his best interest, but it is a safe bet if he had his say, he would vote 90 per cent against scattering more billions of taxpayers' money over the world.

Knowing that India has always taken Russia's side in every controversy against America, the 60 million dollars we are pouring into India gives us a political belly-ache. This is turned into real acid indigestion when we are

told our staunch friend, Spain, is being halved to 28 million dollars.

If taxpayers had anything to say about it, do you suppose they would pour more billions into Italy with her one-third communistic vote? Most of us believe the money could be spent at home with better results.

Let's stop pouring money into countries where they have signs up, "Americans, Go Home." These signs prove once again that you cannot buy friends.

G. M. MANN  
10 East Fifth Street  
National City, California

### ON THE FORD FOUNDATION

To the *New York Herald Tribune*:

Page 24 of Tuesday's *Herald Tribune* contained two very interesting, provocative stories.

On the one hand, H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., president of the Ford Foundation, which financed the planting of a hidden microphone in a jury room, complained about "irresponsible criticism" of tax-exempt foundations.

On the other, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the controversial Ford Fund for the Republic, defended his hiring of Communist and ex-Communists to work on the Fund's supposedly "objective" studies and projects in the field of communism and civil liberties.

To this reader, it would seem that both Messrs. Gaither and Hutchins should follow their own advice and adopt a more "responsible" attitude in the launching and staffing of projects financed out of tax-exempt profits from the sale of Ford products.

JACQUES BRAMHALL, JR.  
20 Colles Avenue  
Morristown, New Jersey

### NO MONEY TO BE HAD?

To the *Hartford Courant*:

U. S. Army Engineers say that \$175,000,000 spent 10 years ago would have prevented much of the recent flood damage in New England. "The money just wasn't to be had," the article states. Since 1945, the United States has cast broadside throughout the world some \$32 billion. Charity apparently doesn't begin at home.

E. D. COLLINS  
83 Deerfield Drive  
Manchester, Connecticut

### SOMETHING WRONG

To the *Dallas News*:

The government says the farmer's income is down and the man who buys these products at retail says they are up. What is wrong?

Does the working man have to pay both price supports to the farmer and high prices for farm products? It doesn't make sense to me. Somewhere, from farmer to retail buyer, some people must be hiding away plenty of "green." I think a big chunk of our national debt is caused by the agricultural program.

LUTHER L. IRVIN  
3143 Mt. Springs  
Dallas 33, Texas

### CONGRATULATIONS

To the *Fort Worth Star Telegram*:

You are to be congratulated on your editorial "School Aid Not Federal Responsibility" in the Nov. 6 paper. No one should be duped by the advocates of federal aid to education who call for "adequate safeguards to preserve traditional, local control." It would be like believing in the mythological centaur.

If freedom is to be preserved in this country, there can be only one yardstick by which to measure any proposal—the question "Does it increase or decrease the centralized power in Washington?" If a proposal increases centralized power in Washington, it is bad and should be rejected regardless of the stated motivation.

MAL RUMPH, M. D.  
705 Medical Arts Building  
Fort Worth 2, Texas

### ALL SHOULD VOTE

To the *Boston Post*:

Many of our citizens have sounded off on the condition today of our government, states, cities and towns. I wonder just how many do really vote?

I have heard people talk and kick about things but when they have a chance to do something about it by voting, they let it slip by.

Most people who do the sounding off are those who do not take the time or effort to cast votes for the candidates of their choice or register their opinion for or against any amendment on the ballot.

However, it has always been my opinion that the people who fail to vote do not have the right to criticize and thus forfeit their privilege to criticize those elected. How about exercising your privilege by voting for the candidates of your choice in the 1955-56 general election.

JAMES H. WINN  
P. O. Box 136  
Old Lee Road  
Newfields, New Hampshire

## RADIO and TV SCHEDULES

### TEXAS — (Continued)

|                 |           |      |                 |       |
|-----------------|-----------|------|-----------------|-------|
| Freeport        | KBRZ**    | 1460 | Sun             | 1:00  |
| Fredericksburg  | KNAF†     | 1340 | Mon             | 8:00  |
| Greenville      | KGVL*     | 1400 | Sun             | 1:00  |
| Hillsboro       | KHBR*     |      |                 | 9:45  |
| Houston         | KPRC*     | 950  | Wed             | 8:00  |
| Huntsville      | KSAM†     | 1490 | Mon             |       |
| Jacksonville    | KEBE*     | 1400 |                 | 1:00  |
| Kermit          | KERB*     | 600  | Sun             |       |
| Kilgore         | KOCA*     | 1240 |                 | 6:00  |
| Kingsville      | KINE*     | 1330 | Sun             | 7:15  |
| Lamesa          | KPET*     | 690  | Sun             | 1:00  |
| Levelland       | KLVT**    | 1230 | Sun             | 1:00  |
| Littlefield     | KVOW**    | 1490 | Sun             | 6:00  |
| Longview        | KTVE-TV** | 32   | Sun             | 6:15  |
| Lufkin          | KTRE*     | 1420 | Sat             | 8:00  |
|                 | KTRE**    | 1420 | Mon             | 10:00 |
|                 | KTRE-TV** | 9    | Fri             | 7:00  |
| Marlin          | KMLW*     | 1010 | Sun             | 7:00  |
| Midland         | KCRS*     | 550  | Fri             | 12:00 |
|                 | KJBC*     | 1150 | Sun             | 8:00  |
| Monahans        | KVKM†     | 1340 | Mon             | 2:00  |
| Mt. Pleasant    | KIMP*     | 960  |                 |       |
| Nacogdoches     | KSFA*     | 860  | Sun             | 2:00  |
| Pampa           | KPAT*     | 1230 |                 | 7:00  |
| Pecos           | KIUN*     | 1400 | Tues            | 9:00  |
| Port Arthur     | KPAC*     | 1250 | Mon             |       |
| Post            | KRWS*     | 1370 |                 | 6:00  |
| San Angelo      | KTXL-TV** | 8    | Sun             | 9:00  |
| San Antonio     | WOAI*     | 1200 | Wed             | 7:00  |
|                 | WOAI-TV** | 4    | Sun             | 7:00  |
| Sherman         | KRRV*     | 910  | Sat             | 8:00  |
|                 | KRRV**    | 910  | Sun             | 8:00  |
| Snyder          | KSNY†     | 1450 | Mon             | 12:00 |
| Stephenville    | KSTV*     | 1510 | Sun             | 12:00 |
| Sulphur Springs | KSST*     | 1230 | Sun             | 8:00  |
| Sweetwater      | KXOX†     | 1240 | Mon             |       |
| Texas City      | KTFB*     | 1400 | To be announced |       |
|                 | KTLW*     |      |                 | 10:00 |
|                 | KTLW**    |      |                 | 8:00  |
| Tyler           | KLTV-TV** | 7    | Wed             | 10:00 |
| Vernon          | KVWC†     | 1490 | Mon             | 8:00  |
| Victoria        | KVIC†     | 1340 | Mon             | 8:00  |
| Waco            | KANG-TV** | 34   | Sat             | 8:00  |
|                 | KYBS*     | 630  | Mon             | 8:00  |
|                 | KYBS**    | 630  | Fri             | 9:00  |
| Waxahachie      | KBEC*     |      |                 | 9:00  |
| Weslaco         | KRGV*     | 1290 | Wed             | 9:00  |
|                 | KRGV-TV** | 5    | Fri             | 9:00  |
| Wichita Falls   | KWFT-TV** | 6    | Tues            | 9:00  |

### UTAH

|                |        |      |     |  |
|----------------|--------|------|-----|--|
| Logan          | KVNU†  | 610  | Mon |  |
| Price          | KOAL†  | 1230 | Mon |  |
| Salt Lake City | KSL*   | 1160 | Sun |  |
|                | KWHO*  |      |     |  |
| Vernal         | KJAM*  | 1340 | Mon |  |
|                | KJAM** | 1340 | Sun |  |

### VERMONT

|               |        |      |     |  |
|---------------|--------|------|-----|--|
| Newport       | WIKE*  | 1490 | Wed |  |
| St. Johnsbury | WTWN*  | 1340 | Wed |  |
|               | WTWN** | 1340 | Sun |  |

### VIRGIN ISLANDS

|                          |        |      |                 |  |
|--------------------------|--------|------|-----------------|--|
| Christiansted, St. Croix | WIVI*  | 1230 | To be announced |  |
| St. Thomas               | WSTA** | 1340 | To be announced |  |

### VIRGINIA

|               |            |      |                 |  |
|---------------|------------|------|-----------------|--|
| Arlington     | WEAM**     | 1390 | Tues            |  |
| Bedford       | WBTL†      | 1490 | Mon             |  |
| Clifton Forge | WCFV*      |      |                 |  |
| Crewe         | WSVS*      | 800  | Sun             |  |
| Fairfax       | WFCR**     |      |                 |  |
| Galax         | WBOB†      | 1400 | Mon             |  |
| Hopewell      | WHAP*      | 1340 | To be announced |  |
|               | WHAP**     | 1340 | To be announced |  |
| Lexington     | WREL*      | 1450 | Sat             |  |
|               | WREL**     | 1450 | Sun             |  |
| Newport News  | WACH**     | 1270 | To be announced |  |
| Norfolk       |            |      |                 |  |
| Hampton       | WVEC-TV*   | 15   | Sat             |  |
| Richmond      | WMBC*      | 1380 |                 |  |
| Roanoke       | WSLS-TV**  | 10   | Sun             |  |
| Staunton      | WAFB*      | 900  | Sun             |  |
| Suffolk       | WLPB*      | 1450 |                 |  |
|               | WLPB**     | 1450 |                 |  |
| Waynesboro    | WAYB*      | 1490 | To be announced |  |
| Winchester    | WINC-WREL* | 1400 | Tues            |  |

### WASHINGTON

|              |          |      |     |  |
|--------------|----------|------|-----|--|
| Colfax       | KCLX*    | 1450 |     |  |
| Grand Coulee | KFDR**   | 1400 | Sun |  |
| Moses Lake   | KSEM*    | 1450 | Wed |  |
|              | KSEM**   | 1450 | Sat |  |
| Pullman      | KOFE*    | 1150 | Sun |  |
|              | KOFE**   | 1150 | Sun |  |
| Seattle      | KOMO*    | 1000 | Mon |  |
| Spokane      | KHQ-TV** | 6    | Wed |  |
| Tacoma       | KTAC*    | 850  |     |  |
| Yakima       | KYAK*    | 1390 |     |  |

### WEST VIRGINIA

|            |       |      |     |  |
|------------|-------|------|-----|--|
| Bluefield  | WKOY† | 1240 | Mon |  |
| Elkins     | WDNE† | 1240 | Mon |  |
| Huntington | WPLH† | 1450 | Mon |  |
| Morgantown | WAJR† | 1230 | Mon |  |

(Continued on Page 63)

## THE WEAKNESS OF ARMS INSPECTION PROPOSALS

To the *Hartford Courant*:

Our Constitution does not authorize the federal government to grant to any international, or other foreign organization the right to inspect a private manufacturer of arms, or anything else, in any state of the union.

This is an inherent weakness in President Eisenhower's reciprocal inspection offer to Soviet Russia, and also in the proposed international inspection offer to Soviet Russia, and other organization, in a disarmament plan.

CHARLES J. FOX  
604 Bonair Street  
La Jolla, California

## 'SLEEP OF THE DRUGGED'

To the *Toledo Blade*:

If only Americans wake up to the fact that modern "cold wars" (skillfully conducted by enemies of this republic) can be as devastating as hot wars, they may not be lulled by all this talk of peace.

If they will wake up to the fact there's a "cold war" going on, on the domestic front as well, and that words are not being used to clarify issues but to confuse patriotic Americans, maybe forces will be joined to get back a government of law (instead of men) in America.

Are we to be run by our duly elected officials, responsible to us, or by some appointee (operating behind the scenes) never running for office where the people can make him pay for costly mistakes?

Time runs out while American citizens sleep the sleep of the drugged. Today, giants are slain by words instead of bullets.

EVVA SKELTON TOMB  
Box 254AA, Route 2  
Holland, Ohio

## PAUSE IN THE BLUES

To the *Cincinnati Times-Star*:

Our sob-sisters are at it again. They blubbered when Hiss was being lynched. They wailed when the Rosenbergs were being "crucified." They yammered when White was being flogged. They moaned when Remington was being "drawn and quartered." They whimper when any movie star or other egghead is being "spanked." But never do they come up with a groan when some pervert helps the Russians or Chinese to get ready to destroy millions of Americans.

To further their purpose they have started a campaign to put on the defensive every outspoken advocate of the retention of our system. They

would make of loyalty and patriotism works of disdain and scorn.

But here is a question that will give every loyal American pause: In what condition would this nation be today had it not been for the work of the congressional committees through which so much of treachery and subversion was exposed?

OTTO GARR TAGUE  
2403 Upland Place  
Cincinnati 6, Ohio

## MR. SNOW ASKS ABOUT FIFTH AMENDMENT PROTECTION

To the *Houston Post*:

The *Post* for Oct. 5 carried the story of a Texas contractor receiving a six-months sentence in a federal court for refusing to answer questions concerning a certain business transaction, claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

The *Post* for Oct. 6 carries the story of a left-wing writer being excused in a federal court from answering question concerning Communist activities when he claimed the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

The incidents are not isolated, but appear to follow the general rule these days. I am so naive politically as to ask the question: Why do certain privileges and rights guaranteed by the Constitution apply only to those suspected of participation in the Communist conspiracy and to no one else?

E. E. SNOW  
4314 Avenue O½  
Galveston, Texas

## WE'VE BEEN FOOLED

To the *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph*:

We have fought wars, built schools, roads, dams, bridges, railroads, and otherwise subsidized people in foreign countries with American tax dollars. We have bought elections both at home and abroad the same way. We have furnished our most deadly enemies with the tools and the money, the guns, and everything but the men, with which to destroy us. And still some insist that "only the people can change the Constitution." And we go on thinking that because only we, the people, can legally change it, the Constitution has not been changed and we are protected. But are we?

Schools, roads, subsidies, housing, medicine, dozens and scores of unconstitutional uses have been made of our tax moneys until now we owe more than all the other countries in the world combined.

LESLIE A. SHAW  
122 East Avenue 45  
Los Angeles 31, California

## RADIO and TV SCHEDULES

(Continued from Page 62)

### WEST VIRGINIA — (Continued)

|                  |          |      |     |         |
|------------------|----------|------|-----|---------|
| New Martinsville | WETZ°    | 1330 | Fri | 10:00 a |
| Oak Hill         | WOAY-TV° | 4    | Sun | 5:00 p  |
| Ronceverte       | WRON°    | 1400 |     |         |
|                  | WRON°    | 1400 |     |         |
| Wheeling         | WKWK°    | 1400 | Sun | 10:15 p |
| Williamson       | WBTH†    | 1400 | Mon | 9:30 p  |

### WISCONSIN

|                 |       |       |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-------|-------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Appleton        | WBHY† | 1230  | Mon             | 8:30 p          |
| Ashland         | WATW† | 1400  | Mon             | 8:30 p          |
| Eau Claire      | WBIZ† | 1400  | Mon             | 8:30 p          |
| Fond du Lac     | KFIZ† | 1450  | Mon             | 8:30 p          |
| Green Bay       | WJPG† | 1440  | Mon             | 8:30 p          |
| Janesville      | WCLO† | 1230  | Mon             | 8:30 p          |
| La Crosse       | WLCH† | 1490  | Mon             | 8:30 p          |
| Madison         | WMFM° | 104.1 | Sun             | 8:00 p          |
| Manitowoc       | WWOC° | 980   | To be announced |                 |
| Medford         | WIGM† | 1490  | Mon             | 8:30 p          |
| Reedsburg       | WRDB† | 1400  | Sun             | 6:00 p          |
| Richland Center | WRCO° | 1450  | To be announced |                 |
| Two Rivers      | WTRW° | 1590  | Sun             | To be announced |
|                 | WTRW° | 1590  | To be announced |                 |

### WYOMING

|            |       |      |      |        |
|------------|-------|------|------|--------|
| Casper     | KVOC° | 1230 | Sun  | 7:15 p |
| Cody       | KODI° | 1400 | Tues | 6:30 p |
| Lander     | KOVE† | 1230 | Mon  | 7:30 p |
| Powell     | KPOW† | 1260 | Mon  | 7:30 p |
| Sheridan   | KWYO† | 1410 | Mon  | 7:30 p |
| Torrington | KGOS° | 1490 | Tues | 7:30 p |

## Should Movies Be Censored?

(Continued from Page 45)

of the production code to explain his point of view. The production code is only the first step taken in trying to keep their major product in tune with the majority interest, he declared. After that, before the pictures are released, advance information is spread all over the country about the nature of the picture, its suitability for audiences. They not only exhibit the pictures to all press critics who deal with movies, but they invite the previewers of the twelve major women's organizations to come and see them. The Legion of Decency is invited to review the pictures, and this organization in turn not only sends out reports on them, but it also sends out audience classifications finely drawn for adults, for mature young people, for young people, for children, and for family audiences.

Such a procedure, according to this executive in the motion picture industry, should enable everyone to find out in advance whether a movie that is scheduled for showing in his community is appropriate for his tastes. Then, if he exercises his veto through abstention from the theater, he is exercising a perfectly good democratic prerogative.

END

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# FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes February 1

Yes No

- Can a Christian country compromise with communism?
- Will supply and demand solve the critical farm situation?
- Should pleading Fifth Amendment disqualify one from positions of trust?
- Should Secretary of State continue to hold conferences with Russia?
- Should U. S. trade with Russia?
- Should students be required to memorize Constitution and Amendments?
- Are farmers getting a fair share of America's unprecedented prosperity?
- Should the government force a public accounting of union welfare funds?
- Should we leave foreign policy out of the '56 campaign?
- Do you approve the stand taken by the American Legion relative to UN?
- Will the labor merger lead to a third party?
- Should surplus food in government warehouses be given to charity?
- Do the so-called "junkets" of members of Congress justify the expense?
- Should a Communist be permitted to be a member of a college faculty?

Remarks \_\_\_\_\_

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

NO. AND ST.

CITY AND STATE

• **PLEASE NOTE:** Voters are requested to write in your votes by listing your answers on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which you have no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.) and mailing to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). Your votes shown in this manner, or indicated on the above form, represent your ballot in the Facts Forum Poll.

Send me Facts Forum News for 1 year. I enclose \$2.00.

## POLL RESULTS

Results of the January Facts Forum Poll are omitted from this issue in order to advance the publication date. These results will be published in the March issue, together with the results of the February Poll.

### LIQUOR REGULATION WOULD EASE TAX LOAD

To the *San Diego Union*:

In the United States there are now one million inebriates, sixty thousand new ones each year. Life insurance companies reject one hundred thousand each year because of alcoholic indulgence.

In the economic field there is a tremendous loss in producing power and in the ability of the consumers to purchase the necessities and luxuries that could add greatly to the health and happiness of all, and tremendously stimulate legitimate business.

Why should not the traffic in alcoholic beverages rather than the taxpayer bear the extra economic costs due to the increase in sickness, accidents and crime?

It does not seem just, or even sensible to permit any group to profit by the manufacture and sale of a product that enormously increases the expense of government while decreasing its efficiency.

Is it consistent to suppress the trade

in narcotics and license, protect and advertise this other enemy of society?

E. W. B. MARK  
8060 University Avenue  
La Mesa, California

### POURING TROUBLE ON TROUBLED WATERS

To the *Des Moines Register*:

Why is this country developing more irrigation projects to raise more food when right at this time we are raising more food than the country can eat and the government is spending billions of dollars to buy up the surplus which it can't find a market for? Not only buying up this surplus food but spending millions and millions of dollars to rent space in which to store it. It is in line with the story of the boy who was paid 25 cents for every dose of castor oil he took. On being asked what he was doing with all that money, the boy replied, "I am saving it to buy more castor oil."

DR. R. B. MOORE  
P. O. Box 237  
Allerton, Iowa

## February Poll Question Winners

An award of \$10.00 each has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll.

1st: MRS. VIRGINIA B. ALMORE  
356 North Craig Street  
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

2nd: DAVE ANDRUS  
Box 408  
Huntsville, Arkansas

3rd: LOMA ANDRUS  
Box 408  
Huntsville, Arkansas

4th: W. W. BOWDEN  
Woodbury, Georgia

5th: MRS. R. H. CASTO  
636 1/2 North Prospect Street  
Hagerstown, Maryland

6th: MRS. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM  
10855 South Maplewood Avenue  
Chicago 43, Illinois

7th: A. B. DANCA  
7231 East End Avenue  
Chicago 49, Illinois

8th: JOSEPH DE STEFANO  
125 East Fifteenth Street  
New York 3, New York

9th: MRS. T. D. FICKES  
3819 Livingston Drive  
Long Beach 3, California

10th: D. A. GALLIGAN  
619 Second Avenue N.E.  
Waseca, Minnesota

11th: GERALD R. HIBBS  
Residential Hall  
Norman, Oklahoma

12th: MRS. L. C. MATTHEWS  
5400 Live Oak Street  
Dallas 6, Texas

13th: MRS. CLARA H. SEARLE  
4131 Dry Creek Road  
Napa, California

14th: A. B. DANCA  
7231 East End Avenue  
Chicago 49, Illinois

Slogan for February:

**MAKE PATRIOTISM  
THE SPIRIT OF '56**

Submitted by:  
MRS. PAUL CONOLLEY  
7743 Bryn Mawr,  
Dallas, Texas

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y's po

*"Truth will ultimately prevail  
where there is pains taken  
to bring it to light."*



M  
venue

SLOGAN FOR FEBRUARY

**Make Patriotism the Spirit of '56**



SM  
56  
Y

*"I appeal to constantly bear in mind  
that not with politicians, nor with  
presidents, not with office seekers, but  
with you is the question: Shall the  
liberties of this country be preserved to  
the latest generation?"*



## FACTS FORUM TELEVISION SERIES Now Available On 16mm Film

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