

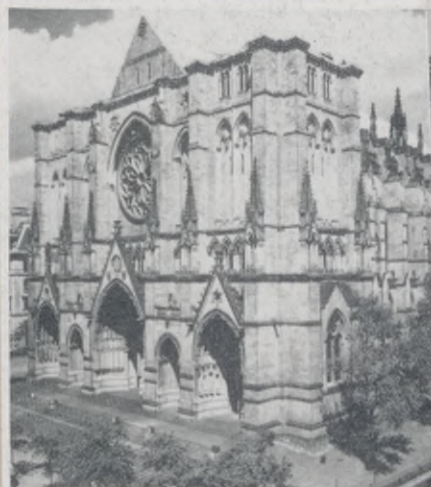
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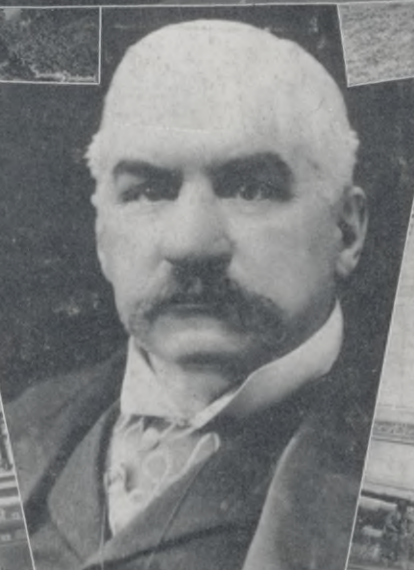
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*Marx on Capitalism vs. Von Mises on Socialism
Atom Pool: Oppenheimer's Last Word?*

FREDA UTLEY VS. DAILY WORKER ON LIFE IN RUSSIA

Provocative Prose

"Liberty of speech inviteth and provoketh liberty to be used again and so bringeth much to man's knowledge."

—FRANCIS BACON

"Communism is merely the imposition of socialism all at once by violence."

—HERBERT HOOVER,

The Challenge to Liberty,
(Scribner's Sons, 1934).

"The penalty that people pay for not being interested in politics is to be governed by people worse than themselves."

—PLATO

"It is an axiom in political science that unless a people are educated and enlightened it is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty or the capacity for self government."

—Texas Declaration of Independence

"In questions of power, let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

—THOMAS JEFFERSON

"I am a man of peace. God knows how I love peace. But I hope I shall never be such a coward as to mistake oppression for peace."

—KOSSUTH

*The New Dictionary
of Thoughts, 1903.*

"Such statements as the following we hear every day, and they reveal total incomprehension of the nature of communism: 'We must eliminate social abuses so that communism may not flourish.' Cancer was never cured by improving the general health."

"People who are interested in what Communists do, but not in their philosophy, are like dairy farmers who are interested in milk but have no interest in cows."

—DR. FRED SCHWARZ

* * * * *

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COVER

The enterprises and benefactions of Mr. Morgan included numerous railways, the United States Steel Corporation, the Cathedral of St. John the Divine (upper left), the Metropolitan Museum of Art (upper center) and the New York Public Library. All photographs are from Wide World Photos except that of the Cathedral, which is from Underwood and Underwood.



—Wide World Photo

ATOMS FOR PEACE?



—Wide World Photo

Boon or Boner?

Do you approve of the Eisenhower International Atomic Energy Pool — or "atoms-for-peace" — plan?

* * * * *

In the tradition of Facts Forum, let's examine two opposite sides of that question, taking first the arguments of some who say "Yes."

* * * * *

PLANE OF HOPE

IN THE late fall of 1953, the United Nations General Assembly was nearing the end of a session distinguished by frustration. The statesmen of the world, assembled in the United Nations, were laboring in an atmosphere of despair.

But the gloom which had settled upon them and frustrated their dedicated efforts was lifted by Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, 1953, President Eisenhower reached a height of statesmanship never surpassed in the history of mortal man.¹

The dramatic impact of President Eisenhower's speech was instantly felt around the world.

Today, more than a year later, the United Nations has begun to take concrete action to implement the promise of atoms for peace which President Eisenhower made in that electrifying speech before the UN General Assembly.

The immeasurable long-range consequence of President Eisenhower's proposal is in sharp contrast to the beautiful simplicity of the plan which he proposed.

President Eisenhower simply recommended that the United Nations create an International Atomic Energy Agency. He suggested that all governments producing atomic energy should make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to this agency. The exact ratios of contributions, procedures, and other details, should be worked out in private conversations between the great powers.¹

The UN agency should be responsible for controlling and storing the contributed materials, protecting them

against seizure by any nation, and devising methods of allocating them to serve peaceful pursuits. Experts will be mobilized to apply atomic energy to the needs of agriculture, medicine, and other peaceful activities. A special purpose will be to provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world.¹

This was the Eisenhower Atomic Energy Pool proposal which lifted the UN General Assembly, and with it the world, to a plane of hope and high purpose.¹

Before the world, President Eisenhower pledged the United States to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma of this age; to find a way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life; to guarantee that the world will not be consigned to the hopeless futility of a belief that two atomic colossi, Russia and the United States, are doomed malevolently to eye each other indefinitely across a trembling world.

The Eisenhower proposal is not

merely an attempt to reduce or eliminate the use of atomic materials for military purposes. It is not enough to take this awful weapon out of the hands of soldiers. It must be put into the hands of those who will know how to strip its military casing and adapt it to the arts of peace.¹

If the fearful trend of atomic military build-up can be reversed — as the Eisenhower atoms-for-peace plan gives great promise that it can — atomic energy can be developed into a boon for the benefit of all mankind.¹

If the entire body of the world's scientists and engineers had adequate amounts of fissionable material with which to test and develop their ideas, the capability of peaceful power from atomic energy would rapidly be transformed into universal, efficient and economic usage.

The Eisenhower atom pool proposal will do just these things, by enabling all the nations presently developing atomic energy to pool some of their resources, to dedicate some of their strength to serve the needs, rather than the fears, of mankind.¹

The Eisenhower proposal holds out a



—Wide World Photos

At left, the United Nations General Assembly December 8, 1953, during President Eisenhower's address proposing that an international agency to develop peaceful uses of the atom be created. At right, a close-up of the President as he called upon the world's atomic powers to reverse "the fearful trend" of the atomic arms race. He asked that an International Atomic Energy Agency be set up under the UN.

promise of vast atomic bounty to the underprivileged regions which have been most susceptible to Communist propaganda. Like the bold Marshall Plan, which was conceived and carried out under the Truman administration, the Eisenhower atoms-for-peace plan can work with or without the cooperation of the Soviet Union.

Like the Marshall Plan before it, the atoms-for-peace plan was offered to the world with a direct and sincere invitation to the Soviets to participate. If the Soviet Union should finally refuse to participate and turn over fissionable material to the international pool, the United States will go ahead as it has already started, and undertake to do the job alone, through United Nations channels. If the Soviets should decide to cooperate, then learning to work with them in this touchy field will further the cause of world peace.¹

The Soviets do not have as much fissionable material as we do. Therefore, any contribution that they may make to this proposed UN stockpile would affect their bomb manufacture more than our contribution would affect ours.

America can make substantial contributions of atomic material to an international pool without hurting our own striking power.

PLAN IS FOOLPROOF

Hence, this Eisenhower plan is foolproof. If the Russians do contribute large quantities of fissionable materials, they largely reduce their ability to produce the articles of war. If they give little or nothing, they convict themselves in the court of world opinion.

When the atom pool plan was first suggested, the Soviets rejected it. The other nations of the world which generously and unanimously accepted the proposal did, nonetheless, express grave doubts that the proposal would ever serve its basic purpose of easing international tensions unless the Soviet Union did participate.²

The Soviets apparently rejected the plan primarily because they wanted to use the United Nations forum as a propaganda platform for touting their scheme for international atomic disarmament without international inspection to insure compliance.

John Foster Dulles, however, stole this propaganda possibility from the Soviets by saying that he did not think the controversial arena of the United Nations General Assembly was a proper place for discussions between the Soviets and us over their participation in the atom pool plan. Mr. Dulles made it quite clear that such a delicate matter as this should be discussed in secret negotiations.

By the latter part of 1954, it became apparent that the negotiations had con-



—Wide World Photo
Vishinsky and associates alternately gay and serious about atoms. Soviet UN delegates with British Delegate Anthony Nutting, center, and U.S. Delegates C. D. Jackson (left in top photo) and H. C. Lodge (left in lower photo).

siderably softened the attitude of the Soviet Union. The Soviets were no longer saying flatly that they would not participate, but were indicating that they might come in if we would permit other nations—which to the Soviet Union meant Red China—to participate; and if we would put the new atomic pool agency under the UN Security Council, where the Soviets have a veto.

We stood firm against both of these Soviet proposals, however; and, on December 4, 1954, the Soviets made one of the most startling concessions to the United States that they have ever made in the United Nations.

They joined us and all other members of the UN General Assembly in a unanimous endorsement of a resolution approving President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace plan.³

Almost simultaneously with this official UN action, the United States gave reality and impetus to the International Atom Pool plan by making a gift offer of 220 pounds of processed uranium.⁴

Now, 220 pounds of processed uranium is no insignificant amount.⁴ It costs only about two million dollars to produce, but if used as atomic fuel it could

in theory produce in an efficiently atomic generator about 2½ billion kilowatt hours of electrical power, or much as is produced by all of the Tennessee Valley Authority's hydroelectric generators in a month.

In physical dimensions, 220 pounds of processed uranium is only about the size of a regulation soccer ball. But use in isotope research, it is enough to supply dozens of laboratories throughout the world.

Although this American gift is more technically to the International Atomic Energy Pool, it is carefully hedged with safeguards to prevent its misuse. When shipments of the material actually made, they will be sent in small quantities, protected by the armed United States guards. They will be consigned, not into the hands of an international agency, but directly to receiving countries.⁴

Before the shipments are actually made, however, the international agency must be set up to administer the worldwide research program for which the American contribution is made.

The Eisenhower atoms-for-peace plan calls not only for the international

ing of actual fissionable materials, but also for the exchange of atomic energy knowledge. In connection with the exchange-of-information part of the atom pool plan, it is thrilling to notice important concrete steps that the United States has already taken.⁵

By May, 1955, we will begin bringing scientists from all over the world to study radio isotope techniques at our own Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Study. We are, moreover, setting up reactor training schools for engineers and scientists from other countries.⁵

"MADE IN AMERICA"

Immediately after President Eisenhower's initial proposal for the atom pool, America's Atomic Energy Commission, although endorsing the idea, wanted to pin a "Made in America" label on the plan. They wanted to set up an agency that would be largely American-dominated and independent of the United Nations. This AEC scheme was defeated, fortunately, in our own State Department and National Security Council. Our statesmen realized that the surest way to alienate the participation of other nations in this atom pool plan and to create widespread suspicion of it, was to parade it as an American project.⁶

Hence, we can be reasonably sure that when the International Atom Pool Agency is set up, it will function very much as the other United Nations agencies, such as UNESCO, operate. It will have its own governing body made up of representatives from all the member nations of the United Nations. And it will no doubt have on its special board of governors representatives from the power-starved areas of the world, which are supposed to be the special beneficiaries of the program. This means that such nations as India and Indonesia will have an important influence in the operation of the atom pool agency. This fact alone will remove from the agency any possible stigma of colonialism or Western domination.⁵

By the spring of 1955, the scientists of the world, studying in America's special schools, will be learning how to develop the peaceful uses of the atom. In two years, a plant for producing electrical energy from atomic power should be operating in Asia. In the immediate future, the plan can be opening up coal-hungry and power-short regions, aiding industry, and irrigating desert areas.⁵

We do run certain risks in giving fissionable materials to other nations.

The atom pool plan will mean giving some atomic secrets to Russia, but not bomb secrets. We will also, of course, get atomic secrets from Russia.

The United States will be giving up some selfish advantage by participating

in this pool—a temporary advantage, that is. Inasmuch as we have more wealth and more atomic plants and more surplus atomic materials than any other nation, we will naturally be making more contributions to the pool than any other nation will make. But the long-range advantages to the whole world offset any minor concessions that we may make immediately.⁶

War flows out of a state of mind, and if the minds of the world can be busied on the atom for peace, the world will stop thinking about atoms for war.

This is the essence of the Eisenhower atoms-for-peace plan.

* * * * *

That was one side of the question: Now for the opposite side—the views of some who DO NOT approve of Ike's atoms-for-peace plan.

* * * * *

THE International Atom Pool plan dwarfs all previous schemes for giving America away to the rest of the world.

The atom pool plan will not only give away America's resources—in fact, our most vital material resource—but will also give away our security.⁷

The President himself recognized the grave danger of an international bank of fissionable material in the very speech in which he suggested that one be set up. He said, "The ingenuity of our scientists will provide special safe conditions under which such a bank of fissionable material can be made essentially immune to a surprise seizure."¹

Now, who are our scientists? If this is to be an international agency under the control of UN, will American scientists be the ones to devise this system of security?⁷

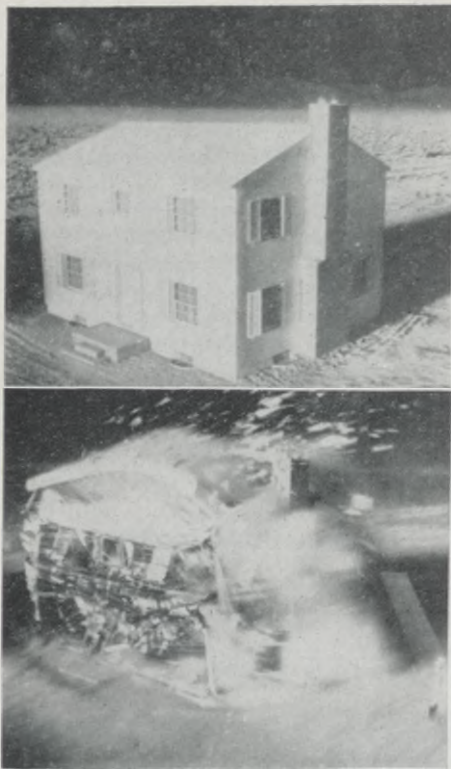
INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

One of the specifically advertised features of the International Atom Pool plan is that it is to be international; that it is to be under the control of no one



—Wide World Photos

Peacetime uses for the atom—at upper left, radioactive isotopes serve as tracers, enabling studies of electron mission in vacuum tubes and the penetration of preservatives used to treat telephone poles. At right, the atom smasher has joined the drill press and the lathe as a tool of industry. Shown is the first industrial installation in the world and is used to kill bacteria in packaged drugs. Lower photo, atom helps grow better food, but "hot stuff" for farm test can be dangerous. Long tongs, heavy rubber gloves, a lead screen, and a film badge pinned on the shirt are among the precautions used to protect the men who work with it.



—Wide World Photos

Test house at Yucca Flat, Nev., shown (top) as built 3,500 feet from blast point. Lower photo shows the house collapsing and being pushed backward by A-bomb's terrific force.

nation. Obviously, the scientists whom President Eisenhower refers to as the ones to provide safe conditions are going to be scientists from all over the world, including the Soviet Union.⁷

Whom, therefore, are we protecting this atom bank from: ourselves? Or someone from the planet Mars?

Even if we could place the safety of this atom pool exclusively in the hands of American nuclear scientists, how secure could we feel about it when we reflect that for ten critical years America's leading nuclear scientist was J. Robert Oppenheimer, who, because of his admitted, extensive, and prolonged Communist activities, has now been officially declared a security risk?⁸

We know that not only atomic energy secrets, but vital atomic energy materials, have been stolen from American atomic energy plants, in spite of all the security measures and protective systems that the ingenuity of our scientists and of our government could devise. How, then, can we expect to guarantee this international bank of fissionable material against thefts or surprise seizures when the thing will be under the control of Socialists, Communists, and miscellaneous bureaucrats of the United Nations?⁹

And if we do find that the Soviets or the Chinese Communists or Czechoslovakia, or anyone else, is stealing from the international atomic energy bank the

materials which we are giving to it, what will we do about it? We have no control over the bank. All we can do is to contribute to it — and, perhaps, make feeble protests when we find out that it is being misused.⁹

We have always known that nations receiving America's openhanded aid were misusing it. Most of the big recipients of our aid, in fact, have misused part of it to build up their trade with Communist countries. But when they misuse atomic materials which we put into the international pool, they are not merely insulting us and wasting our resources. Truman, Acheson, Marshall, Eisenhower, Dulles, and Stassen have taught us how to be patient and put up with that.⁹

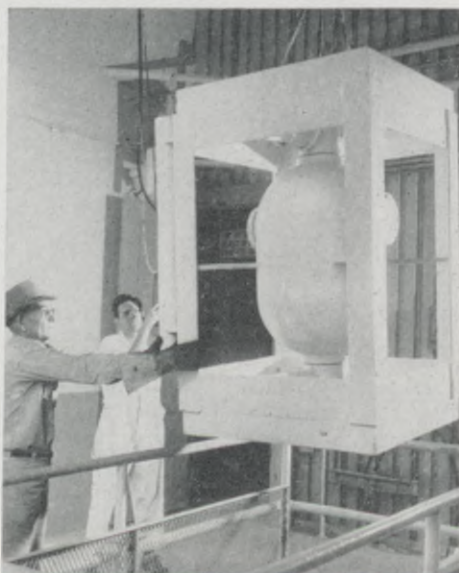
DAGGER POINT AT AMERICA'S HEART

When they tinker with our atomic energy materials, they are pressing a dagger point at the heart of America.

This is a substance that can destroy us.

But suppose there are no raids upon, or thefts from, the international bank of fissionable material.

What safeguards do we have for the material which is drawn out of the international bank in the regular way? Let's say that India draws fissionable material out of this international bank. How can we be sure that the material will be devoted to research for peacetime uses? How do we know that India will not use some of the material for producing bombs? What guarantee do we have that India will not let some of that material get into the hands of the Chinese Communists or of the Soviet Union?¹⁰



At left, the largest shipment of radioactivated cobalt on its way from the AEC's nuclear research laboratory in Oak Ridge to the Los Angeles tumor institute. The carrier contains 4,400 pounds of lead forming an eight-inch shield around six small capsules of the cobalt — equivalent to ten million dollars worth of radium. At right, young scientists work on a long-range research project in an effort to find a treatment for burns and radiation from atomic explosions. The picture shows laboratory study of the metabolism of blood pigments.

—Wide World Photos

If we build reactors, atomic power plants and atomic laboratories in Indonesia and train Indonesian scientists and industrialists to use them (as we are proposing), what will we do if the Communists simply take over all of Indonesia — as now seems quite possible, even likely?¹⁰

HUNT RABBITS OR COMMIT MURDER?

The only protection we have is the wishful thinking of our Congress, which wrote the law granting the President authority to give away our nuclear materials, and the platitudes of Mr. Dulles and Mr. Eisenhower, who assure us that none of the material can be misused. They lead us to believe that the atomic materials which we contribute to the atom pool are a kind that cannot be used for warlike purposes.¹⁰

That's like giving a man a shotgun and claiming that he cannot commit a murder with it because you gave it to him for hunting rabbits.¹⁰

The fact is that the 220 pounds of enriched uranium which we have already committed as a gift to the international atom pool is quite usable for making atom bombs, and in fact enough to produce cores for eleven A-bombs.

It is silly and dishonest to say that nuclear materials which are usable for all cannot be used for destructive purposes.

If it were otherwise, why did President Eisenhower in his initial speech about the atom pool acknowledge the danger of the pool but then assure us that we could provide safeguards against the danger?¹¹

Why, if these materials can be used

only for peaceful purposes, do our laws take such elaborate precautions to keep them out of private American hands?

The Atomic Energy Act of 1954, like the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, strictly prohibits American individuals and American business firms from owning these fissionable materials. Our Congress does not trust Americans with these materials — which Americans paid for. But the 1954 law which expresses such deep distrust of Americans permits the President to give the same materials to foreign governments, merely on the promise of those governments that they won't misuse our gifts.¹¹

Think about this a moment. After a year of begging and wheedling and secret negotiating on our part, the Soviets have decided apparently to participate in the atom pool.

U. S. JUST GIVES

They have not promised to put one thing into the atom pool, but there is nothing in the arrangement to keep the Soviets from openly drawing out what we put in. It is an international pool. We can't control it. We say we don't want to control it. All we can do is give.

We are gambling the life of America on the good faith and promises of foreign governments, including the government of the Soviet Union.¹⁰

But suppose we work out some way to keep the Soviets from getting directly the atomic materials we put into the pool. Where do we intend most of these materials to go? To the big power-starved areas of the world — which means India, Indonesia, Burma: nations which have proven themselves to be quite pro-Communist and anti-American; nations which are dangerously infiltrated by Communist parties; nations

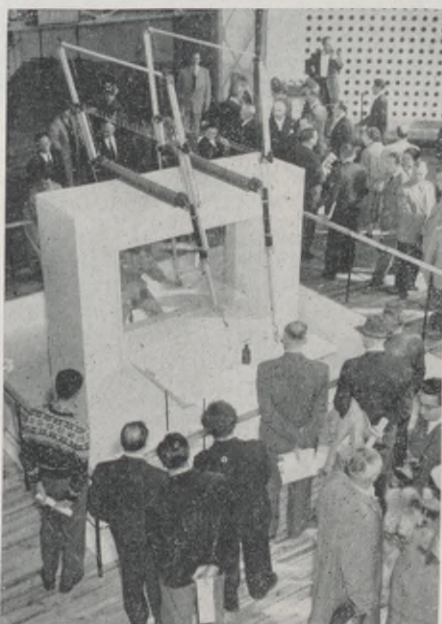
which, in the UN, support the Soviets far more often than they support us.

Didn't we win a great propaganda victory by suggesting this atom pool, thus proving that we want to use atoms for peace instead of for war?

Examine the facts.

The one thing which gives America military superiority over every other nation or combination of nations on earth is its qualitative and quantitative superiority in the production of atomic energy materials. But America offers to give away part of that superiority to foreign nations.⁷

Americans are supposed to be a free people. Yet our President (without consulting the people, or even the Congress)



—Wide World Photo
Top interest at the West Berlin Industrial Fair in Germany September, 1954, was attracted by "magic hands," mechanical hands for handling radioactive material in atomic research.

gets up before the United Nations and promises to use the power of his office to seize from the American people the product of their labor and of their taxes — to take away from them by the force of law their most vital material resource and give it away to hostile foreign governments on the mere promise of those governments that they will be nice and use it properly.¹

When the Soviets first rejected this scheme — probably because they simply couldn't believe their ears¹² — Mr. Dulles threw away any conceivable propaganda advantage that we might have had, by saying that he would negotiate with the Soviets secretly about their participation in the plan.¹³

SOVIETS GET MORE CREDIT

For merely going along with us — a year later — the Soviets got more credit in the "forum of world opinion" (as the one-worlders and United Nations



—Wide World Photo
Atomic cannon's test blast at Frenchman's Flat, Nev.

lovers call the thing) than we got for starting it.

What will happen later on, when the Soviets claim that they endorsed the atom plan because Mr. Dulles had secretly promised to let Red China participate in the scheme?

Mr. Dulles will loudly deny that he made such promises. But the Soviets will insist that he did. The world will recall that it was Mr. Dulles who wanted the negotiations with Russia to be secret. And the record shows that our friends in the UN respect Russia's word as much as they respect ours.

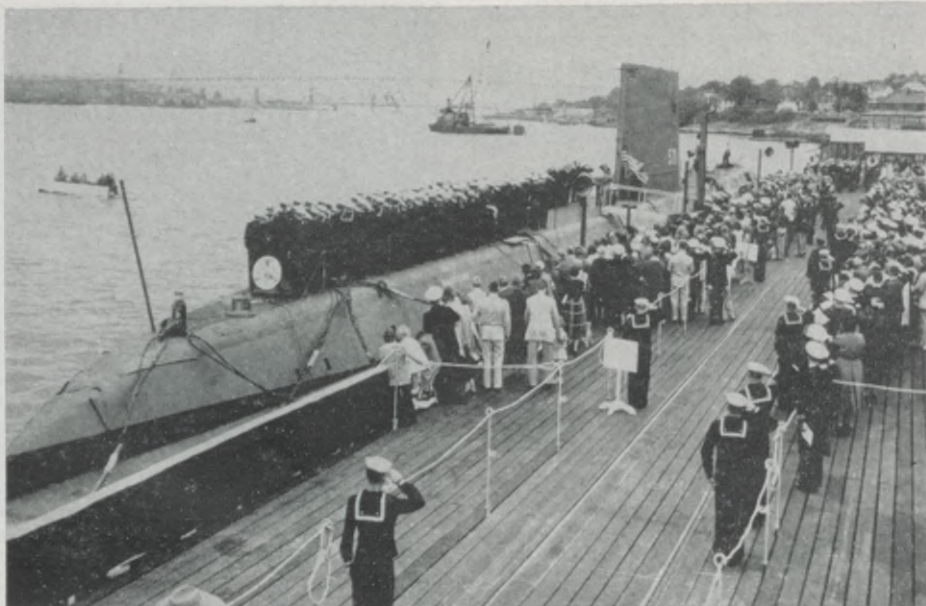
In his original atom pool speech in December, 1953, President Eisenhower said that the real purpose of the atomic pool proposal is to turn the world toward developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy so that we can eliminate atomic materials for military purposes. It would be nice — and just as sensible — if the President would go on record as being against sin.

The chilling reality is that the Soviet gangsters have already stolen enough atomic energy know-how and materials from us to get started on what appears to be a fairly extensive atomic energy program. As long as they can obtain atomic energy materials, either by producing them in their own plants, or by stealing them from us, or by getting them via the international pool, the Soviets are going to continue building whatever frightful atomic energy weapons they can. No amount of wishful thinking, speaking, resolving, treaty-signing, or sharing of the wealth on our part will change that grim set of facts. The Soviets say that they want to outlaw atomic weapons. They no doubt do. They would like to engage us in a treaty tomorrow to outlaw the use of atomic weapons. That would guarantee the scrapping of our atomic weapons; but not of theirs.¹⁴

In manpower the Communist nations



—Wide World Photo
Atomic Scientists Ernest O. Lawrence (left) and J. Robert Oppenheimer as they examined cyclotron diffusion pumps in 1946.



At Groton, Conn., commissioning ceremony placed the world's first atom-powered submarine, the USS Nautilus, in U. S. Navy service. —Wide World Photo

outnumber us almost ten to one. In conventional weapons, they are already outproducing us. Our chief advantage in force over the Communist world is our capacity for building and using atomic weapons. On the day when we outlaw atomic weapons we will outlaw America's principal military advantage over the Soviets. On the day when we find ourselves with no military advantage over the Soviets we will find the Soviets taking our nation over by force.

ELIMINATE AMERICA'S INDEPENDENCE?

Supporters of the President are outraged at the suggestion that the International Atom Pool is part of an internationalist scheme to eliminate America's essential independence as a nation and to prepare America for integration in a great one-world Socialist state.¹⁰



—Wide World Photo
Meyer

It is interesting to note, however, that some of the basic features and some of the language of Eisenhower's 1953 atom pool proposal first showed

up in 1948 in a book entitled *Peace or Anarchy*, written by Cord Meyer, Jr., then president of the United World Federalists — whose honestly-announced purpose is to integrate America into a great one-world government.

One of the most terrifying and mysterious phenomena of this generation is the seemingly irresistible compulsion upon our elected leaders — that is, the President and the Congress of the United

States — to lead America into national suicide.

In this atom pool thing, we are toying with death and destruction. We are risking our lives — our national existence — on the promises and good faith of some of the bloodiest villains in human history.

There is no conceivable way for the International Atom Pool to help the United States.

But in a thousand ways, the scheme is laden with potential disaster for us.

There, in quick review, are two sides of a Facts Forum question: "Do you approve of the Eisenhower International Atomic Energy Pool — or 'atoms-for-peace' — plan?"

* * * * *

We present these programs in the hope that we are doing some good for America by helping to create public interest in important controversial questions.

* * * * *

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Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, November 18, 1954 Page 1

Vishinsky Talk Spurs Atom for Peace Plan

By JOHN PITTMAN

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Nov. 17.—Establishment of the world Atoms-for-Peace Agency, with the Soviet Union's participation, was foreshadowed today as USSR representative Andrei Vishinsky reiterated his government's policy of cooperation in international efforts to promote the peaceful development of atomic energy.

Both Vishinsky and India's V. K. Krishna Menon, who spoke earlier in today's session of the First Committee, emphasized the positive aspects of the discussion on the project initiated by President Eisenhower's speech to the eight General Assembly Dec. 8, 1953. Both representatives suggested modification of the seven-power resolution for establishing a world atomic energy agency and convening an international scientific conference through the machinery and "under the aegis" of the UN.

obtains a privileged position with which to impose its will on other countries.

The recognition of the principle that the agency's competence would not be used against the interests of any state should determine the third question, he said. He said the U. S. use of the term "under the aegis of the UN" made it clear that a link with the UN was envisaged, but that it left

an resources would apply also to atomic energy.

MENON'S SPEECH

Krishna Menon reviewed the achievements of India and the principles of the "Eastern world" in the process leading to the development of atomic energy.

He declared India did not believe the harnessing of atomic energy for civilian uses would

COMING TOMORROW:
The Debate on Peaceful Co-Existence
By MAX GORDON

The headline above was torn from the Communist DAILY WORKER.

LAST WORD?

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, AEC security risk, may yet have the last word on the nation's atomic policy. Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, famous atomic scientist, wrote in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* for October 1954 (p. 314):

"Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer made his plea for candor . . . in the July 1953 issue of *Foreign Affairs*. . . Operation Candor [a planned series of Presidential broadcasts to reveal secret atomic information] . . . was set in motion by Oppenheimer's plea. . . These plans fizzled out. . . It is significant, however, that plans for Operation Candor had reached a concrete form before the whole program was abandoned. . . We can only conclude that advisers close to the President counseled against candor and shouted down any opposition. . . Whatever the reasons, we know that the only pay-off of the planned operation was President Eisenhower's December 8 speech to the UN." [Emphasis supplied.]



—Wide World Photo

Oppenheimer in 1949 defending David E. Lilienthal, then AEC chairman, against charges by Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R-Iowa) of "incredible mismanagement." Next day, June 14, brother Frank Oppenheimer admitted to House Committee on Un-American Activities his past membership in Communist party.



—Wide World Photo

On June 29, 1954, the five-man Atomic Energy Commission voted four to one to deny Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's appeal to lift his suspension from access to U.S. security data. Left to right, Commissioners Thomas E. Murray, Henry D. Smyth, Joseph Campbell, Eugene M. Zuckert, and Chairman Lewis L. Strauss.

Page 4 THE WORKER, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1954

By JOSEPH CLARK

UNANIMOUSLY approved. That was the emphasis in dispatches about United Nations adoption of the Eisenhower "Atoms for Peace" plan last Tuesday. And it is the last tribute life paid to Andrei Vishinsky that he was working on a statement supporting an atomic pool for peaceful use when he died.

Thoughts go back to countless meetings of the United Nations. And to a press conference held more than seven years ago when UN headquarters was at Lake Success. The white-haired chief Soviet delegate, whose ruddy face broke out in a smile so easily, was always the center of attention at UN. So it surprised nobody when more than 500 reporters from all over

the world turned out for that press conference on Sept. 27, 1947.

A ripple of laughter turned into loud and hearty laughter at a reply Vishinsky made to a written question that had been submitted by six correspondents. They wanted to know what would happen if there were no agreement about atomic energy control. Vishinsky replied:

"Dear Six Correspondents: Leave

your pessimism to your editorial offices."

And there, perhaps, lies the reason for the constant effervescence of the man and his amazing energy in debate, considering his age and a long-standing heart-ailment. Andrei Vishinsky was never pessimistic about the fight for international control of atomic energy.



—Wide World Photo

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, one of the A-bomb scientists, with Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, after Oppenheimer talked with committee members behind closed doors June 7, 1949.

Epochal Attack on Capitalism

Engels has said that at a "Congress" of the "Communist League" held in London in November, 1847, he and Marx "were commissioned to prepare for publication a complete theoretical and practical" program for the Communist party. The result was the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, written first in German, quickly translated into French and published in Paris in June, 1848, and by 1850 translated into English, Danish, and Polish. The first Russian translation was published in 1863. The MANIFESTO is the best-known Communist writing. It is still an essentially accurate account of Communist theory, and therefore a very poor guide to Communist practice.

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By KARL MARX and
FRIEDRICH ENGELS

A SPECTRE is haunting Europe — the spectre of communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre; Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French radicals and German police-

spies. Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where the opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact.

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a power.

II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery

tale of the spectre of communism with a manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London and sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish, and Danish languages.

I

Bourgeois and Proletarians*

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman—in a word, oppressor and oppressed—stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the early epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East Indian and Chinese markets, the coloniza-

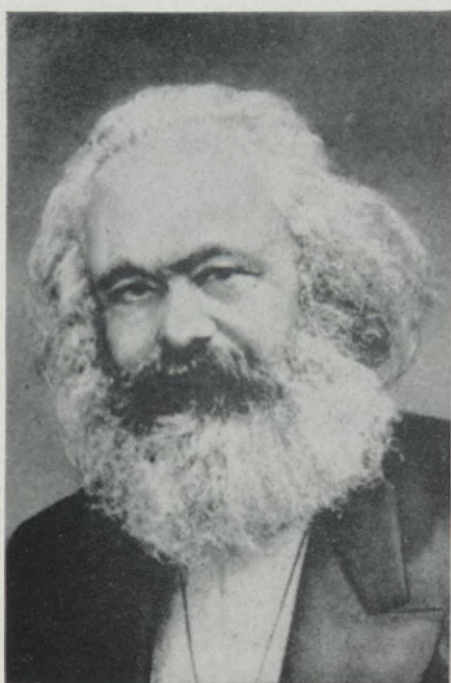
tion of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities, generally, gave commerce, to navigation, to industry, impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolized by closed guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class; division of labor between the different corporations vanished in the face of division of labor in each single workshop.

Meantime, the markets kept growing, the demand ever rising. The old manufacture no longer sufficed. The

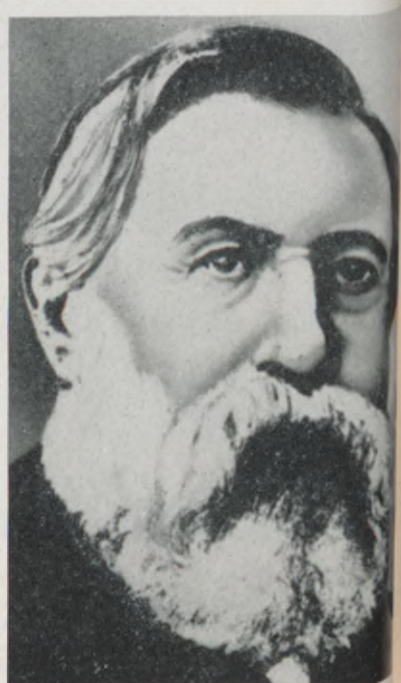
(Continued on Page 9)

*By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labor. Proletariat, the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live.



Karl Marx

—Wide World Photo



Friedrich Engels

—Wide World

Mistakes in Socialist Theory

Dr. Ludwig von Mises is the internationally famous Austrian economist, professor successively at Vienna and Geneva, and author of many authoritative books, including THEORY OF MONEY (1912). He now lives in the United States and is consultant to the National Association of Manufacturers. No one has argued more cogently that communism and socialism are mistaken. In BUREAUCRACY (1944) he said: "Our age has witnessed a triumphal advance of the Socialist cause. . . . America alone is still free to choose. And the decision of the American people will determine the outcome for the whole of mankind."

From SOCIALISM*

By LUDWIG VON MISES

NO CLASS CONFLICT

. . . . The theorists of socialism and of irreconcilable class conflict talk as though there was some kind of abstract labor which everyone was qualified to perform and as though skilled labor hardly came into the question. In reality no such "absolute" labor exists. Nor is unskilled labor homogeneous. A scavenger is different from a porter. Moreover the role of unskilled labor is much smaller, considered purely numerically, than orthodox class theory assumes. . . .

The members of a class are competitors. If the number of workers diminishes, and if the marginal productivity of labor grows accordingly, wages rise, and with them the income and standard of living of the worker. Trade unions cannot alter this. When they, who were supposed to be called into being to fight the entrepreneurs, close their membership like guilds, they implicitly recognize the fact.

Competition operates among the workers when they compete for higher positions and for promotion to higher ranks. Members of other classes can afford to remain indifferent as to the precise persons who are numbered

among the relative minority which rises from the lower to the higher strata, so long as these are the most capable. But for the workers themselves this is an important matter. Each is in competition with the others. Of course each is interested to see that every other foreman's job shall be occupied by the most suitable man and the best. But each is anxious that that one job which comes within his reach shall fall to him, even though he is not the most suitable man for the job; and the advantage to him outweighs the fraction of the general disadvantages which may eventually also come his way.

SOLIDARITY OF INTERESTS

The theory of the solidarity of the interests of all members of society is the only theory which shows how society is possible; and if it is dropped, the social unity dissolves not only into classes, but into individuals confronting each other as opponents. Conflict between individual interests is overcome in society but not in the class. Society knows no components other than individuals. The class united by a community of special interests does not exist; it is the invention of a theory incompletely articulated. The more complicated society is, and the further differentiation has progressed within it, so much the more numerous are the

groups of persons similarly placed within the social organism; though necessarily, the number of members in each group diminishes as the number of groups increases. The fact that the members of each group have certain immediate interest in common does not, of itself, create universal equality of interests between them. The equality of position makes them competitors, not people with common aspirations. Nor can any absolute community of interests arise from the incomplete similarity between the positions of allied groups. As far as their positions are similar, competition will operate between them.

The interests of all cotton mill owners may run parallel in certain directions, but insofar as this is the case, the more are they competitors among themselves. In other respects only those owners of mills who produce the same count of yarn will be in exactly parallel positions. Here again to this extent they are in competition with each other. In other respects, however, the common interests are similar over a much wider field; they may comprise all workers in the cotton industry, then, again, all cotton producers, including planters and workers, or further, all industrialists of any kind, etc.: the grouping varies perpetually according to the aim and interests to be pursued. But complete similarity



—Wide World Photos

"Most of the families in the United States own a motor car." At left, traffic in Detroit, Michigan. Right, street scene in New York City.

*Yale University Press, 1951. Pages 338-342, 350-351, and 525-532. Reprinted by permission.

there is rare, and, where it does exist, it leads not only to common interests vis-a-vis third parties but, simultaneously, to competition between the parties within the group.

* * * * *

It is the same with the workers, who are contrasted with the owners of the means of production. The special interests of the separate workers' groups are also not unitary. They have quite different interests according to the knowledge and skill of their members. It is certainly not in virtue of its class position that the proletariat is that homogeneous class the Socialist parties imagine it to be. Only adherence to the Socialist ideology, which obliges every individual and every group to give up his or its special interests, brings it about that it is so. The daily work of the trade unions consists precisely in effecting compromises between these conflicts of interest.¹

... The community of class interests does not exist independently of class consciousness, and class consciousness is not merely additional to a community of special interests; it creates such a community. The proletarians are not a special group within the framework of modern society, whose attitude is unequivocally determined by their class position. Individuals are brought together for common political action by the Socialist ideology; the unity of the proletariat comes, not from its class position, but from the ideology of the class-war. As a class the proletariat does not exist before socialism: the Socialist idea first created it by combining certain individuals to attain a certain political end. There is nothing in socialism which makes it especially appropriate to forwarding the real interests of the proletarian classes.



—Wide World Photo

"Capitalism is still very vigorous in the Western Hemisphere." Top photos, left to right, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in Southern California; large caustic storage tanks at Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company's chlorine plant in West Virginia. Lower, left to right, General Electric's General Engineering Laboratory in Schenectady, N. Y., and the Esso Plant in Bayway, N. J.

In principle, class ideology is no different from national ideology. In fact there is no contrast between the interests of particular nations and races. It is national ideology which first creates the belief in special interests and turns nations into special groups which fight each other. Nationalist ideology divides society vertically; the Socialist ideology divides society horizontally. In this sense the two are mutually exclusive. Sometimes the one has the upper hand, sometimes the other. In Germany in 1914 the nationalist ideology shouldered the Socialist ideology into the background—and suddenly there was a nationalist united front. In 1918 the Soc-

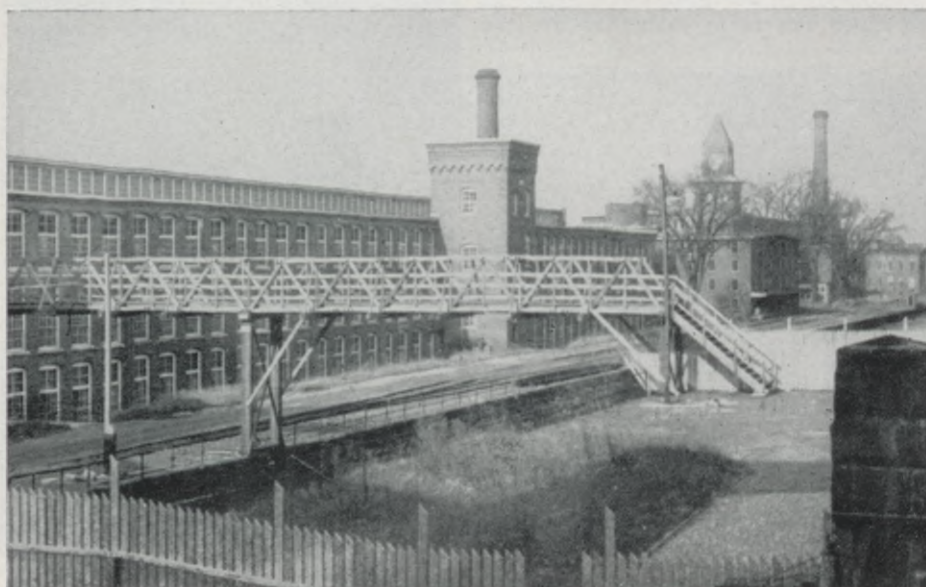
ialist triumphed over the nationalist.

In a free society no classes are separated by irreconcilably contrasting interests. Society is the solidarity of interests. The union of special groups has always as its safe aim the destruction of this cohesion. Its aim is anti-social. The special community of proletarian interests extends only so far as they pursue one aim—to break up society. It is the same with the special community of interests which is supposed to exist for a whole nation.

Because Marxian theory does not define its notion of class more closely, people have been able to use it for the expression of the most diverse ideas. When they define the decisive conflict as that between owners and nonowners or between urban and rural interests or between bourgeois, peasant, and worker; when they speak of the interests of "armament capital," "alcohol capital," of "finance capital" when at one moment they talk about the Golden International and in the next breath explain that imperialism is due to the conflicts of capital, it is easy to see that these are the merest catchwords of the demagogue, devoid of any sociological interest. Thus in its fundamental contentions, Marxism has never risen above the level of a doctrine for the soapbox orator.³

* * * * *

... the concepts Bourgeoisie, Working Class, Proletariat, are fictions, the cognitive value of which depends on the theory in the service of which



—Wide World Photo

A cotton mill in Manchester, N. H.

are applied. This theory is the Marxian doctrine that class conflict is irreconcilable. If we consider this theory inadmissible, then no class differences and no class conflicts in the Marxian sense exist. If we prove that, correctly understood, the interests of all members of society are not in conflict, we have shown not merely that the Marxian idea of a conflict of interests is untenable: we have discarded as valueless the very concept of class as it figures in Socialist theory.

* * * * *

The characteristic mark of this age of dictators, wars and revolutions is its anticapitalistic bias. Most governments and political parties are eager to restrict the sphere of private initiative and free enterprise. It is an almost unchallenged dogma that capitalism is done for and that the coming of all-round regimentation of economic activities is both inescapable and highly desirable.

Nonetheless, capitalism is still very vigorous in the Western Hemisphere. Capitalist production has made very remarkable progress even in these last years. Methods of production were greatly improved. Consumers have been supplied with better and cheaper goods and with many new articles unheard of a short time ago. Many countries have expanded the size and improved the quality of their manufacturing. In spite of the anticapitalistic policies of all governments and of almost all political parties, the capitalist mode of production is in many countries still fulfilling its social function in supplying the consumers with more, better, and cheaper goods.

It is certainly not a merit of governments, politicians, and labor union officers that the standard of living is improving in the countries committed to the principle of private ownership of the means of production. Not offices and bureaucrats, but big business deserves credit for the fact that most of the families in the United States own a motor car and a radio set. The increase in per capita consumption in America as compared with conditions a quarter of a century ago is not an achievement of laws and executive orders. It is an accomplishment of businessmen who enlarged the size of their factories or built new ones.

One must stress this point because our contemporaries are inclined to ignore it. Entangled in the superstitions of statism and government omnipotence, they are exclusively preoccupied with governmental measures. They expect everything from authoritarian action

and very little from the initiative of enterprising citizens. Yet, the only means to increase well-being is to increase the quantity of products. This is what business aims at.

It is grotesque that there is much more talk about the achievements of the Tennessee Valley Authority than about all the unprecedented and unparalleled achievements of American privately operated processing industries. However, it was only the latter which enabled the United Nations to win the war and today enable the United States to come to the aid of the Marshall Plan countries.

The dogma that the state or the government is the embodiment of all that is good and beneficial and that the individuals are wretched underlings, exclusively intent upon inflicting harm upon one another and badly in need of a guardian, is almost unchallenged. It is taboo to question it in the slightest way. He who proclaims the godliness of the state and the infallibility of its priests, the bureaucrats, is considered as an impartial student of the social sciences. All those raising objections are branded as biased and narrow-minded. The supporters of the new religion of statolatry are no less fanatical and intolerant than were the Mohammedan conquerors of Africa and Spain.

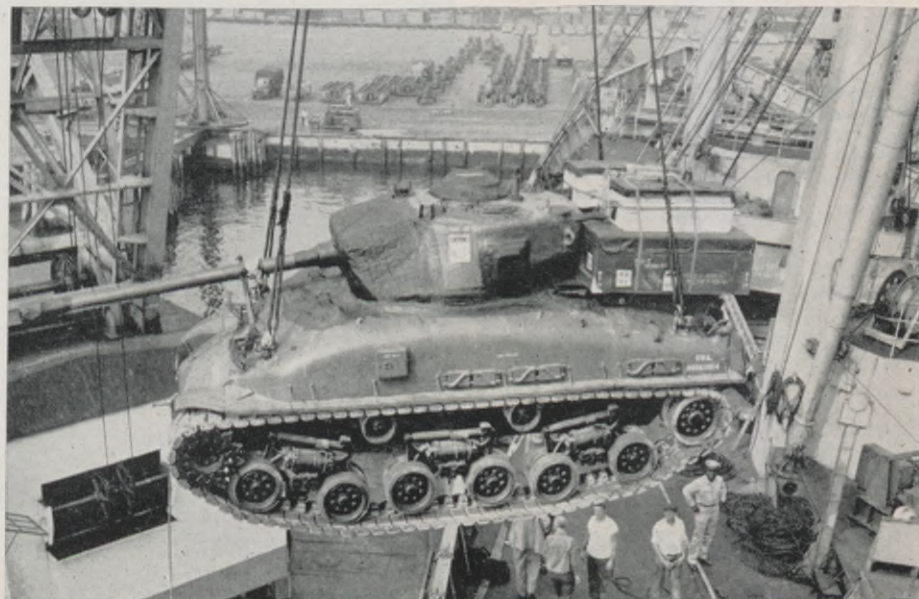
History will call our age the age of the dictators and tyrants. We have witnessed in the last years the fall of two of these inflated supermen. But the spirit which raised these knaves to autocratic power survives. It permeates textbooks and periodicals, it speaks through the mouths of teachers and politicians, it

manifests itself in party programs and in plays and novels. As long as this spirit prevails, there cannot be any hope of durable peace, of democracy, of the preservation of freedom or of a steady improvement in the nation's economic well-being. . . .

Although capitalism is the economic system of modern Western civilization, the policies of all Western nations are guided by utterly anticapitalistic ideas. The aim of these interventionist policies is not to preserve capitalism, but to substitute a mixed economy for it. It is assumed that this mixed economy is neither capitalism nor socialism. It is described as a third system, as far from capitalism as it is from socialism. It is alleged that it stands midway between socialism and capitalism, retaining the advantages of both and avoiding the disadvantages inherent in each.

More than half a century ago, the outstanding man in the British Socialist movement, Sidney Webb, declared that the Socialist philosophy is "but the conscious and explicit assertion of principles of social organization which have been already in great part unconsciously adopted." And he added that the economic history of the nineteenth century was "an almost continuous record of the progress of socialism."⁴ A few years later an eminent British statesman, Sir William Harcourt, stated: "We are all Socialists now."⁵ When in 1913 an American, Elmer Roberts, published a book on the economic policies of the imperial government of Germany as conducted since the end of the seventies, he called them "monarchical socialism."⁶

However, it was not correct simply to



—Wide World Photo
"Achievements of American . . . industries . . . enabled . . . the United States to come to the aid of the Marshall Plan countries." Above, Europe-bound U. S. tank.

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

... Mr. Smoot, my personal thanks to you for an excellent talk on a subject ["Federal Aid to Education"] that has worried me a lot. I am on (definitely) the side of the fence that says it is one of the fundamental truths that the government, the schools and religion should be unequivocally separated. I am glad that my side was presented, and for the sake of those who disagree, I am glad that their side was so ably presented.

A. M. Johnson
7427 Claymont Dr., Dallas, Tex.

... May I have a copy of your talk? ... It covered many of the things the American people need so urgently to know. ... Yours for a better informed public,

Z. M. Eberhard
2635 Harriet Ave., Minneapolis 8, Minn.

... most interesting and thought-provoking ... Desire to re-read and help others to know about these things. Thank those responsible for bringing this splendid program before the general public and for gesture of sending a copy to those interested.

Mrs. L. Bott
5300 N. Figueroa St., Los Angeles 42, Calif.

You are doing a splendid job on your Facts Forum radio program, and all loyal Americans owe you a vote of thanks...

Miss Ethel Foresman
140 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.

... It is certainly welcome and refreshing to hear controversial topics covered so thoroughly and objectively.

Robert H. Smith
5824 Ridge Ave., Cincinnati 13, Ohio

... I found this program particularly thought-provoking and would like to use it as a basis for discussions with friends.

Jack Lyman
Lyman Farm, Middlefield, Conn.

... As a student for the ministry, I feel that I should keep informed. If there is any way I can keep receiving your factual data, please let me know.

Daniel A. Dryer
Gordon Divinity School,
Beverly Farms, Mass.

... Please send trial subscription to *Facts Forum News*. We need facts—not wrongly slanted opinions! ...

Miss Jean Lowrie Edmonds
4 Hastings House,
Hastings-on-Hudson 6, N. Y.

... May [Facts Forum] grow, grow and grow in the interest of all...

Yvone B. Michon
1343 Dorr St., Apt. 23, Toledo, Ohio

... Your programs are wonderful and most necessary.

Joe McNulty
43 3rd St., Brooklyn 3, N. Y.

identify interventionism and socialism. There are many supporters of interventionism who consider it the most appropriate method of realizing—step by step—full socialism. But there are also many interventionists who are not outright Socialists; they aim at the establishment of the mixed economy as a permanent system of economic management. They endeavor to restrain, to regulate and to "improve" capitalism by government interference with business and by labor unionism.

* * * * *

However, all the methods of interventionism are doomed to failure. This means: the interventionist measures must needs result in conditions which from the point of view of their own advocates are more unsatisfactory than the previous state of affairs they were designed to alter. These policies are therefore contrary to purpose.

Minimum wage rates, whether enforced by government decree or by labor union pressure and compulsion, are useless if they fix wage rates at the market level. But if they try to raise wage rates above the level which the unhampered labor market would have determined, they result in permanent unemployment of a great part of the potential labor force.

Government spending cannot create additional jobs. If the government provides the funds required by taxing the citizens or by borrowing from the public, it abolishes on the one hand as many jobs as it creates on the other. If government spending is financed by borrowing from the commercial banks, it means credit expansion and inflation. If in the course of such an inflation the rise in commodity prices exceeds the rise in nominal wage rates, unemployment will drop. But what makes unemployment shrink is precisely the fact that real wage rates are falling.

The inherent tendency of capitalist evolution is to raise real wage rates steadily. This is the effect of the progressive accumulation of capital by means of which technological methods of production are improved. There is no means by which the height of wage rates can be raised for all those eager to earn wages other than through the increase of the per capita quota of capital invested. Whenever the accumulation of additional capital stops, the tendency towards a further increase in real wage rates comes to a standstill. If capital consumption is substituted for an increase in capital available, real wage rates must drop temporarily until

the checks on a further increase in capital are removed. Government measures which retard capital accumulation lead to capital consumption—such as confiscatory taxation—are therefore detrimental to the vital interests of the workers.

Credit expansion can bring about temporary boom. But such a fictitious prosperity must end in a general depression of trade, a slump.

It can hardly be asserted that the economic history of the last decades has run counter to the pessimistic predictions of the economists. Our age has to face great economic troubles. But this is not a crisis of capitalism. It is the crisis of interventionism, of policies designed to improve capitalism and substitute a better system for it.

No economist ever dared to assert that interventionism could result in anything else than in disaster and chaos. The advocates of interventionism—first most among them the Prussian Historical School and the American Institutionalists—were not economists. On the contrary. In order to promote their plans, they flatly denied that there was any such thing as economic law. In their opinion governments are free to achieve all they aim at without being restrained by an inexorable regularity in the sequence of economic phenomena. Like the German Socialist Ferdinand Lassalle, they maintain that the state is God.

The interventionists do not approach the study of economic matters with scientific disinterestedness. Most of them are driven by an envious resentment against those whose incomes are larger than their own. This bias makes it impossible for them to see things as they are.



—Wide World
National Socialist Adolf Hitler

really are. For them the main thing is not to improve the conditions of the masses, but to harm the entrepreneurs and capitalists even if this policy victimizes the immense majority of the people.

PROFITS OBJECTIONABLE

In the eyes of the interventionists the mere existence of profits is objectionable. They speak of profit without dealing with its corollary—loss. They do not comprehend that profit and loss are the instruments by means of which the consumers keep a tight rein on all entrepreneurial activities. It is profit and loss that make the consumers supreme in the direction of business. It is absurd to contrast production for profit and production for use. On the unhampered market a man can earn profits only by supplying the consumers in the best and cheapest way with the goods they want to use. Profit and loss withdraw the material factors of production from the hands of the inefficient and place them in the hands of the more efficient. It is their social function to make a man the more influential in the conduct of business the better he succeeds in producing commodities for which people scramble. The consumers suffer when the laws of the country prevent the most efficient entrepreneurs from expanding the sphere of their activities. What made some enterprises develop into "big business" was precisely their success in filling best the demand of the masses.

Anticapitalistic policies sabotage the operation of the capitalist system of the

market economy. The failure of interventionism does not demonstrate the necessity of adopting socialism. It merely exposes the futility of interventionism. All those evils which the self-styled "progressives" interpret as evidence of the failure of capitalism are the outcome of their allegedly beneficial interference with the market. Only the ignorant, wrongly identifying interventionism and capitalism, believe that the remedy for these evils is socialism.

Footnotes

¹Even the *Communist Manifesto* has to admit: "The organization of the proletarians into a class, and thus into a political party, is ever and again broken up by competition among the workers themselves." (Marx and Engels: *Das Kommunistische Manifest*, p. 300). See also Marx, *Das Elend der Philosophie*, 8th Edition, Stuttgart 1920, p. 161.

²At which point people quite illogically overlook the fact that the wage-earner too is interested in the prosperity of the branch of production and of the plant in which he is engaged.

³Even Cunow (*Die Marx'sche Geschichts-, Gesellschafts- und Staatstheorie*, Vol. II, p. 53) in his uncritical Marx apology has to admit that Marx and Engels in their political writings speak not only of the three main classes but differentiate between a whole series of minor and side classes.

⁴Sidney Webb in *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, first published in 1889 (American edition, New York 1891, p. 4).

⁵Cf. G. M. Trevelyan, *A Shortened History of England* (London 1942), p. 510.

⁶Elmer Roberts, *Monarchical Socialism in Germany* (New York 1913).



Global Socialist Sidney Webb

—Wide World Photo

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

...I recommend Facts Forum to all I meet. I regret I did not know about it long ago.

Mrs. Meta Hansen
8325 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Congratulations on your splendid work in successfully awakening the American people from political apathy....

Randolph Bolles, Jr.
Washington, Conn.

...Congratulations on the splendid work you are doing in presenting the problems of today to the general public for their consideration.

Harvey C. Brown, A/2c, USAF
Box 315, Goodfellow Air Force Base, Texas

* * * * *

If you are interested in building up the circulation of the **FACTS FORUM NEWS**, you may wish to buy copies of the current issues of the **NEWS** in bulk that your secretary may hand one to a caller upon his departure, suggesting it is for his airline or train travel reading.

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Charles T. Wheeler, Jr.
419 N. Adams St., Ypsilanti, Mich.

Congratulations. Your Christmas edition of *Facts Forum News* is a gem. It is inspiring and alarming: Inspiring in that it gives the reader a clear-cut picture of the philosophy of government that made and has kept the U.S. "the land of the free and the home of the brave." It is alarming in that it gives a clear-cut picture of the extent to which dialectical materialism emanating from Moscow has contaminated the proud spirit of courage, loyalty, and faith to which we were born.

Since the Christmas issue, I have done this with my copy of *Facts Forum News* after I have read it: I give it to a friend, I say to him: "Here is a magazine that is the only one of its kind in America. I know you will enjoy reading it. Be sure to bring it back to me after you have read it unless you have a friend to whom you can pass it on."

It might not be too bad an idea for our side to start multiplying ourselves, too.

Robert D. Bluntzer
Wilson Bldg., Corpus Christi, Texas

Federal Aid to Education

America is built upon the faith of the American people in education. Our children are the nation's hope, the nation's future. Should the federal government be responsible for guaranteeing equal and adequate educational opportunities for all?

Classroom and teacher shortages spur some forces to urge immediate and substantial federal action in the field of education. Others spurn federal aid saying that subsidies bring control and that the federal government is already in the educational field to a dangerous extent. Dan Smoot presents the pros and cons on this vital issue.

DO you approve of federal aid to education?

We presently have two important laws providing assistance to local school districts in areas where federal activities have resulted in an increase in school enrollments and a decrease in local taxation because of federally-purchased property.

Public Law 815 provides for school construction in such areas; Public Law 874 provides for assistance in school operation and maintenance.¹

And there are, of course, many other types of federal assistance to local educational facilities. According to the Library of Congress, there may be as many as 275 separate and distinct federal activities in the field of education. The 1954 federal budget included over a billion dollars in various aid-to-education programs.

Despite all these specific measures, however, no over-all, general, and inclusive program for federal aid to education has ever been authorized by Congress despite continuous efforts on the part of those who think we should have such a program. In the last session of



—Wide World Photo

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby

the 83rd Congress alone, twenty-one bills to provide federal aid to education failed to get approval.²

Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby, of the

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, asked that action be delayed until a report could be made by a White House conference scheduled November 30, 1955. In the meantime one-million-dollar fund was approved for allotment to states for conferences on educational problems, preliminary to this White House conference.³

Such organizations as the National Education Association, the National Parent-Teachers Association, and the National Child Labor Committee have urged immediate and substantial action of the federal government in the field of education.

* * * * *

Let's consider some of the arguments which they, and many others, have presented in saying "Yes" to the question:

"Do you approve of federal aid to education?"

* * * * *

IN May, 1954, there was an important ceremony at the White House. President signed a bill which provided about one billion dollars per year in federal aid to the states. The President expressed his gratification over the enactment.



—Wide World

School Days



—Wide World Photos

Left, dangerously narrow hallway. Right, crumbling wall in century-old school building.

ment of this legislation. He cited the great need for modernization and expansion to remove deficiencies and to meet the vastly increased demand. Primary responsibility, the President said, remained in the states, but the law recognized that the federal government had a responsibility in this problem.

But the one billion dollars was not for aid to our schools. It was an all-time record for federal aid to highways. Now, highways are, indeed, important. They are necessary for national defense.⁴

But can they be any more important than adequate educational facilities for the nation's children? Surely well-trained citizens are more important to national defense than six-lane highways.⁴

It seems, however, that money can be found for every federal responsibility until we come to education. Then the cry goes up that we have a staggering national debt, that our taxes are high, and that it is impossible to set aside funds to support our schools.⁴

But just let some of the states go a few weeks without rain, and their governors wing their way like homing pigeons to the national capital to demand, and get, federal relief. Let a tornado strike, or a dam break, and federal aid flies to the stricken area.

But the flood of children, the nation's hope and the nation's future, receives no such eager attention from the federal legislature. Congress always seems to have so many more important matters—and, anyway, there isn't enough money—and if there were, the federal government might control the schools—and besides there is a big national debt—and we ought to study the matter for another two or three years—and there are so many technical questions in drafting this legislation—and we might try to get

to it at the next session of Congress!⁴

Meanwhile, thousands of children go to school day after day in unsuitable and dangerous buildings; are taught on half-time shifts by underpaid and under-trained teachers.⁴



—Wide World Photos

Education's "battle of the bulge." Above, first graders on project in corridor. Below, one-room school, typical of nearly half the available buildings.

350,000 CLASSROOMS NEEDED

A government survey shows that there is presently a deficit of nearly 350,000 classrooms, and the situation is rapidly growing worse. An expenditure of ten billion dollars on new schools would merely permit us to catch up with our present needs.

Elementary school enrollment has climbed past the 23 million mark. By 1965, the figure for elementary and secondary schools is expected to hit 44 million.⁴

Why, then, in the face of these government statistics, is there any opposition to federal aid to education? One principal argument made by the diehards is that the local communities and states will take care of the situation themselves. They overlook the fact that many local communities which have in the past borne the entire financial responsibility of education can no longer do so, even when they tax themselves to the limit.

The largest number of children in proportion to population is in the areas with the least proportion of wealth. The people in some southern states who pay the highest tax rate for the

education of their children are below the national average in school expenditures per child. If some states put their whole general budget into the public schools alone—not a thing into legislatures, courts, police, or what not—they would still be far below the average for the nation.⁵

Even in the most prosperous states there are many educational problems and need for federal assistance.

Vastly more important than adequate school buildings are the people who prepare our children with knowledge and teach them to think.

The school teacher is the central figure in the education process. We entrust the minds and the character of our children to the teacher for many hours of the day. We look to the teacher to mold the children for the responsibilities of manhood and womanhood. Inevitably the character and influence of the teacher are woven into the character of the entire nation.

Yet we are guilty of shocking neglect of our teachers. We have never given them the recognition, the appreciation, and the financial security they deserve. Poorly paid even before World War II,

their situation is much worse today. Their earnings have not kept pace with earnings in general. Rising costs have forced thousands of teachers from the classrooms and they are still leaving. The drain is greatest among our best-trained teachers. Teachers with emergency certificates are becoming less the exception than the rule. Teacher-training colleges cannot even begin to meet the huge demands for teachers from the dwindling graduating classes, as young people abandon their teaching ambition to economic necessity.

We need at least 125,000 new teachers each year. We are not getting nearly that many.⁶

COLLEGES IN DIFFICULTY, TOO

All our colleges are having serious financial trouble, whether they are state institutions, land-grant colleges, large private universities, or small colleges. A *New York Times* survey shows that half our independent liberal arts institutions are operating in the red.

The colleges are having serious difficulty in receiving funds from the sources which have supported them in the past, as estate and inheritance taxes

no longer make it possible for rich people to give large support to such institutions.⁶

Present college enrollment is down which means that tuition, so often the backbone of our higher institutions, is dwindling.

At the same time, steadily rising tuition and living costs are making it increasingly difficult for children of low income families to obtain the benefits of a college education.⁶

There are ten million adults in the United States who are functionally illiterate—that is, who have completed fewer than five years of schooling. During World War II, over 600,000 men were rejected for military service because of functional illiteracy. Three hundred thousand were rejected for the same cause during the first year of the Korean conflict.

The end of segregation in schools and colleges will create further educational problems. It will require, in most cases, the removal of a considerable number of white children from schoolhouses which are well-equipped, conveniently located, and hygienically maintained.



Modern school facilities offer students diversified activities. At upper left, physical education class at Oak Ridge, Tenn., high school gymnasium, while (upper right) class in California intermediate school learns to cook. Lower photo shows boys at Washington Intermediate School, Bellflower, Calif., working at several crafts in well-lighted workshop.

—Wide World Photo

other schoolhouses which are drastically inferior in all respects. Bringing Negro children into schools heretofore reserved for white children will necessitate transferring some of the white children out of their schools to provide the required space. This would mean inferior facilities for the transferred white children and, in many cases, resentment and bitterness.⁷

It is not the American way to raise one group by pulling another group down. Our traditions call for attractive facilities for all. It is the duty of Congress, therefore, to appropriate adequate funds for unsegregated classrooms, which will mean an improvement for all the children and a harm to none.⁷

In 1930 we spent 3.0 per cent of our national income for schools; in 1951, we spent only 2.5 per cent of our national income on schools.

EDUCATION SECURES FREEDOM

America is built upon the faith of the American people in education. Among the early English colonists the first community undertaking in each settlement was the colonial school. The colonists believed firmly, as succeeding generations of Americans have believed after them, that the political freedom which they sought could be made secure only through widespread popular education. Thomas Jefferson said, "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free . . . it expects what never was and never will be."⁸

This basic idea that only the educated man can be truly free, and that self-government is possible only with an educated citizenry, pervades all early American history and underlies all of the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention. The founders of this nation recognized a valid national interest in the promotion and encouragement of education—a national interest which may at times transcend the more limited interest of the individual states.⁸

At the same time, they made it equally clear that the national government would leave strictly to the states and the local communities the control of their educational institutions.⁸

On these two foundation stones—state and local control, with federal assistance and support where the national interest requires—we have built an educational system which is unique in the truest sense of the word. Avoiding the extreme centralization found in many foreign countries—yet avoiding, on the other hand, the evils of a "do-nothing" federal policy concerning national educational problems—we have evolved a cooperative local-state-federal partnership in education.⁸

Reactionaries in Congress have been able to block constructive federal legis-

lation which would have fulfilled the promise of this partnership. It is inconceivable that they should have succeeded thus far; it will be disastrous to our educational future if they continue to succeed.

A free people whose heritage and hope of freedom are in the equal opportunities of their children must not be deterred by the misplaced cries of "states' rights"—must not be frightened by the false cries of communism raised against every movement to deepen the meaning of America for all Americans and to extend freedom and opportunity to the people in all areas—rural or urban; prosperous or poor.

Helping to guarantee equal and ade-

control of the children for educational purposes . . . [the State] deprives the father of the sacred rights of parentage. . . .

"Whence does the State derive the right to take charge of my children and say when, where, what, and by whom they shall be taught? Whence does . . . [the State] derive the right to take another man's money and devote it to the education of my child? . . .

"If the State may upon the plea of 'necessary to the general welfare' take under its control the education of the people, it may, upon the same plea . . . take charge of their religion, for if education be necessary to the maintenance



—Wide World Photo

Kindergarten room with fence-enclosed play-yard at streamlined school in Bellflower, Calif.

quate educational opportunities for all the nation's children is a federal responsibility. We must insist that our federal government assume it.

* * * * *

That was one side of the question.

Here, now, is the opposite side—arguments of some who DO NOT approve of federal aid to education.

* * * * *

ON September 29, 1875, a Mr. Sansom, whom history has forgotten, addressed the Texas Constitutional Convention, expressing opposition to a proposal that Texas set up a public school system.

He said:

"Mr. President. . . .

"How dare a government professing to be free ruthlessly invade the sacred domain of private duty and private right? What right has . . . [government] to lay violent hands upon . . . American citizens who have not attained their majority to force them to attend particular schools, study particular books under a particular teacher? . . . By assuming

of good government . . . religion is more so. . . .

"Friends of public education [say] that if we do not provide a good system of public schools, emigrants will not come . . . [to Texas] to settle and develop the wealth of this great State. Very well, sir, let them stay where they are, or go somewhere else. For one, I do not want men to come . . . [to Texas] who are moved to do so by the desire to have the hard-earned dollars of other men applied to the support of their families. And I should think, sir, that men who are too lazy to educate their own children, and mean enough to want other men to be forced to do it for them, would be a long time in developing the wealth or greatness of any state."⁹

Mr. Sansom, of course, lost his battle. Texas has a public school system.

But notice Mr. Sansom was talking in 1875. At that time, Texas was economically the poorest state in the Union—the very poorest. Yet nowhere in these debates is there one word about asking the federal government for help.

Today, when Texas is among the most

prosperous states in the Union, you ought to see the list of Texas school systems which have had, are getting, or want federal aid. That list is as long as your arm.

THE PEOPLE PAY

Where does the federal government get its money? From the people in the individual states. Why should the people of Florida pay money into the federal treasury in Washington in order to get a small portion of it back for helping to finance their local schools? And a small portion is all they ever get back, because a very heavy percentage of all the money you send into Washington has to be spent to maintain the frightfully expensive machinery of administration.

Isn't federal aid to education designed to help the less prosperous states in order to standardize and equalize educational opportunities for all the children in the nation?¹⁰ That's what the proponents of federal aid to education say, because it gives them a good talking point with the

ing that private schools are bad because they keep all children from getting the same kind of education. The idea of Dr. Conant, as of the National Education Association, seems to be that all our children should be forced to go to the same kind of schools, use the same kind of buildings, read the same kind of books, have the same kind of teachers, eat the same kind of lunches, think the same kind of thoughts, play the same kind of games, until they arrive ultimately at the same kind of sameness which characterizes the state-indoctrinated youth of the Communist countries.¹¹

The leveling argument of federal aid to education proposals also makes an appeal to the envy and natural greed of some people. There are folks in Mississippi who rejoice at the idea of getting for their public schools federal money which was taxed out of the pockets of those Yankees in Pennsylvania. And there are, no doubt, people in Oregon who like to feel that some of the money they're getting from the federal govern-

federal government can subsidize any activity—whether it be farming, shipping, or schooling—that it does not also control. There is not a school system or college in the land that can get a subsidy or contract from the federal government unless it complies with the notions of the administration in Washington about segregation, loyalty, and so on. If the federal government gives money to help pay the salaries of teachers, the federal government is going to have the final authority in the selection of teachers. If the federal government gives money to buy books, the federal government is going to reserve final authority to approve the books.¹³

But if we just have a little bit of federal aid to education, just enough to smooth out the rough spots, can't we avoid the extent of federal control that might be dangerous?

Once the camel gets his nose in the tent, he takes over. When our public school systems first began—which were only about seventy-five years ago—they were conceived as systems which would be organized, controlled, and financed at the local level to provide fundamental training in the basic tools of learning for children. This system has already mushroomed, even without the final step of converting it into a federal system until it has got completely out of the hands and beyond the control of the parents who provide the children and the money. Most public school administrators today, looking upon themselves as professional experts, are resentful of any kind of interference of parents and taxpayers in the operation of the public schools. They do stage exhibition dinners when parents are invited to come around on embarrassed and awkward visits, and they pay lip service to the idea that the school belongs to the parents. Actually, however, they bitterly resist any effort on the part of parents to examine textbooks or change curricula.¹⁴



—Wide World Photo

Dr. James B. Conant (at right), U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, shakes hands with Dr. Edwin Fels, Dean of the Mathematical Science Faculty, after receiving an honorary degree of Doctor of Science from West Berlin's Free University. It was the forty-fourth degree received by Dr. Conant, former president of Harvard University.

Socialists, welfare-staters, and miscellaneous do-gooders who believe in leveling off and standardizing—who think of the problems of educating infinitely various human beings in the same way that they think of raising a fine, uniform herd of white-faced cattle: such people, for example, as Dr. James Conant, formerly president of Harvard and presently America's High Commissioner in Germany—Dr. Conant, one power behind the scenes in the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools and the cherished darling of the National Education Association and of all the other similar organizations, such as the national PTA, which have become fronts for nationalizing education in the United States.¹¹ Dr. Conant has publicly decried the continued existence of private schools, say-

ment comes out of the coffers of the oil millionaires in Oklahoma. But the political promises to tax the richer states in order to provide better schools for the poor states turn out in the end to be a lie, like all similar soak-the-rich promises of Socialists and vote-buying politicians. In the end, Alabama, California, New York, Maine, and Utah—every one of the forty-eight states—pay more into the federal treasury because of federal aid to education than they ever get back as aid to education—just as they pay more into the federal coffers in gasoline taxes than they get back in federal funds for roads.¹²

SUBSIDIES BRING CONTROLS

Moreover, and more importantly: it is both false and foolish to say that the

NO TIME FOR LEARNING

Moreover, the public school systems again, even without the final, fatal step of federalization—have already outgrown the original notion of what public schools were supposed to be. In many of the biggest, most expensive public school systems in the United States today, students get little effective instruction in grammar, spelling, composition, language, geography, or any of the other basic subjects which used to constitute the curriculum of the school. The modern professional educationists—as they like to call themselves—don't believe in this old-fashioned nonsense, for one thing; and for another, many of the modern schools simply don't have time for them. Their time is taken up, with the routine of exposing children to the mental discipline of learning, with more expensive and relaxing activities.



—Wide World Photo
Among early American colonists, the first community undertaking in each settlement was the colonial school. Above, costumed schoolgirls in New York enliven early Americana.

ties—such as archery, square dancing, field trips, class discussions on how to behave on a date, adolescent seminars on how to make yourself attractive to the opposite sex, and “projects.”

They no longer teach children very much about the glorious history of our own nation, because they are preoccupied with the one-world idea of teaching international understanding and preparing the kids—not for lives of dedicated and patriotic service to purely American ideals—but for world citizenship.¹⁵

Imagine what we will have in a few years if we bring the federal government into this picture and transfer the final authority over our public schools to Washington, where the one or two top administrators are constantly under the pressure of the National Education Association, PTA, National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, and other lobby groups.

But what are we going to do about schools in those states which just can't afford adequate school systems? The real answer to that question is that—before government started taxing away our possibility of educating our own children in our own way; before the state used its police and taxing powers to create for itself a near monopoly in the field of primary and secondary education—there never was a place in the United States where a child could not get all of the education he was capable of absorbing.

Another answer—couched more nearly in the terms of our modern ideology which presumes money to be

the answer to all problems—is that every individual state in this Union is infinitely better off financially than the federal government is. The debt of the federal government is now pushing the 275-billion-dollar mark. The combined indebtedness of all state and local governments in all forty-eight states is about eighteen billion dollars.¹⁶

With such a condition as this existing, the very suggestion that the federal government give financial aid to the states is idiotic.¹⁶

Powerful forces in America have for years been plugging for nationalized schools under the label of federal aid. In every Congress, dozens of bills are introduced. The federal government is already in the educational field to a vast and dangerous extent. When the elaborately prepared White House conference occurs in 1955, according to Mrs. Hobby's schedule, we shall see: it will conclude with a recommendation for a federal aid to education program.

If we Americans sit on our hands and permit our public school systems to be nationalized; permit the responsibility for educating our children to pass into the hands of politicians and bureaucrats in Washington, we shall get what we deserve, and we shall deserve what we get.¹⁶

* * * * *

There, in quick review, are two opposite sides of a Facts Forum question:

“Do you approve of federal aid to education?”

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—Wide World Photo

At the end of a day's session, children leave the famous little red schoolhouse at South Sudbury, Mass., where “Mary's Little Lamb” followed Mary Elizabeth Sawyer to school nearly 150 years ago to inspire the familiar verse. The marker in left foreground tells the history of the school which, along with many other one-room schools in the nation, was scheduled to be closed permanently.

Segregation in Public Schools

IN 1896 the Supreme Court held that segregation in public schools is not a violation of the Constitution.

In 1954 the Supreme Court — under the leadership of Chief Justice Earl Warren — reversed that earlier decision and held that segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment, which says that no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.¹

* * * * *

Do you think that this recent segregation decision was good for America?

Let's answer that question from two opposite points of view, taking first the arguments of some who answer "Yes."

* * * * *

THE Supreme Court's historic decision in the school segregation cases was unanimous. It was handed down in May, 1954. The opinion was written by Chief Justice Earl Warren. It held that racial segregation of children in public schools is unconstitutional.

There, in brief, bare outline, is the story of progressive American democracy's twentieth century victory over the forces of reaction, bigotry, and prejudice.²

As time goes by; as its real meaning filters into the thinking of people all over the world; as its intent is implemented by action throughout our nation — the Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases will do more good for America than any other court decision or official act since Lincoln's proclamation freeing the slaves.³

While rejoicing over this great stride in the direction of national decency, we are prone to give all the credit to Earl Warren and the eight other Justices on the Supreme Court.

They are indeed entitled to all the gratitude the nation can give them. But primary credit for the decision should go to the man primarily responsible for it — Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The President, of course, has nothing to do with the Court's deliberations or decisions. But the quiet, determined, dedicated efforts of Eisenhower created the conditions — the national attitude, the national atmosphere — which made

that school segregation decision possible in May, 1954.¹

Unmotivated by fear of pressure groups, with no thought of glory or political gain, Dwight D. Eisenhower has put more personal effort into solving America's race problem than any President since Lincoln. Unlike his predecessor, who tried publicly but unsuccessfully to force civil rights legislation through a hostile Congress, Eisenhower has worked, often secretly, but always effectively, to eliminate discrimination both within and without the federal government.⁴

The first effect of his convictions was felt in the nation's capital. Quietly, yet with grim determination, the President has brought about complete desegregation in the District of Columbia. Two days after he took the oath of office as President, the District Court of Appeals knocked down two laws prohibiting discrimination in Washington restaurants. With full presidential backing, the Attorney-General intervened so vigorously that within four months a Supreme Court reversal abolished this discrimination.⁴

This was just the beginning. Jim Crow has now been eliminated from Washington's theatres, parks, swimming pools, and other public facilities. Next will be the integration of District jails and merging of white and Negro fire companies. More than a dozen Negroes have been appointed to important government positions. No longer are naval shore washrooms and cafeterias segregated.⁴

ARMED FORCES DESEGREGATED

In the vast majority of veterans' hospitals, North and South, both staffs and patients are now completely mixed. All U.S. attorneys and all FBI agents are getting special indoctrination in civil rights law enforcement. Within a few months after his inauguration, Eisenhower ended segregation and discrimination among the millions of Americans in our armed forces.⁵ No truly moral American citizen can question the validity of Ike's FEPC program.

And it was Eisenhower's appointees — Attorney-General Brownell and Chief Justice Earl Warren — who were responsible for the Supreme Court decision ordering an end to racial segregation in the nation's public schools.⁶

When Ike first appointed Earl Warren, there was some complaint that,

although Warren was a nice guy who deserved some kind of reward for supporting Ike politically, Warren did not have the legal training or judicial experience to qualify as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Actually, the absence of too much legal training and judicial experience enabled Chief Justice Earl Warren to pull the Supreme Court together for a unanimous decision which wrote a new page in the history of human equality.

Where previous Chief Justices found themselves tied down by judicial precedents and hedged about by narrow legalisms, this "nice guy" — as Warren's detractors condescendingly called him — was able to rise above the lifeless letter of the law and interpret our Constitution as a living, dynamic instrument of government which can keep pace with the march of civilization — guarantee twentieth century freedom and equality for all American citizens in keeping with twentieth century concepts of what freedom and equality mean.⁸

Earl Warren was not concerned with the propaganda or political implications of his decision. He rather impatiently dismissed the arguments that segregated schools are all right if children of all races are provided equal facilities — did not permit himself to be drawn into the issue of whether segregated schools cost more or less than integrated schools.⁸

NO MUSTY LEGALISMS

He did not bog down in musty legalisms about what this or that phrase in this or that clause of the Constitution might have meant a hundred years ago and he did not give up in the face of ancient judicial decisions made by a past and gone generation of Americans.

A great humanitarian, Earl Warren concentrated his attention in the segregation issue on the effect that segregation has on America's children today.

Instead of probing into the Constitution, Earl Warren probed into the hearts and minds of people — for where the Constitution was written.

The Supreme Court said:

"Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate the recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is

quired in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.⁹

"We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities

gation as punishment, not for what they do, but for what they are. They may fail to get a correct image of human relationships because they have been given a distorted one in vital circumstances. The emotional conflict, usually repressed, can be understood only in its social context: private discrimination gets mixed up in the child's mind with official discrimination bearing the ethical stamp of the authority of the state. In decreeing school segregation, the state identifies itself with its most bigoted citizens. Segregation itself may be anxiety-producing. And the emotional health of white children is by no means unaffected. They are apt to have illusions of superiority, the superman complex.¹⁰

These are the psychiatric findings

States has had in its campaign to convince the world that we stand for democracy. The Communists have been hitting us at our weakest point, which is our treatment of the Negroes and the practice of segregation. They have used that all through India, all through Southeast Asia and China, all through Africa. It has been very hard to answer. Now we have shining deeds to prove that we are trying to live up to our principles and to the Declaration of Independence.¹¹

BETTER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

There is no doubt that the end of segregation will really help Negro children get a better education. Wherever there has been a vast disparity in school equipment, in length of school terms, in the quality and quantity of education, the Negro child has grown into an adult human being with at least one strike against him. The abolition of segregation is going to mean that, to a greater extent than ever before in the history of the Negro in America, the Negro will have the basic training necessary to compete in an increasingly competitive world.

Desegregation will also mean more and better educational opportunities for white children.

Instead of the duplication and waste involved in maintaining two systems of public schools, the states can combine and integrate the systems, providing more and better buildings, more and better books, more and better teachers for all our children — and save money while doing it.¹²

Segregation simply does not make sense—constitutionally, legally, morally, spiritually, or economically.

By administrative action and court decision, our national government is sweeping away the barriers and restraints which keep Negroes and whites from joining hands as fellow Americans and moving forward toward the real promise of America — equality for all Americans.

* * * * *

That was one side of the question.

Now comes the opposite side — arguments of some who DO NOT think that the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases was good for America.

* * * * *

NOWHERE in the federal Constitution, or in any of its amendments, is there any delegation of power to the federal government to operate in the field of education.

The Tenth Amendment to our Constitution says that powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved to the states, or to the people.¹³

Obviously, the power to set up and



—Wide World Photo

Negro and white fourth graders at St. Martin School in Washington, D. C., dash for the playground at recess.

and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.⁹

* * * * *

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."⁹

EMOTIONAL CONFLICT RESULTS

Segregation unavoidably leads to emotional conflict in children. The conflict may take different forms in different children; but whatever form it takes, it is bound to damage a child's emotional health.

Children are apt to interpret segre-

which the court accepted and wrote into its decision, saying: "The fact is that such a practice [school segregation] creates a mental health problem."⁹

Although Earl Warren did not consider the propaganda value of the school segregation decision, the nation should.

The Supreme Court decision ending segregation in schools could not fail to ring throughout the world, even if we had no Voice of America to carry it to the ends of the earth.¹¹

When that decision was handed down, the Communists lost one of their nastier accusations against us; and our Negro citizens gained full opportunity to enter into the life of their republic.

This is the greatest aid that the United

regulate tax-supported schools is not delegated to the federal government. Therefore, the federal government has no power whatever to interfere in any way with the operation of schools in the individual states.

The Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases is not a judicial interpretation of the Constitution. It is a political decision, grounded not in law, but in Earl Warren's notions about psychiatry and sociology.⁸

Warren, in his opinion, says that the Fourteenth Amendment does not really apply to the problem of segregation in the public schools, because, in 1868, when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, there were no public schools in the South. The framers of the Fourteenth Amendment couldn't possibly have had public schools in mind.⁸

Chief Justice Warren admits that he is reading into the Fourteenth Amendment something that is not there, but that he thinks should be.⁸

If Supreme Court Justices do not like our Constitution — as the present Justices obviously do not — they, as citizens, have a right to recommend changes by proper constitutional means.

As Supreme Court Justices, however, they are supposed to interpret the Constitution as it is, and not to arrogate to themselves the illegal power of amendment by arbitrarily reversing all judicial precedent and changing the meaning of the Constitution to suit their own whims.

AUTOCRATIC AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL

That's exactly what the Supreme Court did in the school segregation cases; it amended the Constitution by autocratic, unconstitutional means.

Earl Warren's segregation decision means: We of the Supreme Court know that the Fourteenth Amendment was not intended to apply to public schools, but we want it to apply; therefore, we declare that it does apply.

After saying enough to prove that the Supreme Court had no constitutional grounds for invading states' rights and telling the states how they must run their public schools, Chief Justice Warren dismisses the question of whether or not the Negroes in the South are provided facilities equal to those of the whites. He tries to explain why a Negro in a school with other Negroes cannot get as much education as if he were in a school with whites, even though the facilities and everything else might be adequate and equal. Mr. Warren deals in what he calls intangibles. He finally comes to grips with the problem by citing a passage from a previous Court decision which says, "Segregation . . .

has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children, and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."⁹

If there is anybody in the United States who ought to resent that decision, cast in that language, it should be America's Negro citizens. What that sentence says is that Negroes are not really equal to whites, and that if you don't mix up the Negro and white children so that the Negroes will enjoy the uplifting benefit of associating with the whites, the Negroes are harmed.

Actually, no other group of people anywhere on earth at any time in recorded history ever made such rapid progress as America's southern Negroes

a private business organization, terrorized a whole community and indulge in endless acts of arson, vandalism, criminal assault, and even murder; and none of the liberals or organizations professing to be dedicated to freedom and the preservation of civil rights ever say a word about the innocent and helpless victims of all that violence and tyranny. But let two white hoodlums in a southern state beat up one colored man — even, as has happened many times, one southern Negro involved in a heinous crime be subjected to the process of law — and all the race agitators in the nation want to pass federal laws which would destroy the liberties not only of the southern whites but of the southern Negroes, and of all other American citizens in the nation.¹⁴



In Baltimore, Md., two Negro mothers escort their children past pickets protesting integration at Elementary School No. 34.

have made in the past ninety years. The people who helped them make that phenomenal progress were not Supreme Court psychiatrists, New Deal politicians, Socialist agitators, or uplifting busybodies. It was the southern whites who understood the Negroes, treated them with kindness, and lent them a helping hand.¹¹

Communist propaganda about the brutalizing of Negroes in the South is a lie.

Some poor laborer can be beaten to death in Chicago by labor goons who are trying to force him to join a union against his will, and no one wants to call in the federal government on the grounds that the murdered man's civil rights were violated. A union can picket

The bloody race riots which wing agitators have inspired in United States — most of them in the North — have caused more suffering and bitterness than all of the lynchings and mob violence in the South, from the Civil War to date.

The Negroes, when first brought to America by New England and British slave traders, were not free people. They were reduced to slavery. They were transferred from a barbaric enslavement by their own people in Africa to a relatively benign enslavement in the Western hemisphere.

Think of the conditions in 1868 of a large, illiterate, and economically dependent population — a primitive people only recently removed from savagery.

with no cultural or racial traditions of their own, and with no experience in self-government — had to be assimilated into a civilization which it had taken the white man 5,000 years to develop.

Practically all of this staggering burden fell upon the South, embittered, ravaged, and pauperized by war, and brutally oppressed by carpetbaggers and a corrupt federal government during the reconstruction period.¹⁵

If the South had ever received assistance instead of hate-inciting criticism and opposition, some of the tragedies of readjustment might have been avoided.

But, ignoring might-have-beens, consider what has been accomplished.

The southern American states became (and they remain) the only real land of opportunity for Negroes in the world — the South, with its segregated public schools and other social arrangements, which present-day carpetbaggers, political hacks, and race agitators take such a dim view of.

Nowhere north of the Mason-Dixon line can you find a single major insurance company owned and operated by Negroes. But there is one in Dallas, Texas. In the segregated South there are more Negro college presidents, college professors, Negro doctors, Negro lawyers, and prosperous independent Negro businessmen than in all of the other states combined.

NEGRO TEACHERS WORRIED

Many Negro teachers in the South are gravely worried, now that desegregation has been ordered, because they know that in the North, where there is no segregation of schools, there are practically no Negro teachers. In the South, where there are segregated schools, there are about twenty times more qualified Negro school teachers employed than in all of the other states combined.¹⁶

Today, the proportion of Negro college students to the total Negro population in America is greater than the proportion of college students to the total population in any other nation on earth; and most of the Negro college students are in the South.¹⁷

In 1868 the Negroes were a people without property. Today, Negroes own close to one million homes — proportionately about the same number white people own. Most of the Negro homes are in the South.¹⁷

The rapid integration of Negroes into our society — particularly in the South — is one of the most admirable chapters in the great American story, and reflects the highest possible credit on the Negro himself and on the southern white, who is, and always has been, the only true, enduring friend that the American Negro has.

No wonder that so many responsible, patriotic Negro leaders in the South are hurt and humiliated by the Supreme Court's insulting and meddling desegregation decision.

Ancient wounds of hatred, bitterness, and fear, which time and humanity were healing, have been reopened by the Supreme Court's outrageous and needless decision in the school segregation cases.

There has already been some violence. There will be more.

ENROLLMENT DECLINES

In some communities — such as Washington, D.C. — enrollment of white children in public schools has sharply declined as a result of desegregation.¹⁸

This means that white parents, while continuing to pay taxes for public schools, are transferring their children to private schools.

This poses constitutional questions far more important than any yet considered by the present Supreme Court.

If it is constitutional for a state to take one man's money — against his will — and build schools for another man's children, why isn't it constitutional for the state to determine which children shall go to which schools?

If the state has the constitutional power to tell your child that he must go to a particular school because he lives in a particular neighborhood, why doesn't the state have the constitutional power to tell your child that he must go to a particular school because he has a particular color?

It would be interesting to hear the answers which Earl Warren's psychiatry might provide for these questions.

If the Republican and Democratic New Deal politicians of the Supreme Court of the United States really think that the Golden Rule can be enacted into law; if they actually believe that the federal government can force bitterness and prejudice out of human hearts; if they are convinced that political power concentrated in Washington can take the place of Christian love and fabricate heaven on earth — they ought to tell us a little more about it. That would be far more illuminating than the platitudes about the importance of education which take up a considerable portion of their decision in the school segregation cases.⁹

CONSTITUTION TAMPERED WITH

Some day, perhaps, we Americans may get on the Supreme Court, not political cronies who are fundamentally ignorant in the law, and who know little and care less about the Constitution — but men with extensive legal training and judicial experience, who under-

stand and respect the Constitution of the United States.

If we do not, we will have no Constitution. The one we have now, after twenty years of tampering by political appointees (both Republican and Democratic) has little of its original meaning left.¹⁹

The Supreme Court has already read out of our Constitution many of our basic guarantees against tyranny at the hands of the federal government.

The end of this road is the end of freedom in the United States.

The virtue of our original federal system was that state governments could experiment with social reforms and social legislation without endangering the freedom of the whole nation.

If a state made a mistake or went too far in the use of its power, comparison with the experience of other states — and competition between states — would force correction.

But when we build the central government into an all-powerful colossus — as court decisions like the segregation decision most certainly do — we destroy our federal system and place our freedom and our lives in the hands of political quacks and witch doctors in Washington whose power to destroy us is unchecked and unlimited.

* * * * *

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RUSSIANS HATE COMMUNISTS

By Freda Utley



—Atelier Sandau Photo
Freda Utley

I AM ONE OF THE VERY FEW AMERICANS WHO LEARNED ABOUT COMMUNISM THE HARD WAY—by personal experience of life in the Soviet Union as it is lived by the Russians. Many others have visited Russia, or lived there as newspaper correspondents, diplomats, engineers, or businessmen. All these were, of necessity, merely observers looking at the Russian people from outside. But I was for six years the wife of a Russian subject, sharing many of the hardships and all the fears of the Russian people. I know what it means to live continuously under the shadow of terror; never to know peace of mind; to be constantly on guard lest a careless word bring oneself or one's loved ones to death or imprisonment in a slave labor camp. It is on account of my intimate and terrible experience of the Russian way of life under the Communist dictatorship, and because of my sympathy for the Russian people, that I have testified in favor of the Jenner-McCarran resolution.

Until 1928 I had been a member of the British Labor party. That year, I gave up my candidature for Parliament in the Labor interest by openly joining the Communist Party and issuing a statement to the press explaining why. That same year I was the Communist candidate in the London County Council elections.

At that period the Communist party was openly opposed to the Labor party and openly revolutionary. The period of pretending to be democratic—the Pop-

ular Front period—began only after Hitler came to power, when I was no longer a Communist. My short period of membership in the Communist party occurred while it was still possible for a Communist to be what I might call an honest revolutionary, as distinct from a liar and a cheat pretending to be democratic and reformist.

In 1940 when I applied for an immigrant visa to the United States I answered "Yes" to the immigration authorities when asked whether I had ever belonged to an organization advocating the overthrow of governments by violence. This caused the rejection of my application, but I became a citizen many years later thanks to a private bill in Congress sponsored by Congressman Jerry Voorhis of California, who was a member of the Dies committee.

I am bringing up this old history at the beginning of my testimony simply because ex-Communists are *ipso facto* suspect in the eyes of many people. My record shows that although I was a Communist party member from 1928 to 1931 I did not lie either for the party or for my own advantage, either then or subsequently.

A quarter of a century ago when I joined the Communist Party, I imagined that the Communists aimed at the emancipation of mankind and would create a just social order and give freedom to oppressed colonial peoples everywhere in the world. Brought up in the English liberal tradition, the Communist ideal seemed to me to be the fulfillment of man's age-long struggle for freedom and justice. It took only a few months of life in the Soviet Union, in the winter of 1930-31, to make me realize how profoundly mistaken I had been. I quickly understood that the Soviet government was a greater and more terrible tyranny than any the world had yet seen, but I also soon learned that anyone who spoke against it got liquidated.

PARTY IS RULING CLASS

I was caught in the web through my husband who, being a Russian subject, could not leave the Soviet Union once he had returned there. I stayed in Russia for six years, until he was arrested in 1936 and sent without a trial to a concentration camp where, presumably, he died many years ago. I was able to escape with our son, then two years old, only because I had retained my British passport.

I did not transfer to the Russian Communist party after going to live in Russia, although I had learned that to be

FREDA UTLEY, (THE CHINA STORY), is an outstanding authority on the Soviet Union, but from an anti-Communist point of view. In the accompanying article she alleges (1) that the Russian people hate and fear their own government, (2) that communism does not correct but intensifies starvation and misery, (3) that the only reason why the Russians, Chinese, and other Communist-enslaved peoples do not overthrow the tyranny under which they exist is that they cannot, and (4) that American recognition of the official Communist tyranny actually amounts to an unfriendly policy on our part toward the people of Russia.

a Communist in Russia is to belong to the ruling class which enjoys both material privileges and a monopoly of power. My husband was not a Communist but a Socialist who had voluntarily returned to Russia from abroad in the false belief that a better world was being built in the Soviet Union. Both of us soon realized not only that Stalin was the greatest tyrant who has ever lived but also that the materialist philosophy of the Communists must inevitably lead to the establishment of a similar tyranny wherever Communists win power.

Together, in Russia, we shared the life of the unprivileged, nonparty people. We were better off than most Russians since he was a "specialist" in trade and finance, entitled to an above-average food ration, and I had a "foreign specialist" ration card. But since we did not enjoy the food, housing, transport and other privileges and perquisites of the Communist aristocracy, we were close to the mass of the Russian people who never knew what it meant to be able to eat and who live in perpetual fear of starvation and imprisonment. I told the story of my life in Russia in 1940 in a book called *The Dream Lost*.

This experience of mine enables me to state with certainty that the fundamental misconception upon which United States policy has been based is that the Russian people support their Communist government by choice or conviction. I am certain that the very great majority of the Russian people

(Continued on Page 25)

HOME OF HAPPY HEROES

THE DAILY WORKER, an outstanding authority on communism from a pro-Soviet point of view, through the following selections contends (1) that the typical Russian (Ivan Ivanovitch) is boisterously happy over five-year plans and other features of the Soviet regime, (2) that there is actually no crisis back of recent Soviet government demands for increased grain production, (3) that the heroic workers obviously have no desire to rebel against their heroic leaders, and (4) that not only mutual recognition but "peaceful coexistence" is, if only Americans will be reasonable, the logical outcome of the fact that "the Soviets have constantly agitated for peaceful relations with capitalist governments."



A Moscow Scene

—Wide World Photo

WHAT IVAN IVANOVITCH CELEBRATES THIS NEW YEAR

By Archie Johnstone, Moscow

From the Communist WORKER, Sunday, January 2, 1955

THOSE who think of five as a lucky number and five-times-five as supremely lucky may be interested to note that '55 is the fifth year of the fifth Five-Year Plan. For the rest of us there are plenty of other signs that the Soviet Union won't do so badly in the New Year.

In fact, 1955 need be only a fraction better than 1954 to be the best year in the country's history. More than that, it is hard to think of anything that can stop it from far outstripping 1954 just as 1954 outstripped 1953 and so on all the way back to the end of the war.

Not that Ivan Ivanovitch is bothering his head much at this festive season with dry facts and figures; but there is no harm in our having a look at what is behind that broad grin on his face when, in his thousands, he welcomes in 1955 with a wild Russian dance, plumb in the middle of Gorky Street, Moscow.

The old year gave Ivan plenty to grin about. The tremendous advances in his material and cultural well-being were solidly backed by even greater, longer-term advances in such things as heavy industry, agriculture and the country's economy as a whole; and these long-term internal advances were solidly backed by extremely significant advances of the Soviet Union in world affairs.

It should be obvious that all the factors that made these advances possible are not only continuing factors but are increasing in force. The irresistible

force is there — and there is no immovable mass.

One of the milestones of 1955 in the Soviet Union will be the completion of the fifth Five-Year Plan, a plan bigger in many ways than the three prewar plans combined. The only speculation about it is, by how much will it be overfulfilled? I don't envy anyone who tries to speculate about the various real or imaginary "prosperity indexes" in any capitalist country, but here speculation is both cheerful and reasonably reliable, thanks to the controlled economy.

At the end of 1954 the annual industrial output was running at the rate of 163 per cent of the figure for 1950, the best year of the previous Five-Year Plan. That gives you an average annual increase of about 16 per cent over four years, but the increases themselves increased year after year, so this figure of 16 per cent — although it is far beyond the wildest dreams of any capitalist country today — is much too modest.

But, just as Ivan is profiting now from long-term planning in the past, much of that increased industrial production will not bear fruit this year. There are, however, other ways of showing how fruity 1955 will be for him.

At the end of 1954, Ivan's pay packet, in real wages, was 74 per cent fatter than in 1950 — a tremendous gain when we remember that in that period he had to make good all the devastation of war.

The real increases are, of course, confined to the postwar years, especially since the money reform of December, 1947, and here again the increases have been increasing year by year. In other words, Soviet progress is not a straight rising line on a graph, it is an upward curve.

So Ivan celebrates the New Year. Not only has he plenty to celebrate, and plenty to celebrate with; he is also a natural celebrator. In any group of ten of him you'll find nine singers and dancers and one accordionist. His festive spirits are expressed in his shout of "Ech!" (the "ch" as in "loch") and to my mind that "Ech!" has more whoopee in it than "Whoopie!" itself has; more hwl than the Welshman's "Hwl" (pronounced "hool") more ole than the Spaniard's "Ole!" (pronounced "oleh") and more hooch than the Scotsman's "Hooch!" (which must not be pronounced "hootch!").

New Year's Eve is a family affair for Ivan. When the first of the twelve chimes of midnight strikes he pushes back his chair, rises glass in hand and wishes his nearest and dearest "S'novim godom i s'novim schastyem" ("To the New Year and new happiness"). Then, with quite a few drinks under his belt, he and they go out and join the bigger family in the decorated streets of his capital or town or village anywhere from Moldavia to Chukotka. For Ivan is a gregarious creature; socialism without

sociability just doesn't make sense to him.

And when I say "the streets" I don't mean the sidewalks. A convention has taken root, unsupported by any formal law, that certain streets and squares of the capital and other big cities cease to be traffic thoroughfares on occasions like the early morning of New Year's Day. It seems that all Moscow's millions throng these streets, both in the center of the city and in the outskirts. Here and there are concert platform[s] and bandstands and illuminated streets and Grampa Frost beaming down from a height of anything from 12 to 40 feet; but most of the revels are completely spontaneous.

Groups of strangers — if "strangers" is the word — gather around one accordionist and join in communal dancing and singing. There is no letup before the first dawn of the New Year, but around normal breakfast time there

are depletions in the ranks of revellers.

Ivan is, of course, John; but what about Ivanushka — Johnnie? New Year is the high spot of the year for Ivanushka. It is the main present-giving season and there are parties and special performances for children in hundreds of public halls and in factory clubs on a scale you could find nowhere else in the world. But then Ivanushka with his longer future ahead of him, is always considered the Leading Citizen of the Soviet Union, especially so at this season when thoughts are directed toward the future.

However, I think that the best present for Ivanushka is the long-term planning that is being done on his behalf.

The reader is cautioned that, except for this box, the material on this page is taken from Communist sources.

From the Communist DAILY WORKER, Monday, November 8, 1954

Soviet Peace Aim Stressed at Anniversary Parade in Moscow

MOSCOW, Nov. 7.—Visiting delegations from abroad "have seen with their own eyes that our people do not want war," it was declared today by Defense Chief Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, in a speech marking the thirty-seventh anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Bulganin spoke at the climax of a brilliant parade of Soviet troops, Air Force and Navy units, and civilians before the red and black Lenin-Stalin Mausoleum in Red Square.

Premier Georgi Malenkov and eight top government and Communist party aids reviewed the march past from atop the Mausoleum.

Bulganin spoke to 10,000 Soviet troops massed in Red Square.

"The Army's and Navy's autumn maneuvers, in which all means of arms

Page 4 Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, December 23, 1954

Khrushchev Explains Wider Aims Of Grain Expansion in Soviet Union

MOSCOW, Dec. 22. — Soviet plans to increase grain production aim at securing an all-around increase in consumer goods.

Far from being the result of any "crisis," they are the result of lower prices, rising wages and hence an ever-increasing demand for more higher quality goods.

This is the main fact which emerges from a recent interview between Professor J. D. Bernal and Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party.

In his replies to the leading British scientist's questions, Khrushchev noted that there had been much talk abroad about the seeming contradiction between Georgi Malenkov's statement at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party that the grain problem had been solved and the recent decisions calling for increased grain production and the opening up of new lands.

"There is really no contradiction here. J. V. Stalin and G. M. Malenkov were perfectly right when they said that we had sufficient grain to satisfy the needs of the population.

"Our country had satisfied its grain requirements. Now, too, we are adequately supplied with grain and have the necessary reserve. But man lives not by bread alone. His other requirements indirectly call for greater production of grain."

"Because of the rapid economic development of the Soviet Union and the rising standards of its peo-



BERNAL

ple during the past few years, the demand for a wide range of goods which hitherto we did not have in great quantities has greatly increased.

"Now that prices have been considerably reduced in the last several years, a slight shortage of certain foods is being felt in spite of the fact that the output of all these items has actually been substantially increased.

"The demand for quality goods has spread to the broad masses of the population. It is our task to satisfy that demand."

Khrushchev went on to explain that grain is, in the final analysis, the basic foodstuff, the basis of the production of many other consumer goods.

"To procure more grain, it has been decided to use the virgin lands of Kazakhstan and Siberia—wide, fertile plains suitable for the growing of grain crops."

These lands would provide the cheapest grain, which could be used in large quantities as cattle fodder.

"There is a Ukrainian saying: 'There's no prettier bird in the world than a pork sausage.' By increasing our grain we want to have many more 'birds' of that kind," he told Prof. Bernal.

To have used this vast area of rich fertile land earlier was beyond the strength of the Czars.

"Only now when a Socialist industry has come into being when Soviet engineering has reached its present dimensions, has it become possible to put to use such vast stretches of land by employing a comparatively small number of people."

Khrushchev rejected the suggestion that the new measure meant the abandonment or curtailment of the work on irrigation projects.

"We shall develop irrigation and we are developing it wherever this is of the greatest advantage for the production of valuable crops — vegetables, cotton, grapes. But that is not the thing to be stressed now."



KHRUSHCHEV

He had a word for those who used Soviet criticism of shortcomings in agriculture for their own ends.

"We do not indulge in self-flagellation prompted by morbid repentance. We criticize ourselves because severe criticism helps our executives to acquire a deeper understanding of our weaknesses which enables them to do the work better, and to overcome shortcomings more quickly.

"There can be no question of crisis," he later declared. "In our country the situation is not worse but better than ever before."

ment and fighting technique were used, have shown that serious successes have been achieved in the military training of the land forces, air forces and the fleet and the fighting preparedness of our armed forces is up to present-day requirements," he said.

"No changes have taken place in the international situation so far that would give us grounds to lessen our attention to some extent toward the question of strengthening our defense capability.

"The whole progress of events shows that the Western powers are continuing their policy of whipping up new aggressive blocs.

"Under these circumstances we are obliged to continue showing the necessary solicitude for strengthening the fighting strength and continuous preparedness of our armed forces.

"The Soviet Army and Navy must show great vigilance and must be ready to give a worthy rebuff to anyone who intends to hinder our peaceful labor."

Bulganin also hailed the "heroic labor of the working class" and the "workers of agriculture."

The industrial production plan for 1954's first ten months "has been over-fulfilled," he said.

Banners decorated Red Square, and on the Mausoleum were pictures of Lenin, Stalin, Marx, Engels, and foreign Communist leaders including Mao Tse-tung.

A band of 1,000 musicians played during the twenty-minute march-pass of troops.

Soviet athletes in gaily colored uniforms and then masses of workers and other civilians also marched past.

At the Bolshoi Theatre, Deputy Premier Maxim S. Soburov declared that while Soviet production is steadily increasing there is still "backwardness in a number [of branches] of our agriculture and stockbreeding."

"The insuring in every possible way the development of all branches of Socialist agriculture," Soburov declared, "represents the main link in solving the historic task in the field of the steep rise of production of consumer goods.

"An enormous role is to be played by the further organizational-economic strengthening of the collective farms. The carrying out of these measures will enable us in the shortest possible time to liquidate backwardness in a number of branches of our agriculture and stockbreeding."

Reasserting that the history of the Soviet Union has proved the possibility of peaceful coexistence among countries with difference [different] social system[s], Soburov noted that relations between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia have been improved recently.

"Some obstacles have been eliminated

The reader is cautioned that, except for this box and the Wide World Photos, the material on this page is taken from Communist sources.

that hampered the restoration of normal relations between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia," he said. Steps have been taken to resume trade and to organize contacts in cultural and other questions. The Yugoslav government has declared its readiness to collaborate toward an improvement of relations with the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet government considers it to be useful in the interests of the peoples of both countries to utilize all possibilities for the restoration of normal and friendly ties. The manifestations of disagreement and enmity that were observed during the past years between



—Wide World Photo
Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (D-Mo.)

our states can be advantageous only to the enemies of Yugoslavia."

From the Communist DAILY WORKER,
November 19, 1954.

The Facts Behind the Present Debate in U.S. on Coexistence

By Max Gordon

When in early July Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., suggested in his Colgate University address that the U.S. and the Soviet Union must learn to live at peace, it could truthfully be said this was a rare and daring position for a major party politician to take.

But such is the advancing power of world and American public demand for peace that Wednesday, only four months later, the *New York Times* devoted several news and comment columns, a full page of discussion, and an editorial on the problem of peaceful coexistence—

with President Eisenhower, members of his cabinet and several leading senators appearing in varying degrees, for it.

The current debate in political circles was touched off by a Senate speech Monday [by] Senate Majority Leader William F. Knowland.

Knowland said, in effect, that the time for destroying the Soviet Union is running out, and it is necessary to act quickly. The "clear and present danger," he implied, was that we should continue to live at peace. He demanded an immediate congressional review to see how the present "drift" to peace could be stopped.

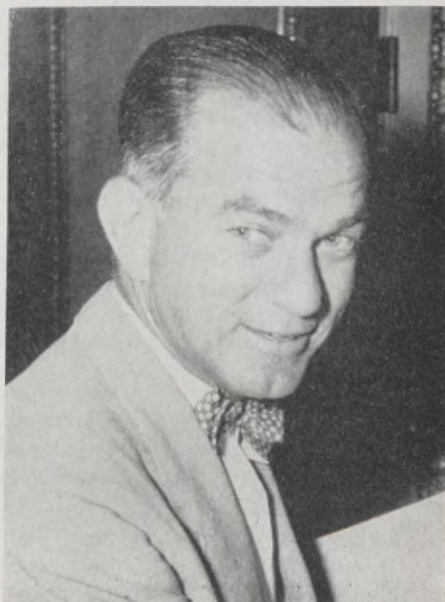
"The civilizations that flourished and died in the past had opportunities for a limited period of time to change the course of history," Knowland said. "Sooner or later, however, they passed the 'point of no return,' and the decisions were no longer theirs to make. ... Time is running out and I would remind the Senate that in this day and age of their airplane and atomic weapon, time is not necessarily on the side of the free world."

Under questioning, Knowland denied he was for preventive war, though his speech left little room for any other interpretation. He maintained he was simply enlarging on the "massive retaliation" policy earlier enunciated by the Eisenhower administration.

His speech was immediately assailed by several Democratic Senators, notably Fulbright (Arkansas) and Hennings (Missouri), who made the simple point that either there is peace with the Soviet Union or world H-bomb destruction.

It was hailed by a couple of other Democratic Senators — Douglas (Illinois) and Symington (Missouri) who saw in it support for their demands for heavier war appropriations.

On Tuesday, President Eisenhower, in an address before the presidents of



—Wide World Photo
Senator William Fulbright (D-Ark.)

the nation's land-grant colleges, declared that a means of living together with the Soviet Union must be found if the world is to save itself from destruction. His speech was widely heralded as taking issue with the position of Senator Knowland.

At the same time, Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, also made the elementary point, at a news conference, that the U.S. and the Soviet Union must learn to live in peaceful coexistence.

Senator Fulbright immediately endorsed Wilson's views, again insisting that the only alternative to coexistence is "to look forward to war." Fulbright made the point that because of the McCarthyite atmosphere, coexistence has taken on a "sinister meaning," that it implies friendship for the Soviet Union and other Socialist lands. Fulbright maintained that it meant the opposite; that friendship was impossible, but that two hostile powers were determined not to plunge into all-out war.

The astute* chief of the Washington bureau, James Reston, commenting on the discussion, maintained Wednesday that the "trend of policy is very much against" Senator Knowland, and that in an effort to "stop the drift toward a more conciliatory policy toward Moscow, he has tended to call for bolder and bolder Soviet measures."

What lies behind this sharp debate of the past few days, and the apparent sharp cleavage between the administration and its chief Senate spokesman?

The answer seems to lie in the experiences of the Eisenhower administration in the past several months; the resounding defeats it received at the hands of the world peace forces, its recognition that the peace issue was its chief stock-in-trade with the American electorate, the severe strains with its allies as a result of its belligerent attitudes of the past.

Hence, there is a shift in the tactical position of the administration—as well as of other leading political figures—partly propagandistic, but also partly material due to a recognition of the limits of American imperialism's ability to carry through some of its stated objectives.

The administration has obviously dropped its belligerent discussion of "massive retaliation" with its threat of immediate world war. This strained relations with Britain and France, and it alarmed the people of the U.S. It was not compatible with the [sic] Eisenhower's pose as champion of peace and was a target of attack by alert Democrats in the recent campaign.

The material change in tactic appears to revolve around the use of "massive retaliation"—the immediate world war—in cases where the people of a land choose Communists as their rulers, in



—Wide World Photo

James Reston

defiance of the will of U.S. ruling circles.

Formerly, John Foster Dulles, with the approval of Eisenhower, proclaimed that any such further development anywhere would lead to immediate attack on the "centers of Communist power." Now, after getting their fingers burnt in Indochina, administration spokesmen prefer to maintain caution on this point.

Senator Knowland is aiming to upset this caution and commit the administration to this suicidal policy.

A second point of difference appears to be how far to go in behalf of Chiang Kai-shek. Knowland wants to help Chiang provoke a war with the Chinese people, in which the U.S. would join. Administration leaders are more cautious, fearing the effects of such a war, in which it is doubtful U.S. allies would join, and which the American people would condemn. They apparently hope to put the onus on the Chinese People's government as the "aggressor" if war should break out on the Formosa question.

Plainly, these differences do not represent any basic change of principle or objective on the part of dominant elements of American imperialism. They do reflect the pressures of world and national opinion on the administration's tactical position, and indicate a substantial gain for the forces of world peace.

That the basic policy remains unchanged was seen by President Eisenhower's statement Wednesday following a conference of GOP and Democratic congressional leaders. He said the recent agreements to rearm West Germany and to set up an anti-Communist alliance in the Far East had to be ratified promptly in order to "strengthen the defenses of the free world against Communist aggression."

In the discussion around the meaning of "peaceful coexistence" yesterday, *New York Times* writers indicated that in their view, as in that of "free world" leaders, the Russians, as part of such a policy, must intervene in every nation to suppress Communist activity. They also suggested the current agitation for "peaceful coexistence" was some new propaganda stunt by the Soviets.

As a matter of fact, the Soviet position was laid down as early as 1920, in a letter to American Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, and has consistently guided its relations with capitalist states.

"The Soviet government clearly understands that the revolutionary movement of the working masses in every country is their own affair. It holds to the principle that communism cannot be imposed by force but that it must be carried on by the working masses themselves. Seeing that in America and in many other countries the workers have not conquered the power of government, and are not even convinced of the necessity of their conquest, the Russian Soviet government deems it necessary to establish as faithfully maintain peaceful and friendly relations with the existing governments of those countries."

"That the elementary economic needs of the people of Russia and of other countries demand normal relations and an exchange of goods between them is quite clear to the Russian government, and the first condition of such relations is mutual good faith and nonintervention of both parts."

Thus, the Soviets have constantly agitated for peaceful relations with capitalist governments, but has hardly accepted the idea that it guarantee existence against movements of the own peoples for independence or socialism.

Such an idea, inconceivable for the Soviet Union and in any case totally unrealizable, can hardly be a condition for peaceful coexistence.

*FACTS FORUM NEWS EDITOR'S Note: Illustrative of Mr. Reston's keen British intelligence is the following, reported by K. Garrison during the Oppenheimer hearings on April 13, 1954 (see IN THE MATTER OF ROBERT OPPENHEIMER, Govt. Printing Office, Page 55):

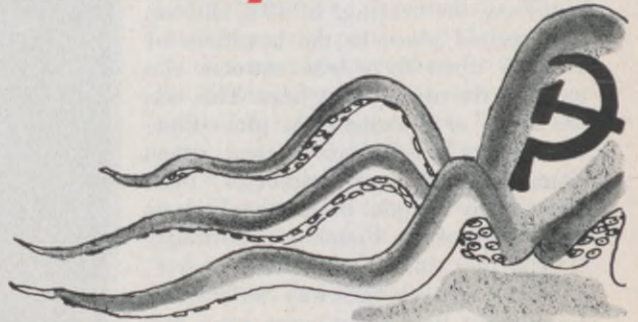
"Mr. Reston from the middle of January has had the Alsops, and I don't know else, busy gathering information from anybody they could find and had developed much of the story when Mr. Reston was with us on Friday" that, in a word, caused Dr. Oppenheimer decided to release official documents in the case of their security status. The piquant feature is implicit suggestion that Mr. Reston, the of the Washington office of the NEW YORK TIMES, could command Joseph and Stephen Alsop, columnists for the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE.

Are the Communists staging a comeback in Hollywood?



The American film industry has long been a target for Communist infiltration. Lenin's awareness of the movie screen's importance and influence is evidenced by his directive, "We must first capture the cinema."

To determine whether communism's tentacles are straining for a strangle hold on Hollywood, Facts Forum's STATE OF THE NATION interviewed Film Star Adolphe Menjou and Roy Brewer, president of the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, an organization dedicated to exposing and eliminating Communist party pressure in the nation's film capital. Hardy Burt was the program moderator along with Victor Lasky, editor of the AMERICAN LEGION READER and an authority on the techniques of Communist infiltration.



MR. BURT: HAS COMMUNISM BEEN STAMPED OUT IN HOLLYWOOD?

MR. MENJOU: That is a very, very, very interesting question. You might ask me: Has communism been stamped out in America? I don't think it ever is going to be stamped out. I think we have to be constantly on the alert and watch with eternal vigilance. A tremendously good job has been done in Hollywood, but the Communists never, never, never give up. Therefore, we have to be on the watch all the time.

MR. BREWER: I more or less agree with that—that the menace of communism will never be stamped out, at least in our generation. It requires eternal watchfulness, but in Hollywood the influence of the Communist party has been as effectively smashed as it has been smashed any place; and we want to keep it that way. That's why we're watching and never letting it get its head up again.

MR. LASKY: AS I RECALL, IT WAS BACK IN 1947 WHEN THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNISM IN HOLLYWOOD WAS FIRST BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HEADLINES SHRIEKED STORIES OF PEOPLE IN HIGH PLACES IN HOLLYWOOD MOVIE-MAKING WHO WERE COMMUNISTS OR ALLEGED TO BE COMMUNISTS. THEN WE HAD THE CASE OF THE "HOLLYWOOD TEN," WHAT HAS BEEN DONE BY THE MOTION PICTURE ALLIANCE, BY THE ANTI-COMMUNISTS IN HOLLYWOOD, TO HELP STAMP OUT THIS EVIL?

1947 BROUGHT AWARENESS

MR. BREWER: The year 1947 was the first time the American people really came to realize the extensive nature of the Communist infiltration into Hollywood and, of course, that was one of the forward steps taken.

You have to go back before 1947 to really get the picture because the Communist plot to control the motion picture

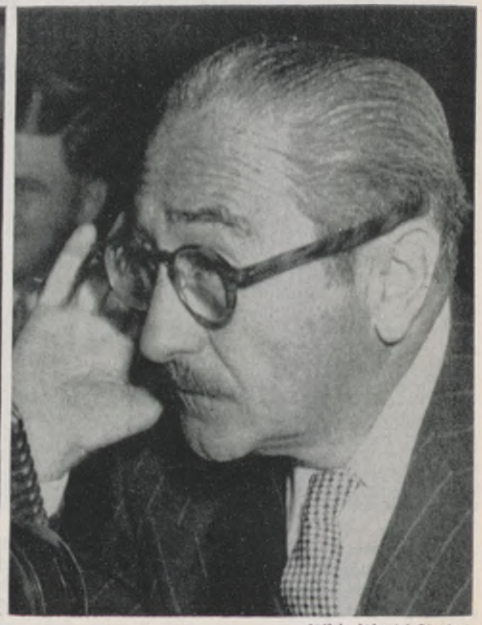
industry goes back to the early thirties, when the Communists sent people into Hollywood in order to infiltrate the unions and the so-called culture and creative groups in Hollywood.

These people had been working in Hollywood since 1934. This is the first positive identification we have of their presence in Hollywood, and we can trace their presence here directly to the Kremlin.

"TWO-PRONGED ATTACK"

They set up what I've often described as "a two-pronged attack." One of these prongs was founded in the trade unions in an effort to infiltrate, control, and dominate the trade union structure of Hollywood and to develop it, too. As a matter of fact, they did a great deal in developing the trade union structure, particularly in the so-called creative crafts.

The second prong was in the cultural group, and it was here that they began



—Wide World Photos

Hollywood Actor Adolphe Menjou as he appeared during his testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1947.

to try to influence the thinking of the people in the community of Hollywood. They succeeded in this to a very great extent in both groups.

The fight in the trade unions broke out in 1945 and took the form of jurisdictional strikes. When it comes to headlines, the hearings of 1947 did not take second place to the headlines of 1945-46 when there was extreme violence in the mass picket lines. This was the result of a Communist plot—Communist-inspired and to a great extent Communist-directed, although there were many people in it who had no knowledge of the Communist participation at that time.

That's always the way with every Communist fight—you never get a case of black and white—you always find that they exploit an existing problem, and they take charge of a situation which has some merit and some good objective, but in the long run it's twisted around so that the Communists get the benefit.

COMMUNIST OBJECTIVE

I've studied this thing from the time I came to Hollywood, and these two prongs were significant because the importance of the motion picture industry in the world picture is its ability to reach the minds of the masses of the free world. And let's not kid ourselves that this wasn't the basic, ultimate objective of the Communist party.

Now if you go just a little further, you see why they wanted the trade unions, and this is a very significant fact. The point is what they were trying



—Wide World Photo

Roy Brewer

to do and what they were succeeding in doing was creating in the minds of the creative artists of this industry a desire and an acceptance of the basic propaganda line of the Communist party, and to that they had succeeded to quite a substantial degree.

The next thing they needed was the power and the control of the industry which would give these creative artists the freedom with which to work. That's why they wanted the trade unions. If they had succeeded in getting a hold of the trade unions, then they would have created an atmosphere in which these artists could work. Then if any pro-

ducer tried to stop them from putting in this propaganda line, he could be smeared as "antilabor" and anti-Semitic. That's exactly what they were trying to do, and that's exactly what they were succeeding in doing until two things happened. First of all, they were defeated in the jurisdictional strikes of 1945-46. . . .

MR. LASKY: Thanks to Roy Brewer.

MR. BREWER: . . . and, secondly, in the hearings of 1947, the conduct of the men on the stand—now this is very important. It wasn't anything we did that caused the '47 hearings to be successful over the other hearings; it was what they did. Why they decided to make a spectacle of themselves we can only guess. We probably will never know exactly. However, those two events made it possible then to break up the conspiracy and to expose it for what it was.

MR. MENJOU: Let's get one thing straightened out. You said "Hollywood Ten"; there were actually nineteen. I have never had it answered to my satisfaction why the committee, under Parnell Thomas, stopped at ten and did not call the nineteen. But it stopped at ten—and it's a catchy newspaper phrase—the "Hollywood Ten." Those were the men who really appeared before the Parnell Thomas committee.

MR. BURT: WHAT DAMAGE CAN WRITERS, PRODUCERS OR DIRECTORS DO IN THE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY?

MR. MENJOU: As an example, take a motion picture script that constantly tears down the United States Senate and makes villains of our highest leaders and lampoons the flag. They don't have to preach communism; they're too smart to wave the communistic flag in a motion picture—this would be an open exposure of it. But, by slyly making respectable citizens appear as villains and evil men, they can completely destroy the faith of the country in the young people.

SEE AMERICANS AS VILLAINS

Look what the Russians do in Russia. Every play they have there makes an American an outrageous villain. This is to poison the minds of the Russian people against America. This propaganda value is of incredible importance, of incredible importance!

In this country alone, we have to be very careful of whom we make villains in our pictures because if we make a Mexican a villain, the Mexican government protests immediately. And we have never been able to make a picture called "The Forty Years of Musadagh" because it was against the best interests of the Turkish government.



—Wide World Photos

Violence flared during the Hollywood strikes of 1945/46. Top left, police seek to restrain pickets from ripping out ignition wires to prevent auto's entrance into studio. Top right, deputy sheriffs and police officers drive back film demonstrators. Lower left, police hold back pickets while bus carries workers through mass picket line. A shower of bricks broke bus window (fourth from rear). Lower right, an outbreak of fist fights occurred when police opened a passageway through picket lines for studio workers.



—Wide World Photo

Seven Hollywood writers, directors, and producers as they arrived at U.S. court, Washington, June 22, 1950, to face trial on charges of contempt of Congress for defiance of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1947. Left to right, Samuel Ornitz, Ring Lardner, Jr., Albert Maltz, Alvah Bessie, Lester Cole, Herbert Biberman, Edward Dmytryk. Remaining three of the "Hollywood Ten" (not in photo): Robert Adrian Scott, John Howard Lawson, and Dalton Trumbo.

MR. BREWER: The Communists have been definitely established as a part of the Hollywood community, at least were a part of the Hollywood community for over ten years. Let me say that the question of content of films and the extent to which it has been influenced by the Communists, is one of the most controversial subjects you can get involved in, and I don't think we should. But I think everyone agrees that Communists can do it.

Certainly the motion picture industry, as a world-wide industry which appeals primarily to the masses of the world, is a prime target—and 75 per cent of all the screentime in the free world is occupied by American motion pictures. Certainly if the Communist party were to get control of the creative minds of Hollywood, I think everyone will agree that they could definitely soften up the minds of the people who see these pictures to an acceptance of the Communist program and the Communist propaganda—that was the thing they really wanted to do.

MR. LASKY: On the basis of my experience in Hollywood, I think one of the major functions of the Communist conspiracy in Hollywood was to raise funds. It is true that they would like to interject their propaganda into films as often as they could, and they did try, there's no doubt about that. We have dramatic examples of how they did succeed in interjecting Soviet-inspired propaganda. The fact remains that, according to one director, they collected millions upon millions of dollars.

MR. MENJOU: A million and a half dollars a year estimated; in one year two and a half million.

MR. LASKY: HERE'S A QUESTION MANY, MANY AMERICANS HAVE BEEN ASKING THROUGH

THE YEARS: HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE FACT THAT PEOPLE—ACTORS, PRODUCERS, DIRECTORS—WHO MAKE UP TO SAY FOUR THOUSAND DOLLARS A WEEK, TURNED COMMUNIST?

MR. MENJOU: I have been asked this question in every section of the Union on various lecture tours over the country. What makes a person in a wonderful economic situation turn Communist? I don't know; I don't think anybody knows. I can name offhand fifteen millionaire Communists in this country. They deny they're Communists so I won't mention their names, but we all know who they are.

MR. BURT: PEOPLE WHO ARE EXPOSED AS TOOLS OF THE KREMLIN, OF THIS DIABOLICAL FOREIGN POWER THAT WANTS TO TAKE OVER THE UNITED STATES AND THE REST OF THE WORLD—HAVE ANY OF THEM COME BACK INTO THE MOTION

PICTURE INDUSTRY? DO THEY STILL MAKE PICTURES?

MR. BREWER: The vast majority of the people who got involved in the Communist party were deceived into getting into it. They were deceived in two ways. Many of them were deceived by not knowing that they were actually helping the Communist party, and there were a lot of those who knew they were helping the Communist party but who never accepted the idea that the Communist party, as it was constituted in this country, was part of the world-wide conspiracy. They thought that it was a humanitarian effort. Most of those people who had been deceived are back working in the motion picture industry.

"HARD CORE" DRIVEN OUT

Now, those we term as the "hard core" have been isolated and have been driven out of the motion picture industry. The industry has not brought back those who have been positively identified as Communists or who have failed to respond to a subpoena. But those people who did testify, who "came clean" and acknowledged the fact that they had been a part of this thing and have helped the industry separate the guilty from the innocent, have come back.

MR. MENJOU: Roy, I'm going to argue with you about that for just a second. *Salt of the Earth*—is that a part of the motion picture industry?

MR. BREWER: Well, of course, this is an exception that proves the rule. In other words, the people who made *Salt of the Earth* were the people who have been rejected from what we consider to be the legitimate motion picture industry. They went down to New Mexico, got ahold of a union which has been

(Continued on Page 50)



—Wide World Photo

Fourteen California Communist leaders as they awaited return to jail after being convicted in August, 1952, of conspiring to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Front row, left to right: Dorothy R. Healey, Rose Chernin Kusnitz, Frank Carlson, Olete O'Connor Yates, Ben Dobbs, Moretta Starvus Stack. Rear, left to right: Henry Steinberg, Al Richmond, Ernest Otto Fox, Philip M. Connelly, William Schneiderman, Albert Jason Lima, Carl Rudy Lambert, Frank E. Spector.

TIME Changes Everything

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLITICAL NOTES

Keynotes

The calendar had just about run out of states' primaries and nominating conventions,* and it was high time for the Big Boys to start thinking in terms of November's congressional elections. The primaries had turned up few clear-cut issues or trends. They seldom did. Last week's surprise in Wisconsin (see below) was added proof that local feelings and local personalities count as much in primaries as major issues and voting records. What the boys in the states needed from now to November were ringing battle cries. Last week the Big Boys supplied them.

In Washington Democratic National Chairman Robert Emmet Hannegan sounded his keynote: "Hold the line against reaction." The Democratic issue, as far as Hannegan was concerned, would be to tar the G.O.P. as reactionary and claim all social gains for the Democrats.

In Denver and Cheyenne, Republican National Chairman B. Carroll Reece hewed to his official line: "The choice . . . is between a Republican Congress and a P.A.C.-Pendergast Congress." He hammered at the Democrats' "unholy alliance" with the "radical-dominated" Political Action Committee which "calls the tune to which the administration dances—a tune strangely like the *Internationale*."

It looked as though foreign policy and the tangled peace would come in for but little discussion. The campaign of 1946 would be largely on domestic issues.

Yankee Liberal

Six years ago in Vermont, Industrialist Ralph E. Flanders lost a campaign for the Republican senatorial nomination. His friends jokingly tell him that it was because of a widely circulated photograph of himself. It showed him holding a pig in an awkward fashion. Vermont farmers, say Flanders' friends, laughed and voted for Senator George Aiken.

Joke or no, Ralph Flanders made no such mistake last week. Result: he carried the farm as well as the city vote (with C.I.O. backing), swept to easy victory over Lawyer Sterry R. Waterman (30,878 to 24,823). This made him almost certain to go to the Senate as the successor to able, scholarly Warren R. Austin, who resigned to become permanent U.S. member of the U.N. Security Council.

Bald, bespectacled Ralph Flanders, 65, will be no stranger to Washington. His engineering and machine-tools skill and his Yankee obstinacy have kept him in & out of the capital for 13 years. As part of a Commerce Department advisory committee in 1934 he calmly and candidly criticized the Roosevelt Administration. In 1941 he resigned his job as OPM boss of machine-tool priorities because his bluntness had him at odds with OPM bigwigs.

* Only six remained: New York, Nevada, Louisiana, Colorado, Rhode Island and Connecticut.



VERMONT'S FLANDERS
Washington knows him.

Huston-Pix

When the OPM was reorganized, he was quickly recalled. He did advisory and expert jobs for the WPB and the Economic Stabilization Board. Lately he has been influential in the Committee for Economic Development.

At home in Springfield, Vt., he is the progressive chairman of the board of the crack Jones & Lamson Machine Co. His labor skirts are clean. The United Electrical local at J. & L. is on record to the effect that he has given it "absolutely fair treatment." The natives know he is a sound, hardheaded Vermonter.



WISCONSIN'S MCCARTHY
An ambition met, a dynasty ended.

Associated Press

Turnabout

Among Marine airmen in the Solomons in 1944 a bluff, genial Irishman came closer than most non-flying officers to achieving a legend. They laughed at his incredible yarns, gobbled up his extra rations, deferentially addressed him as Judge. Some almost believed the sign which sagged incongruously over his tent on mucky, jungle-thick Bougainville: "McCarthy for U.S. Senator."

Last week in tidy Wisconsin, the same Joseph R. McCarthy, discharged as a captain, unexpectedly made good on his ambition; he won the Republican nomination for U.S. Senator. He also ended a formidable tradition and a dynasty. He beat veteran (21 years) Senator Robert M. La Follette Jr., the last member of his famous family to serve in an important public office.

Brash. Joe McCarthy proved his nerve overseas by voluntarily riding the rear seat of his squadron's dive bombers in action. His political nerve was equally great. The convention which nominated him gave him the vote with misgiving. He was almost an unknown and he was up against one of Washington's most respected legislators. McCarthy grinned and set out determined to shake every hand in Wisconsin.

While overconfident La Follette committeemen relaxed, energetic Joe stumped the state wearing his old khaki shirts. He shrewdly wooed conservative farmers with attacks on Washington bureaucrats, skirted the touchy foreign-policy issue, chided his opponent for a long absence from home. Backed by the regular G.O.P. organization he accused errant Progressives of trying to steal the Republican party.

But even optimistic Joe McCarthy had not counted on victory until late returns on election day showed that labor had deserted La Follette. Milwaukee county, which Young Bob had carried by 55,000 in his 1940 campaign as a Progressive, went for McCarthy by 10,000 in the G.O.P. primary.

The turnabout was partly the result of onetime La Follette supporters flocking into the Democratic primary to vote for former Representative Howard McMurray, an ardent New Dealer. They had shied away from La Follette's isolationist record, his return to Republicanism and subsequent indorsement by Ohio's conservative Taft.

Blunder. In rural districts Young Bob lost more votes by coming out on election eve against feeble, aged (82), but popular Governor Walter S. Goodland, who won renomination without a campaign. German-Americans, once solid for the La Follettes, no longer balloted in a bloc. This time many voted a preference for McCarthy's conservative stand on domestic issues.

Defeat for La Follette was a sad finish

"I dimly guess what TIME in mists confounds."—Francis Thompson.

TIMELY QUOTES: "TIME shall throw a dart at thee."

—Epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke.

NA

THE CONGRESS A Myth Exploded

Censure by his colleagues does not mean the end of Joe McCarthy. He has been nourished by headlines, and headlines may still feed him. But he was also nourished by myths. One was that he "rooted the Communists out of Government." Like most myths, this had a basis. There were, calamitously, Communists and Communoids in the U.S. Government. Joe did little to root them out. But he

lines are a form of power, a gross exaggeration of power begot actual power.

This second myth was killed by the censure vote. To a man, the Democrats voted against McCarthy. Their liberal wing from the northern cities was utterly unterrified by the fact that many of McCarthy's most fanatic followers are Democrats. The Democratic liberals were forced by the vote to abandon their dangerous pretense that the Senate feared McCarthy. The Southern Democrats, who include some of the most conservative

to an imposing family history. First Fighting Bob, then Young Bob had sat continuously in the U.S. Senate since 1906. Young Bob's departure would mean the loss to Congress of a Senator with great technical excellence, whose last fine job had been the pushing through of the Reorganization Bill despite Congressional indifference.

For Joe McCarthy victory turned one more page of a story-book career. The grandson of an Irish immigrant, he started out as a grocery clerk, worked his way through law school and was elected at 29 the youngest circuit judge in Wisconsin history.

Against labor-backed McMurray the ex-Marine faced a sharp fight in November. But old Solomons buddies no longer doubted that good-natured Joe's intentions were serious.

CONNECTICUT

Good Governor & Fighting Lady

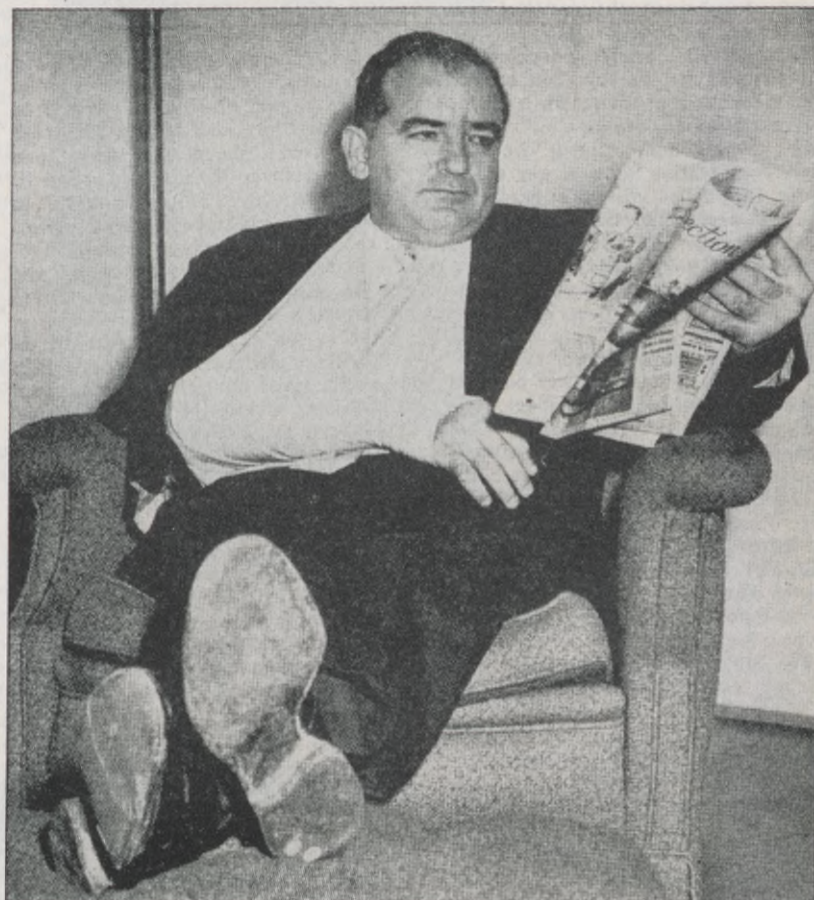
Like many another able, honest politician, Governor Raymond E. Baldwin of Connecticut found himself last winter well on into middle age (54) with little or no money in the bank. Wherefore he decided—definitely, he said—to give up public life and work for Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company at \$30,000 a year, with prospects of becoming president of the company at \$25,000. But people wondered, could Ray Baldwin really bring himself to give it all up—a prospective seat in the U.S. Senate and further opportunities to serve his country in a great period of history.

Like few women, Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce found herself last winter with an outstanding position in public life but also acutely aware of its hardships and harassments. Besides, she had become a Catholic and there were other things she wanted to do (mainly writing). Wherefore she announced that—definitely—she would not run again for the House. But what about the Senate? People wondered whether Clare Luce could really bring herself to give up a very good chance of becoming the first woman ever elected, in her own right, to the U.S. Senate.

One or the other—Baldwin or Luce—would have to run for the Senate. They were the two top Republican vote-getters in Connecticut. Last week Ray Baldwin and Clare Luce sat down to find out who meant what most. Result: Governor Baldwin agreed to give up the money and run for the Senate.

Said he: "I had hoped that Clare Boothe Luce would be a candidate for the United States Senate. She told me on Tuesday that her decision, made some months ago, was final and that she would not be available. She urged me publicly a long time ago to run and has been consistent in her stand. This was a very influential factor in my own decision."

"I thought she would have made an



McCarthy at home (before censure)
The timid and the brave agreed.

United Press

learned, to the dismay of his colleagues, to the shame of the executive branch and to the delight of the press, how to bay the loudest when others were following the scent. The myth of McCarthy, The Red Hunter, was hard to kill during the Truman Administration, which had gone on record as considering some of the most serious and necessary Red hunts as "red herrings."

There was another, perhaps more vicious and enduring, myth upon which McCarthy fed. Eisenhower's victory could not explode it. It was the myth of McCarthy's prowess. No man—especially no Senator (other than an "extreme left-wing bleeding heart")—dared stand against him. This myth, propagated mainly by anti-McCarthy "liberals," helped swell McCarthy's headlines, and, since head-

men in the Senate, likewise voted against him—rejecting any pretensions McCarthy might have to being a conservative.

Some of the most timid Republicans in the Senate voted against McCarthy. Of those Republicans who voted for him, few if any were intimidated by Joe. They voted their convictions. The source of those convictions can be found in the amazing failure of the Truman Administration to take early alarm at Communist infiltration.

McCarthy had a sound issue. He developed it recklessly and even lazily. He was, no doubt, duped by his own headlines—fed to him by eager reactionaries and defensive "liberals" eager to cover their mistakes with McCarthy's gross blunderings.

That sordid chapter may have ended with the censure vote—delivered on the

"It were good therefore that men in their innovations would follow the example of TIME itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees scarce to be perceived." —Bacon.

TIME, AUGUST 26, 1946

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TIME, DECEMBER 13, 1954

"Who hath TIME hath LIFE.—Florio, c. 1600. (Not Nostradamus.)

Censure upon Censure

This week Utah's Republican Senator Wallace Bennett took up where the Watkins committee left off and authored a resolution proposing the censure of Joe McCarthy for behavior in the very recent past. The Bennett resolution said that Joe's reference to the Watkins committee as a Communist "handmaiden" and his description of the Senate censure debate as a "lynch bee" were "contrary to good morals and senatorial ethics and tend to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute, to obstruct the constitutional processes of the Senate and to impair its dignity." Bennett's conclusion: "Such conduct is hereby condemned, and the Senator from Wisconsin is therefore censured."

Such a resolution, coming from a strongly conservative Senator, was a setback to the hopes of Joe's hard-core Senate followers, whose latest gambit had been to promote talk that McCarthy, if censured, might bolt the G.O.P. to head a third party in 1956. Joe's scramble for martyrdom and his appeal over the Senate to the people were cited as evidence of the walkout possibility. It was fairly obvious that Wallace Bennett was one Republican who held scant fear about Joe's defection.

Not to be discouraged by resolutions from Bennett or anybody else were the Ten Million Americans Mobilizing for Justice (TIME, Nov. 29), whose efforts on Joe's behalf continued apace. Last week T.M.A.M.J. announced that it would take some ten days for a Manhattan accounting firm to tally the names on anti-censure petitions. Boys of grade-school age waved the Ten Million's petitions on New York sidewalks, and a Catholic parent wrote New York's Cardinal Spellman complaining that a nun in a Tuckahoe parochial school was soliciting signatures from fifth-grade pupils.

Counter-petition groups also began to appear, e.g., the League of Twenty Million Americans for the Censure of McCarthy, started in Palmer, Mass. by Mrs. Winifred Swanson, a 30-year-old housewife who had never before belonged to anything but a sewing circle.

But the man who headed the Select Senate Committee that recommended censure was not to be swayed by the hue and cry of either the Ten Million or the Twenty Million. Said Utah's Republican Senator Arthur Watkins: Joe's censure should be decided by facts, not by a nationwide counting of noses.

SEQUELS

Ordeal of Living

Early one frosty, sunny morning at Lewisburg, Pa. last week, a mother led her 13-year-old son into the Federal Penitentiary's Administration Building. She went up to a handsome, 50-year-old man who kissed her and said: "Priscilla." Wrapping his arms around the boy, the man greeted him with a "Hiya, Tony." Then

Priscilla, Anthony and Alger Hiss walked out the door into the sunlight.

After serving three years, eight months and five days in prison for perjury, Alger Hiss was paroled (until next September). Outside the prison a throng of more than 70 newsmen surged around him as he intoned his careful words: "I am very glad to use this chance—the first I have had in nearly four years—to reassert my complete innocence of the charges that were brought against me by Whittaker Chambers . . . I have had to wait in silence while, in my absence, a myth has been developed. I hope that the return of the mere man will help to dispel the myth . . . I shall renew my efforts to dispel the deception that has been foisted on the American people." He said he hoped to "allay" the "fear and hysteria of these times." Asked if he planned to write a book, he replied: "I certainly intend to do some writing." A box wrapped in Manila paper, said to contain Hiss's notes and papers, was loaded into a red Chevrolet convertible. Then, with his family and two lawyers, Hiss drove off in the red convertible to freedom.

In New York City, Hiss will live in a third-floor Greenwich Village walkup apartment that his wife and son have called home. While on parole, he must avoid "evil companions" and report his activities monthly to a parole officer. Confined to New York's Southern District, he may travel upstate almost to Albany, but not to Brooklyn or New Jersey. Being disbarred, he may no longer practice law.

The outlook for Hiss was the subject of some reflection by Whittaker Chambers. On his Maryland farm, where he is also doing some writing, Chambers, who is now much thinner than he was before his two major heart attacks in the last two years, observed: "Alger Hiss will be passing from the ordeal of prison to

the ordeal of daily living, which may well prove more trying. Hiss is approaching the most difficult moment of his life." Next day, a reporter relayed this thought to Hiss as he arrived at his Greenwich Village home. Asked Hiss tersely: "Was that his hope or a statement?"

When another reporter appeared at the Chambers farm, Esther Chambers said him down in front of the kitchen fireplace to wait while Chambers went to his typewriter, put a piece of yellow paper in it, and wrote: "The saddest single factor about the Hiss case is that nobody can change the facts as they are known. Neither Alger Hiss nor I, however much we might wish to do so, can change these facts. They are there forever. That is the inherent tragedy of this case."

Death Among Thieves

The Federal Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa., sometimes called "the country club," is also a rough place, the scene of several recent beatings and sluggings and the home of several gangland veterans of a 1952 riot at the Chillicothe, Ohio prison. Last week one, or two, or three Lewisburg inmates crept into a third-floor, four-man cell and swung a brick in a knotted white sock down on the head of a sleeping man. The victim: William Walter Remington, B.A., Phi Beta Kappa (Dartmouth), M.A. (Columbia), and convicted perjurer.

After the attack, Remington crawled down a flight of steps, was found by a guard on the second-floor landing, dazed and bleeding. In the prison hospital he tried to speak, but the words would not come. Next day, a surgeon operated to remove chips of bone and relieve pressure on the brain from skull fractures. Sixteen hours later, Bill Remington died.

Promptly the FBI arrested two accused thieves, charging them with murder. The accused: George Junior McCoy, 34,



TONY, ALGER & PRISCILLA HISS
From an old acquaintance, a prediction.

TIME, DECEMBER 6, 1954

"TIME cannot bend the line."—Thoreau.

BELLA V. DODD, *Who Says . . .*

"You Don't Become or Unbecome a Communist Overnight"

As featured guest on **STATE OF THE NATION**, Dr. Dodd was interviewed by Hardy Burt and Ralph de Toledano, **NEWSWEEK** editor and co-author of **SEEDS OF TREASON**. A digest of the program follows.

Q. How did you, as a young teacher, become interested in the Communist party?

A. I began teaching in the mid-1920's, when wealth and the whole corruption of society was apparent. Then we slid right into the depression period, and no one seemed to have a plan for improving conditions. I was an economics student, and in the colleges we were still taught that depressions were caused by many different theories; but no one could come to a conclusion.

I became interested in communism while I was a student in Hunter College, New York. During my student years, most of the teaching was a destructive teaching—it eliminated your faith in God; it eliminated your belief in patriotism.

Q. Do you mean the professors, if not actual Communists, were sympathetic to communism?

A. No, they weren't. They were good people, but they followed a course of teaching which eliminated a sense of values as far as truth and patriotism were concerned. You were completely emptied out; you really had no faith to live by. They were teaching a materialistic philosophy—it was a question of pragmatic approach—that was right which was successful.

Q. In your book, you spoke not only of the influence of the teachers on the students but also the students' influence on teachers in leading teachers leftward during the period of ferment in the thirties. Will you elaborate on this?

A. Yes, that's a very interesting point. I was a young instructor at Hunter College from 1926 on, and that was the time when the college had a tremendous influx of students. Many of the students who came to us were immigrants. Some of them had been active in the Russian revolution in 1905, and some, of course, were already aware of the whole Communist movement in Europe—it had had some contact with their parents. The parents imported these ideas when they came from Europe, and the children were conditioned already to this approach.

NO STANDARD TO LIVE BY

However, since with the depression there was no positive philosophy being taught and no standard to live by, these students tended to go into a revolutionary approach. We had so many students



—Wide World Photo

Dr. Bella V. Dodd was once a dedicated Communist, active and influential in the teachers union. As she tells in her new book, **SCHOOL OF DARKNESS**, she learned through bitterness and disillusion the necessity to spurn communism and restore her faith in God and country. She is now an attorney in New York City.

that the staff was not prepared to meet this new type of student in the college—was not prepared to give these students a standard to live by, a new culture.

Q. Would you say the faculty became more or less brain-washed by the students?

A. The administrators did not know how to cope with the large mass of students, and this had a tremendous effect upon the students. Also, we had to get young instructors, themselves rather "green," and so it was a question of the students and the instructors going together in a wave of leftward movement.

The Young Communist and Young Socialist Leagues were the focus of attention. They were the ones who set the pace and the others tended to follow in that wake.

Q. Were there student demonstrations, peace strikes, and such to spearhead this movement?

A. Yes, I remember one of the first things I did was to support the students who went out on a peace strike during the mid-thirties. Six of our girls had

been suspended from college. I became a protagonist and a defender of those six girls because I was interested in them as human beings. As a result, I was labeled a Communist. After awhile, I didn't care about labels, and I tended to affiliate myself with Communists.

Q. As a teacher, were you a member of the Communist party at that time?

A. I became associated with the Communist party in 1932 and worked very closely with them. From the very beginning, the Communist party did not let me carry a card because they said I was more important to them in the academic world without a card than I would be with a card. I'd like everyone to remember that all this to-do about card-carrying Communists is sometimes over-exaggerated. I remained a noncard-carrying Communist from 1932 to 1943, even though I was voluntarily under party discipline.

Q. You mean that while we might have 25,000 card-carrying Communists in the country, there could be a substantial number who are Communists but do not carry the card?

A. That's exactly so. The more important ones do not carry cards.

Q. You rose quite rapidly in the Communist party, didn't you?

A. For the period 1932-1941, I was an active leader in trying to arouse mass support for the Communist party among the intellectuals and in the trade union movement. I was with the AF of L, CIO, American Labor party, and so on.

What happened was that the Communist party found the way for me to go from one level to another. I had a natural interest in people. I was interested in the trade union movement for what it could do for the people during the depression period. I was interested in students and, therefore, I became a perfectly good person for the Communists to use in trapping other people.

Q. As an idealist, how were you able to juggle on one hand your idealism and on the other the complete cynicism of the party leadership with which you dealt?

UNAWARE OF LEADERS' CYNICISM

A. I was completely unaware of the cynicism of the party leaders because I only dealt with people who were sup-

posed to guide me. These people held forth the slogans of

"prosperity for the people"
"The support of the people"
"fight against the depression"
"fight against discrimination"

—these were dear to me.

I never saw the cynicism of the party until I actually reached the national committee in 1942-43 and began seeing the dreadful faces of the people who were manipulating this thing and using people like me to entrap millions of people into it on an idealistic basis.

Q. When would you say your internal break with the party began—the beginning of the disillusionment which led to a total break?

A. It takes you a long time to become a Communist. You don't become a Communist overnight because communism is a complete faith—it has a complete set of ethics for itself and a complete set of rules as to how to operate. Nor do you unbecome a Communist overnight; the processes come little by little.

As I rose in importance, I began realizing that there was a tremendous cleavage between that which the Communists preached and that which the Communists were doing. For instance, it was my opinion that they were out to help organize the workers. Then suddenly I was put into a situation where the Communists prolonged a strike, long beyond the point where it was necessary for the workers to win, in order to harden the workers. I began to break with the party then.

I found that the Communists preached against gangsterism and against corruption; then I found the Communists handing over wads of money to people on the waterfront to encourage gangsterism. I began breaking with the party then.

But a thing doesn't come altogether. Sometimes when you see a little thing, you attribute it to one individual; you don't attribute it to the entire movement. You think the movement is fine but individuals are corrupt.

So assiduous are they in developing your attitude toward the Soviet Union as the motherland of socialism, as the place where they've established something which is for the improvement of society, that the last thing which dies in you is a sense that in the Soviet Union they have reached the utopia.

Q. What about the propaganda created by Communists and fellow travelers—that people break with the Communist party for money; that they are subsidized by all the country's reactionaries; that they have estates in Westchester, and so on?

A. I left Hunter College and the work I was doing in the universities in the middle of the 1930's because I felt that the country needed the strength of the labor movement. So I gave up a \$5,000-a-year job in a depression period and went into the movement to take a \$60-a-

week job, the highest salary I ever received in the Communist movement. People like me were used on the idealistic front for \$60 a week. As a matter of fact, in the party itself I never got more than \$50, which meant \$42 take-home pay.

When I broke with the party, the first thing they did was to make it impossible for me to earn a living. As far as the party was concerned, they used everything they possibly could. My law office was completely depleted. They circulated all kinds of scandals and rumors. Clients who were pro-left and pro-Communist came in with Communist lawyers to take their cases out of the office.

And then I found that the really wealthy people in the political front are those who are on the left. Those are the ones whom the national committee of the Communist party feed and promote and help. Those are the ones who have the estates in Westchester County. Those are the ones who are making the money.

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It's a delusion to think that the Communist party is only made up of poor people. The poor people are the suckers; they're the ones who are used over and over again against their own interests.

Q. It seems ironical that the ones who are benefiting most from capitalism should be those who are in favor more or less of overthrowing capitalism. What is the reasoning behind this?

A. This is the hardest thing to get across to the American people and yet unless they understand this, they won't understand communism. Communism would fall by the wayside if it were not supported and promoted by people who had something to gain materially by the promotion of communism.

I got a little glimpse into the Communist business world. The effect the Communists are having upon labor is tremendous—and upon the workers and upon the intellectuals. But the way they have infiltrated and moved into the business world is far beyond the grasp of our imagination.

During the World War, the Communist party, with funds collected from different sources and under different labels and the anonymity of corporations and organizations, went into all kinds of businesses. I knew, for instance, that they had businesses for tools, machines, and electronics. They run doll factories, shoulder pad factories, lumber businesses, factories where they produced

musical records for young children's groups, and so on. Into thousands of industrial enterprises the Communists have moved.

SEEK PROTECTION OF INTERESTS

I, too, thought that rich men came into the party out of a sense of conscience. I discovered later that they came into the party to protect their own and their families' interests. It was very good business to be in the party, and they were hedging for the future.

Q. There have been stories to the effect that any former Communists who told of their experience in the Communist party and particularly mentioned the names of people with whom they were associated in the party were labeled "stool pigeons," as a criminal who told on other criminals might be labeled. What is your reaction to this?

A. It's the hardest thing in the world to be called an informer. The reason for it is that it's a natural rule that we do not interfere with our fellow men. I had a hard time to bring myself to testify before the congressional committees and only after I was able to ask these questions of myself: (1) Does my country need this information? (2) Is the information which I give truthful? (3) Is it given through malice? If I could answer those three questions honestly, then I could testify.

The difficulty which arises in so much testifying is that the pressure is put upon the individual by different government agencies. There are scores of government agencies doing this work and therefore, the individual who happens to have the information may sometimes be pressed to the point of giving information which is of no value. If, however, the information is needed for our country's security, I think it is wrong to apply the criminal standard to the person who gives the information.

Q. The unsavory label "informer" is put on the former Communist who breaks with the party and feels it his or her duty to tell about this conspiracy. Do you think such a label is Communistic inspired?

A. There's no doubt in my mind that the Communist apparatus does everything it possibly can, by labels and smears, to discourage people from giving the information to our country. But it is assisted and aided by the newspaper, magazine, radio worlds because they will take the same labels and use them over and over again. I've seen reputable newspapers use the word "stool pigeon." They will be quoting the *Daily Worker*, but they'll use it nevertheless. When you repeat a word often enough, you attach it to a particular person or thing. This is intended to keep people from telling about the secrets.

Q. Besides being a member of the Communist party's national committee, you were also a legislative representative of the teachers' union. Your responsibility was to do everything possible at the time to infiltrate our educational system.

with Communist philosophy. How did you accomplish this?

A. The ramifications are varied. First of all, you use organizations, that is, I happened to belong to the American Federation of Teachers. Now this doesn't mean that the American Federation of Teachers are Communists. It does mean that the Communists had a tremendous influence in both its growth and in establishing a line of policy on curriculum, so forth and so on.

The teachers' union here in New York had the assistance of many who were not members of the Communist party, who helped the teachers' union members get into key positions in curriculum-making and in policy-making as far as the Board of Education was concerned.

The Communists worked through the parents, students, teachers, and with the learned societies. The Communist party never allows a learned society to hold a meeting without having representatives there whose function it is (1) to see that no harm comes to the Communist line; (2) to promote the Communist line; and (3) to pick up personnel—new people who will join the conspiracy.

CONSPIRATORS WORK IN DARKNESS

Now, a lot of people don't know that they're part of a conspiracy. That's the very nature of a conspiracy. The conspirators work in the dark, and they use many people who innocently are interested in immediate issues and who serve the conspiracy for the conspiracy's ultimate objective.

Q. The last pages of your book, **SCHOOL OF DARKNESS**, which tell of your return to faith, are wonderfully heartwarming and give a note of hope. Would you tell us how you think we can recapture America's lost souls—bring them back and in that way fight communism positively?

A. America was founded on the life-giving principle of a belief in God the Creator. Instinct in our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, in the foundation of this country, were the principles which have made the Judaic-Christian traditions of the Western world the thing which established our country. We must recapture the traditions which have established the Western civilization and our country, and by recapturing them we come to love them and to use them as a basis for helping the peoples of the world.

You need a faith to fight a faith. You need an organization to fight an organization. If we have no faith in ourselves, if we do not love the life-giving principles which motivate the very thing which made this country great, we cannot fight communism—for communism is an inspiration of evil. To fight communism's "school of darkness" with the actual Light of Life itself is to recapture those life-giving principles and to reunite the peoples of the Western world around those principles.

Q. How do we do this?

A. The heart of it is that to do it, you've got to get to the young people. They have to feel that there's something worth fighting for—for themselves. We must have men and women who are willing to sacrifice.

Q. Would you say that young people, as well as all other people in the country, have to take more interest in America as Americans and to develop more of a patriotic spirit?

A. Yes, they must come to love this country as did the people who established it, as the Pilgrims who went on their knees and thanked God for coming here.

Q. What about a certain school of thought in this country that reviles anyone who is considered a patriot by calling him "200 per cent American," "super-bigot," "flag waver," and such?

COMMUNISTS SMEAR PATRIOTS

A. The Communists have done very well in smearing the word "patriot." They've done very well in destroying the man who is religious, the man who is ethical, the man who is patriotic. But what we've got to do is re-establish the very natural—it's natural for a person to love his country just as it's natural for a person to revere his God. We've got to re-establish this, and we've got to do it step by step and house by house and street by street. It's not going to be done in Congress; it's not going to be done overseas, and it's not going to be done certainly at the United Nations—it's done in the home.

Q. There's some small indication of young people in the colleges returning to it by themselves. Do you see any real signs of this?

A. I see it not so much in the colleges of America as I see it in the homes of America. I see fathers and mothers, for instance, in the Middle West, in the South, in New England, beginning to call a halt to this easygoing philosophy that everything in the past is bad and everything in the future is going to be corrected by a big super-state government. And this is being transmitted to their children.

Now the fight is an uphill fight because when they get into some of these college classes where the teachers have already been indoctrinated in this pro-Communist philosophy, are unthinkingly unaware of what they're doing, these students who are being taught by their parents will not be easily misled. I go back to that, the questions of the rehabilitation of the American home as the unit for the love of one's country and for the dependence upon one's God.

I want to point out the importance of youth in this whole fight. The older people have been misled. Because of the depression, the war situations, they have tended to look to government for the answer to all of their problems. We need to reassert the individual—individual responsibility.

What they're saying . . .



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FOUNDATIONS CONTINUE TO BE CONTROVERSIAL

FACTS FORUM NEWS will from time to time print excerpts from the explosive Reece Committee Report together with criticism and defense of the Report. The following is from pp. 199-202 of the Report. The criticisms are from the Communist DAILY WORKER. The defense is by Mr. Reece.

THE EXTENT OF SUBVERSIVE GRANTS

During the testimony of Professor Rowe of Yale, Mr. Hays of this committee pointed out that, in the case of one foundation, it had made only forty grants to persons or organizations allegedly subversive and that this was but a small percentage of the total grants. Professor Rowe answered that it seemed to him this was a misuse of statistics. His position was that it was the aggregate impact of the unfortunate grants which was important, not their relative number. The Chairman then suggested that the number of grants did not tell the whole story of Communist infiltration, whereupon the testimony continued:

DR. ROWE. Yes. Could I comment on that briefly and make a few other comments that are connected with this? I am fully in agreement with the notion that—picking a figure out of the air—two or three grants that are made to wrong people can have a tremendous effect in undoing much of the good that is made by the rest of the 40,000. Again, it is not a matter of every grant being equal in significance. You can't evaluate them in terms of how many dollars were involved. A small grant made to a person in a critical position where he is going to make a wrong move and implement the matter can negate hundreds and thousands of grants made to people who are out on the fringes, the outskirts of positions of power and influence where the impact of everything they do that may be good will not be directly felt in policy areas.

Another interesting feature of that is that grants to organizations, it seems to me, have to be very carefully taken into account when you are talking about the total number of grants. I don't quite understand here whether the grants to organizations were included in this total figure.

THE CHAIRMAN. They were not. These are grants to individuals.

DR. ROWE. Of the grants to organizations, I can only give you the best example that I know of. Those that involved, for instance, the Institute of Pacific Relations. I don't know what the sum total of the money was. It came from Rockefeller and Carnegie and from private contributions.

MR. WORMSER. I believe it was something over three million dollars.

DR. ROWE. Three million dollars. The grants to the Institute of Pacific Relations, it seems to me, helped to implement a lot of people who did not, in my opinion, have the best interests of the United States at heart. (Hearings, pp. 535, 536.)

Professor Rowe then proceeded with testimony which this committee found to be of extreme importance:

Here I want to talk about another item. It seems to me we make a mistake in talking about identifying Communists as grantees on the one hand, non-Communists as grantees on the other hand. In much of the activity that

has to do with identification of Communist activity in the United States, it has seemed to me that we are going off on the wrong track when we limit ourselves to efforts to identify overt Communists, or let us say organizational Communists, people who carry a card or who can be positively identified as members of an organization subject to organized discipline. For every one of those that you fail to identify—and it seems to me we even fail to identify most of those—there are a thousand people who could not possibly be identified as such, because they have never had any kind of organizational affiliation; but among these people are many people who advance the interests of world communism, in spite of the fact that they are not subject to discipline and do not belong to any organization.

So here again I think your categories, statistically, have to be refined somewhat. Here, of course, you get into this area of opinion. What constitutes an individual who is attempting to advance the interests of world communism?

This is a very controversial subject, but if we are ever to deal with the problem of communist influence in this country or ever to deal with the problem of preserving our security against the world communist conspiracy, this is the critical area. The people who can be trailed and tagged by the FBI are a very, very small minority. They occupy a very powerful position and a potentially important one. But the people who do the important work are unidentifiable, and if I were planning to infiltrate the United States, I would see to it that they were unidentifiable.

Here it seems to me you have to set up an entirely different category than the two categories of Communists on the one side and other people on the other side. (Hearings, p. 536.) [Emphasis supplied by Committee.]

To illustrate the necessity of making qualitative rather than quantitative judgments as to foundation grants, Professor Rowe discussed the IPR situation as follows:

...I would like to add this regarding the IPR and regarding the problem of Far Eastern policy. You remember some of my earlier remarks about the state of Far Eastern studies in the United States twenty or thirty years ago—how I said there was practically none of it—how some of the foundations started to finance the building up and training of personnel. It seems to me this kind of thing has to be taken into account in evaluating foundation grants, namely, that the area of ignorance in the United States about Far Eastern matters was so great that here was the strategic place in which to strike at the security of the United States by people interested in imperiling our security and fostering the aims of world communism. They would naturally not pick the area in which we have the greatest intellectual capacities and in which we have the greatest capacities for defense. They would pick the area of greatest public ignorance, with the greatest difficulty of defending against the tactics of their attack, and so these people naturally poured into Far Eastern studies and exploited this area as the area in which they could promote the interests of world communism most successfully in the general ignorance and blindness of the American people.

So that it is not only quantitative evaluation that counts; it is not only the number of grants or the amounts of grants; it is the areas in which the grants are given that are significant. Here, you see, it seems to me, takes a great deal of subject matter knowledge—quite apart from dollars and cents—people and their affiliations or lack thereof to evaluate the impact on this country of any given foundation grant—I don't care whether it is \$50 or \$5 million. It is a qualitative matter. Here is where judgment comes in and where the greatest possibility of disagreement and controversies lies but where, it seems to me, if you are going to do an evaluating job on foundation activities you are going to have to make up your mind with the best help you can find just what the meaning of the grant was. (Hearings, pp. 541, 542.)

SUBVERSIVES FED TO GOVERNMENT

We have described briefly elsewhere the extent to which the government has come to rely upon foundations and foundation-supported organizations to provide "social scientists" for research and in advisory capacities. The whole subject deserves deep and careful study and analysis, particularly the part which these foundations and associated organizations have played in infiltrating government with subversives. A shocking example of this was disclosed by the testimony of Professor Kenneth Colegrove.

Professor Colegrove testified concerning the appointment of political advisors to the occupation forces at the end of the second World War. In 1945 as secretary of the American Political Science Association, he submitted a list of names of experts for the Army of Occupation in Japan and for that in Germany—a list of political scientists which would be helpful to the government. While he did not put his own name on the list, he was asked to become an advisor to General MacArthur and subsequently occupy that position. (Hearings, p. 560.)

What became of the list which Professor Colegrove had provided? It was not accepted by the Pentagon. Another list was accepted and, as Professor Colegrove testified:

I was shocked when I saw the list, because there were none of the recommendations that we had made.

I took that list over to an old friend of mine who had served as Chief of the Far Eastern Division in OSS (Office of Strategic Services). His name is Charles Burton Fahs, a very outstanding specialist in Japan and a man of great integrity. And I remember that Charles Burton Fahs was astonished by the character of the names that had been recommended.

We checked those names off. Some of the

were known to us to be Communists, many of them pro-Communists or fellow travelers. They were extremely leftist.

I went back to the Pentagon to protest against a number of these people and, to my amazement I found that they had all been invited and they had all accepted and some of them were already on their way to Japan.

I wanted to find out where the list came from, and I was told that the list had come from the Institute of Pacific Relations. [Emphasis supplied by Committee.] (Hearing, p. 561.)

Professor Colegrove testified later that another list had been supplied by the American Council of Learned Societies and that the final selections had been made from these two lists (the IPR and the American Council of Learned Societies); and the list of the American Political Science Association had been ignored. (Hearings, p. 580.)

"And so," said Professor Colegrove, "General MacArthur, who had very little control over the personnel that was sent to Japan at this time for civil affairs, practically no control, had to receive a large group of very leftist, and some of them Communist, advisers in the field of political science." (Hearing, p. 561.)

There have been very few foundations which would consciously make a grant to a known Communist. In fact, with a few notable and tragic exceptions such as the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Marshall Foundation, and the Garland Fund (these last two having lost their tax exemption and being now extinct), we do not know that any large sums of foundation money have gone directly into Communist channels. That is not the most serious problem which faces those foundation trustees who wish to do their full fiduciary duty to the people whose money, in the form of foundation trust funds, they administer. The leakage, the substantial diversion of foundation funds to subversive purposes, comes clearly through the support of individuals and efforts which are contributive to Communist success though not always easily so recognizable.

Many individuals have permitted themselves to be seduced into the support of Communist front organizations through negligence and an anxiety to join "progressive" and "liberal" causes.

So, the foundations have often, in the social sciences, lent themselves to the support of efforts and causes which weaken our society and create factors of dissidence and disorganization of which the Communists are alert to take advantage. *We cannot too strongly state that this Committee respects the true liberal and deems him as important to the proper political functioning of our society as is the conservative. In using the term "liberal" in quotes, we do so to indicate a type of leftist who is the unconscious helper of communism. He may be, with the utmost earnestness, a violent and inveterate opponent of communism; but he travels in, if not under the same direction. The term "fellow traveler" is perhaps too extreme. He may utterly reject revolution in favor of evolution, but the evolutionary change he seeks must be a quick one, and he must hurry to aid in ushering it in. In his anxiety for the better world of the future, he falls into the error of wishing to destroy before he knows the significance of that with which he wishes to replace.*

Following is a letter written to the New York Times by Representative Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.), Chairman of the House Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations.

To the Editor of the *New York Times*:

From the nature of your reporting during the proceedings of the Special Committee of the House of Representatives to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, of which I have had the honor to be chairman, and your frequent editorial comments, I conclude that it is not likely that you would, of your own accord, present to the public the facts which would enable it to arrive at an unprejudiced judgment regarding the work of the committee. Your editorial of Dec. 21 has been called to my attention and emphasizes the conviction expressed above.

I address myself chiefly to the canard, which your newspaper in particular has been so active in spreading, that I terminated the hearings of the committee in order to prevent the foundations from having their day in court. You have given the public the false impression that I refused to let witnesses favorable to the foundations give testimony and closed the hearings before the foundations themselves could present their case.

The explanation of the termination of the hearings is to be found in full in a statement which I attached to the majority report of the committee (starting at page 223) and in the introductory paragraphs of the report at page 2. You have made no adequate presentation of this explanation to the public.

You have not, for example, as far as I know, mentioned the letters addressed

to me, as chairman of the committee, by two professors of standing, complaining bitterly against the inexcusable treatment given by the ranking minority member of the committee, Wayne L. Hays [D-Ohio], to witnesses appearing before the committee.

Have you, for example, told your readers that the eminent Prof. Kenneth Colegrove said: "I doubt whether the entire history of Congressional investigations will show more unfair or cowardly attack upon a witness than the treatment accorded Mr. Sargent"? Or, that Prof. A. H. Hobbs had written that the conduct of Mr. Hays created an atmosphere "of fear among competent persons who might otherwise question the omniscience of the directors of those foundations"? (Report, page 225.)

The fact is incontrovertible that the conduct of Mr. Hays made it impossible

to continue the hearings with any dignity. Incident after incident occurred during the process of the hearings of interference, insult and obstruction on Mr. Hays' part, culminating in an episode of the last open hearing which had the effect of being the straw which broke the camel's back and making it utterly clear that to go on with public hearings was senseless. This climaxing episode occurred while the first witness for a foundation was on the stand; other foundation witnesses had already been scheduled for appearance, and some were waiting in the hearing room to be heard.

If you will scan your own reports during the conduct of the hearings, you will find constant adulation of Mr. Hays as a sort of knight in shining armor, allegedly preventing the majority of the committee from perpetrating an injustice on the public and the foundations in particular. You will find in these reports little, if any, mention of the conduct of Mr. Hays, specifically referred to in my statement annexed to the final report, nor any condemnation of his highly criticizable and inexcusable conduct.

As far as your newspaper was concerned, the public was not made sharply aware:

That Mr. Hays interrupted witnesses beyond all reason;

That he did, for example, in one session of 135 minutes interrupt 246 times;

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That these interruptions were distressingly frequent and very often on entirely extraneous matters and certainly not designed to elicit the truth;

That his interruptions were so frequent and often so violent that orderly presentation of a witness' testimony was virtually impossible;

That the committee, by a majority, finally passed a rule that a witness be permitted to finish his presentation before being questioned or cross-questioned, after which cross-examination could take place without limit, and that Mr. Hays angrily remarked that he would pay no attention to any such rule and would interrupt whenever he pleased, which he continued to do;

That his continued interruptions were frequently intemperate, both in tone and in substance, and in purposeful disregard of parliamentary procedure and the rules of the House of Representatives;

That he repeatedly at the hearings vilified the staff and accused it of having prejudged the complaints against the foundations;

That he repeatedly at the hearings vilified fellow Congressmen on the committee and questioned their good faith. He publicly accused me of lying and of being a coward and accused Congressman Goodwin of duplicity and cowardice. In one instance, when I refused to lose my temper at his insolence, he said: "I thought they had more guts in Tennessee";

That he went out of his way to cast aspersions on the character and record of a Catholic nun, the daughter of Senator McCarran;

That he repeatedly vilified and openly insulted witnesses appearing before the committee;

That he referred in scurrilous terms to witnesses who had been heard, using such expressions as suggesting that the committee should have a psychiatrist present; referring to witnesses as "crackpots," asserting that they had been "dredged up" by the staff—(and, remember, eminent professors were among the witnesses); or

That at the last hearing Mr. Hays interrupted the questioning of the first foundation witness by the associate counsel with an insult to counsel calculated to disturb the proceedings and to make it clear that he would not permit any orderly cross-examination.

I am quite satisfied to have the substance of the report stand upon its own merits. I am chiefly concerned that a newspaper like yours, having a wide and important circulation, should falsely present it to the public as intrinsically unfair because of the claim that the foundation point of view was not considered.

The foundations concerned with the

investigation were given the right to, and did, file lengthy written statements, which were added to the record without any deletion whatsoever. In these statements they had the opportunity to present whatever points of view and factual material they cared to. Their statements were carefully read and carefully considered.

FOUNDATIONS SPARED EMBARRASSMENT

All that the foundations missed was the opportunity to be embarrassed through cross-examination. Certainly, thanks to the wide coverage given to their answers by your newspaper and others, they did not miss the opportunity of presenting their "case" to the public. In fact, their "testimony" received much more attention in your paper than any of the so-called critical testimony. Although they have in fact had a fair hearing, I regretted deeply that the hearings had to be closed.

I did not join in the decision pre-

cipitately but only after long and careful thought and after Congressman Wolcott and Goodwin both had taken the position that Mr. Hays' conduct made it certain that continued public hearings would be destructive of the dignity of the Congressional committee.

Your frequently expressed concern with the conduct of Congressional investigations does not carry much conviction in the face of your failure to protest against Mr. Hays' unconscionable conduct and in the light of your failure to inform the public that Mr. Hays' actions effectively prevented the continuance of orderly hearings.

Carroll Reece

Washington, Dec. 28, 1954

Excerpts from Rep. Reece's supplemental statement to the majority report were published in the January FACTS FORUM NEWS together with excerpts from the majority and minority reports. Additional remarks of Rep. Hays and Reece were published in the November 1954 issue.

The Communist Worker, Sunday, December 26, 1954

On the Reece Committee Report

by Bernard Burton

If there is any member of the U. S. Congress who knows better than to believe that foundations bearing the names of Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie have promoted "socialism," that man is Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.). Yet Reece headed the House Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, which issued a report last week asserting just that plus a charge of promoting "subversion."

The response of most of the country amounted to tagging the report as some sort of throwback to Stone Age mentality. But if B. Carroll Reece is a cave-man, it is only in a political sense. For Reece is an educated man, with some claim to scholarship, according to his biography in the *Congressional Directory*.

Once Reece even came up from Tennessee to assume the post as director of the School of Business Administration of New York University. He has been educated in a number of universities, including NYU and the University of London, and in addition to being a lawyer with a degree of Doctor of Laws, is also an economist with a claim to standing in scholarly circles. He is a member of the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association and the American Academy of Political Science.

So it should be clear that though

there may be madness in the report which Reece signed ascribing promotion of "subversion" and "collectivism" to the big money foundations and to the *N. Y. Times*, *N. Y. Herald-Tribune*, *Washington Post and Times-Herald*, is not a madness without method. The method is one which apes McCarthyism and goes him one better. The goal is to intimidate and silence any person or group which dissents from the domestic policy of the National Association of Manufacturers, and from the foreign policy of the War-Now mob.

Some say that one of Reece's peeves was that another hearing of the headlines while his committee was carrying on its probe last June. The other hearing was the Army-McCarthy fracas. Reece's committee finally got the headlines with its report last week but it must be said that there was considerable justification for his report and feeling that his hearings rated top priority treatment.

It is doubtful that even the junior Senator from Wisconsin ever conducted inquisitions which were so carefully staged to serve reaction, so bizarre in the charges that were solemnly made and entered into the record. The probe was so raw that they were conducted over the continued protests of the Democratic members, Gracie Pflaster of Idaho, and Wayne L. Hays, of ...

ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS

Crackling with repartee, this popular show brings to the pros and cons of vital questions panelists who are pro's, and visiting experts who con the field. Following are highlights of three programs:

Is Federal Aid the Answer to Teacher & Classroom Shortages?

YES says George J. Hecht, publisher of PARENTS' MAGAZINE, who declares the "problem is...beyond the financial capacity of the states."

Mr. Hecht: I'm for federal aid for school construction. I think, however, that maintenance of schools is the local and state responsibility. But, just as the federal government helps the states to build hospitals and then says to the local community or state, "You maintain them after they're built," so, I think the federal government should have a program of federal aid for school construction, giving preference to the low income states—that is, the southern and rural states—helping all communities because every state has its neglected areas.

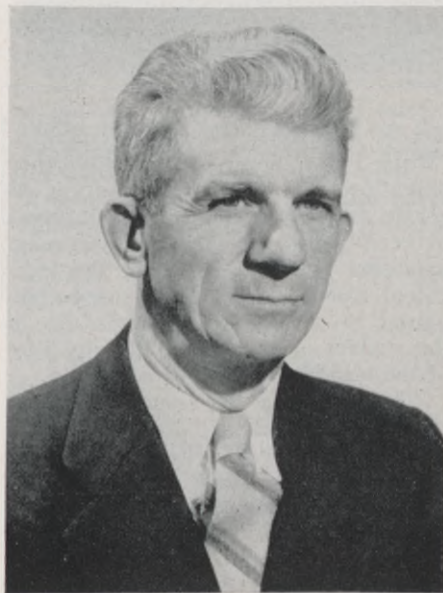
The Constitution gives Congress the right to provide for the general welfare, and some thirty different programs of federal aid have been established over the past hundred years. The biggest federal aid expenditure is for highways. The United States government helps the states build hospitals and mental institutions. Why shouldn't it help them build schools?

Gen. Howley: I think the federal government should attend to its own affairs and that those affairs should be fairly sharply defined. And the raising of my children isn't necessarily the affair of some bureaucrat in Washington. Where the federal money goes is very likely to go federal control.

We must remember that the people who are sending their children to the various sectarian and nonsectarian private schools are paying their taxes to support the public school and, in addition, they are supporting their own private schools.

We must remember that at the university level two out of three are private schools, such as New York University. The people who go there, of course, pay taxes which help support state colleges; in addition, they pay their way through New York University.

I wouldn't like complete federal control of our teaching system.



—Wide World Photo
General Frank Howley

Mr. Hecht: By a program of federal aid for school construction, you will avoid the problem of federal control because if you put the responsibility on the local community to run the schools, to pay the teachers, and decide the curriculum, there'll not be any federal control. If the federal government's part in the picture is only to provide some of the money to build the schools, then there can be no federal control. That's the way the system works in the hospital field.

Mr. Garrity: I'm just wondering where this federal aid money is supposed to come from. You mean to tax the citizens of New York and the citizens of Connecticut and New Jersey to pay for the schools that will be erected, presumably, in Arkansas and in West Virginia and in states of that kind who

NO says General Frank Howley, Vice-Chancellor of New York University, former U. S. Commandant in Berlin, asserting that federal aid means federal control.

can't afford to build them or don't choose to? You mean to ram them down their throats if they don't want to have them?

OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

Prof. Norton: I would tax the citizens of the United States for a matter which is of general national concern—namely, that every American child shall get a decent educational opportunity.

We are all in the same boat. For instance, if half the draftees of Mississippi are rejected, we have to replace them with New Yorkers. During the war five southern states had over half their draftees rejected. The record was much better in states like New Jersey, New York, and the other states that maintain good schools.

Mr. Garrity: I think New Yorkers are just as often rejected. Forty per cent is the average rejection by the draft boards—and some of it has to do with nutritional deficiency and just poor mentalities. And did it ever occur to you that some of those southern states—as in one particular case that I know firsthand—decided to keep their good farmers and field hands and send the riffraff to the war?

Prof. Norton: In World War II, seventeen million men were examined under the draft. Five million were rejected for physical or mental or educational reasons—far too many! Nearly all of them came from these slum areas of American education where we furnish only five, ten, or fifteen dollars per pupil per year.

Mr. Hecht: The main thing wrong with schools is that there are not enough of them. There is a shortage of at least 345,000 classrooms in the United States. School classes are being held in garages, in basements; 61 per cent of classrooms are seriously overcrowded, and the conditions are getting worse, not better.

The large crop of babies born during the war are growing up to be of school

APPEARING on Facts Forum's ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS radio-television program, Mr. Hecht and General Howley debate this challenging issue with Panelists Devin Garrity, President of Devin-Adair Publishing Co., and Professor John K. Norton of Columbia Teachers College, with Hardy Burt acting as Moderator.

age, and the high birth rate will mean that there will be a need for about 400,000 additional classrooms by 1960—or a total of 770,000 classrooms more than we have now. The estimated cost of that is five billion dollars.

And that doesn't include the cost of providing new schools for those that are now firetraps or antiquated. As it is, there's a fire in a school building every three hours! And the National Board of Fire Underwriters has issued a statement that nearly half of the schools of America are not firesafe.

The problem is so great that it is beyond the financial capacity of the states or the local communities to meet it—particularly in those rural states and the southern states where there's relatively little wealth that can be taxed on behalf of the schools.

SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS

Prof. Norton: I don't object to some federal funds to meet this emergency situation as it affects school buildings. However, if I had to choose between having poor teachers or poor buildings (and I don't think we need to choose), I'd rather have the good teachers. And the fact is that American education has been so severely affected by inflation and other factors that we now have a shortage of at least 110,000 teachers per year.

I'd like to see a floor of financial support, without control, put under the education of every American child. From there on, the individual states and localities will build.

Gen. Howley: I agree that we should do something to increase salaries of our teachers—all teachers. They're dedicated people, but they still have to raise their families. The average salary—as near as you can get to an average all over the country—of schoolteachers below college level is \$2,800 a year.

And just by contrast, we had many students graduated from our College of Engineering last year who received over \$5,000 a year on their first job—more money in many cases than the teacher who teaches them receives. But I don't think the answer is federal support of the teacher, because right with it will go specifications as to what the teacher will teach or won't teach, what color his hair will be, and so forth.

Prof. Norton: I favor federal aid because it has worked so well in the past. First, there were the very substantial grants made to help found our original public school system, which I think is one of the great institutions of our American heritage. Later on, President Lincoln signed a federal bill that established a land-grant college in every state, which has done a great deal to make our farmers upstanding men instead of peasants. Later on, the federal government initiated a program of voca-

tional education which stood us in very good stead as this technological age has come on.

More recently we've not thought out this problem so well; we've talked too much in clichés, such as “federal aid

means federal control,” although we've had 175 years of experience where hasn't meant control. I think what we need to do most is to apply some federal aid to the slum areas of American education.

Progressive Education - Good or Bad?

“I think progressive education is bad,” asserted Fordham University Professor Godfrey Schmidt during his recent guest appearance on Facts Forum's ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS program.

Law Professor Schmidt, also an attorney, lecturer, debater, continued, “While I have never seen a satisfactory definition of progressive education, as nearly as I can understand it, it seems to be a form of education that relies upon the budding genius of the individual student, which must not be impaired by any of the artificialities of the student or by any of the rigidities of the traditional form of education.

“And I think it has resulted in a kind of diffidence about intellectual and moral principles—a kind of fear of taking positions—and a failure to understand that moral training is just as important in education as intellectual training. You can't have either intellectual or moral training without certitudes and principles and therefore without a philosophy and ultimately without a theology.”

Regular panelists on the program offered a wide variety of opinions both as to the definition and value of progressive education. The distinguished trio were: Mr. Devin Garrity, President of Devin-Adair Publishing Company; Professor Charles Hodges of New York

University, world-traveler and former newspaper correspondent; and George Hamilton Combs, network radio-television news commentator and former Democratic Congressman from Missouri.

Strongly opposing Professor Schmidt's views was Professor Hodges, who offered this definition for “progressive education”: “I'd say it's education for living. I would say that it does have principles back of it—that indeed most of the education in the United States today is progressive.” Speaking from his own observation of students, Professor Hodges asserted that “products of progressive education have a brilliant college record.”

Still another definition was volunteered by Mr. Garrity, who finds that progressive education is comprised of two objectionable characteristics: “One is that they presume to own the whole child; they presume to tell that child how to adjust to his parents, to his home, and to what is called ‘socially acceptable’ behavior, rather than to old-fashioned absolutes of right and wrong under the Ten Commandments. The second thing they do is to use schools as a sounding board or as a means of reforming society and the world, instead of teaching ‘characterism’—as they call patriotism.” Mr. Garrity concluded, “We are now creating little citizens who will take their places in this great ‘one-world’ of tomorrow.”

Mr. Combs declined to label progressive education as either good or bad “because I don't know what school they are referring to” and defined the term as “that system which places emphasis on the greater freedom of the individual student and the relaxing of, let us say, classic or arbitrary disciplines and older patterns of instruction.” Disagreeing with Professor Schmidt's comment on theology, Mr. Combs went on to say: “In our country, theology has replaced whatever in our public school system. Who is to judge what theology is to be preached? Who is to determine what children shall be indoctrinated with which theologies?” Moral training is the prerogative of parochial rather than public schools, asserted Combs, and not “relevant to the basic purposes of education, which are primarily intellectual.”

(Continued on Page 42)

Definition from the *Columbia Encyclopedia*:

Progressive education, movement in modern education. It was developed in Europe by Froebel, Pestalozzi, and Montessori and in the United States by Francis Wayland Parker and John Dewey. Postulates of the movement are that the child learns best in those experiences which have vital self-interest, and modes of behavior are most easily learned by actual performance. Therefore, education must be a continuous reconstruction of living experience based on activity directed by the child. The recognition of individual differences is crucial. Progressive education opposes the formalized authoritarian procedure and fosters reorganization of classroom practice, curriculum, and attitudes toward the individual student. . . .

Should Communism be taught in American Schools?*

Should teachers take the loyalty oath?

Should all alien political philosophies be taught?

Four distinguished Americans give their views on Facts Forum's ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS radio-television program:



Louis Budenz

Mr. Burt: Should American schools teach communism?

Prof. Budenz: Communism should be taught in the American high schools and colleges, but critically and analytically, as a scientist would analyze a poison in order to be able to defeat its effects. There is entirely too much illiteracy in regard to the Soviet fifth column in this country, as to how it operates, as to the philosophy which drives it on.

Education will have to ask itself, though, in my humble opinion, first whether it can measure up to this responsibility. Can it bring forward the nature of Soviet communism, which is the determination to prove that God does not exist by establishing an earthly paradise before which, however, there



—Wide World Photo

LOUIS BUDENZ, former editor of the Communist **DAILY WORKER**, now professor of economics at Fordham University and author of just-published book **TECHNIQUES OF COMMUNISM**—the program's special guest.

WILLIAM BUCKLEY, JR., magazine editor and America's youngest best-selling author.

PROFESSOR CHARLES HODGES, professor of international politics at New York University, formerly a foreign correspondent.

GEORGE HAMILTON COMBS, network news commentator and former Democratic Congressman.

will have to be a world Soviet dictatorship? Can education tell its people that this force cannot be negotiated with, cannot be compromised with, cannot be appeased? It must be rocked back on its heels.

And then there is one other question—the Communist line. It is really the matter which I would challenge education to consider how it can handle. The Communist line is that series of proposals Moscow wants any nation to adopt in order to undermine it.

Mr. Buckley: I also think communism should be taught in the schools; and I think that Dr. Budenz' statement is perfect in every respect. Education has done a lousy job on this issue. Nothing to me illustrates this so starkly as the fact that in 1949 a solemn conclave of the most respected and revered educators in the United States got together and issued a pronouncement to the effect that Communists ought not to be allowed to teach in the American schools. Now, this is something, of course, that they should have come up with about 25 or 30 years ago, if they had been doing their job and inquiring into the premises and techniques of the Communists. It would be as though we had a conclave of scientists solemnly announcing that two and two make four.

I believe that education, therefore, is basically responsible for our backwardness in our fight against the Soviet Union, largely because, as Mr. Budenz points out, they haven't looked at the job of teaching communism primarily as a job of instruction as to the wiles of a pagan and barbarian enemy. As a result, there are even now solid anti-Comm-

nists talking "peaceful coexistence," which means that they themselves haven't learned about communism.

Mr. Combs: It occurs to me that we need some definitions here. Of course, communism should not be taught in our public schools. The fallacies of communism should be dissected in our public schools, but we must go beyond that and decide whether or not we're talking about dialectical materialism—the doctrines of Karl Marx—or whether we're talking primarily about present Communist policies and the direction of foreign expansionism as represented by the Soviet Union—

Mr. Buckley: They are largely inseparable.

Mr. Combs: I think they are, and I will not quarrel with you about that. But, so far as teaching Marxism is concerned, I suppose that there is no objection to handling it in the same way that you would handle the analytical study of Ricardo or Adam Smith or any other, except that Marxism is far more susceptible to logical destruction

*"Should Communism Be Taught in American Schools?" was selected as the prize-winning question from among the many submitted by ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS listeners and viewers. This week's winner was Staff Sergeant James Carper, Seventh Air Division, New York.

You, too, may participate in this program by sending a question you would like to hear discussed to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. A \$100 U. S. Savings Bond is awarded weekly.

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Please send me a copy of your Facts Forum program of tonight relative to what the U.S. can do to obtain the release of the thirteen American airmen and other U.S. personnel now being held by Red China. If there is any charge, I shall be more than glad to pay it. [There was no charge.]

You see, my husband is one of the 526 men who were captured but were not returned or accounted for in any way. He is Major Charles E. McDonough, USAF. He was captured by the North Koreans sometime near 4 Dec. '50 and was then taken by the Red Chinese, supposedly to a hospital. He was alive when last seen, and the man who last saw him is here in the U.S.—a captain in the AF stationed at George AFB, California.

Yet, last April the government "presumed" him dead. On board the plane with my husband was an AF colonel who was General Vandenberg's personal briefing officer. We had to find this last information out for ourselves; the government would tell us nothing.

I have done and will continue to do everything in my power to see that my husband receives the justice and consideration this government owes him but has forgotten to give. Yes, I am very bitter about it, and I will do anything and everything—no matter what—I can to help my husband. I am ashamed of this government for covering up a situation which was known when the truce in Korea was agreed to.

Thank you for keeping this matter alive and in the minds of the American people. Thank God all Americans are not cowards.

Mrs. C. E. McDonough
P. O. Box 123, Glen Rose, Texas

Your magazine is truly the most patriotic, sincere, impartial and most American, that I know of.

Mrs. Eleanor Everett
5324 Pasteur Blvd., New Orleans, La.

I sincerely hope you succeed one hundred per cent in your campaign to place *Facts Forum News* in every American home during 1955.

Mrs. R. J. Downing
Rt. 4, Box 71, Grants Pass, Ore.

The Facts Forum Christmas program carried by WOR-TV on Christmas Eve afternoon was of the same high caliber we have come to expect of all Facts Forum's programs. I was particularly impressed by the way Mr. Smoot stressed the spiritual values as they affect our national scene and only wish the program had been carried at an hour when more people were sure to have been at home to hear and see it. . . . Mr. Smoot is a very convincing speaker.

. . . I certainly wish there were some way of getting ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS back on New York TV. On account of the decidedly biased press here, we need these programs more than other sections of the country.

Mrs. Jewel Stagg
320 E. 42nd St., New York, N. Y.

than any of the other orthodox economies.

I defy you, however, to get a group of people who are capable of pointing out all of the fallacies which lie embedded in even the first volume of *Das Kapital*. I don't believe that the average student of economics or the average high school teacher can even understand what it's all about. It's a fan-faronade to my mind—a lot of very mistaken ideas and false conclusions; but since Marx used algebraic formulae of all sorts and the most turgid sort of writing, I don't believe you're ever going to find anybody who is capable of understanding it to the point where he can logically demolish it as it should and can be demolished by the experienced academician.

Prof. Hodges: I agree with Professor Budenz that communism must be examined critically. We've got to expose the difference between what might be called the human dream—which is the dope that the people get—as against the inhuman reality of the Communist system. And to my way of thinking, it's going to be a very difficult job to get the right kind of teaching tools. I put it that way because we cannot trust the individual teacher. And the individual teacher—even at the high school, let alone the college, level today—is very shy of taking a position which can be easily misunderstood and possibly used to destroy him. There's a real teacher problem.

Prof. Budenz: I think this problem is deeper than that. I think that education has utterly failed to prepare the teachers for this greatest problem of our age.

Prof. Hodges: I'd like to add that in the period of the 1930's we had a relaxing liberal appeal which has created many of the difficulties, it seems to me, of the 1950's. You have to start out with that in mind and be fair, because you can't expect the teacher to be in revolt against a political climate of the time. And the political climate, as you know, was that of the Democratic New Deal (play along with the Red fringe) because that's where this trouble started.

Mr. Buckley: I would say that inherent in your remarks is the supreme insult to the vitality of our society. It reminds me of the statement made by Adlai Stevenson two years ago when he was running for President: "The wonder is not how many Communists there were in the thirties, but how few considering the depths of the depression."

I insist that if our society is not in a position to reject the barbarism of communism simply because it has a depression—however severe it be—it is nothing more than an indication that

the teachers again haven't done their job. They haven't inured the people, the students of the United States, to the blandishments, to the wiles, of such a specious, barbarous philosophy as this. Now, they did a magnificent job on nazism.

Prof. Budenz: It seems to me that what should be done is to go to the heart of communism—its philosophy as enunciated by its leaders—to use always the Communist documents, but to analyze them. Take, for example, the subject of dialectical materialism where Stalin proclaims that the world outlook leads to an inevitable conclusion—the necessity of conquering the world. Now, apparently a great many people haven't learned that yet, and some of those people are in very important positions.

Stalin says very specifically that reforms are to be used by the Communists solely as a screen or cover for their illegal activities to bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat. And yet how many people still put the Communists, at least in part, in a camp of reform where they do not belong? That is why I think that these three points—the philosophy of communism, showing its objectives; the Communist line showing how it is enunciated and what it is from time to time; and the attitude of communism toward reforms—can in themselves furnish the basis for analysis.

MR. BURT: Should all schools providing courses on communism require the teachers to take loyalty oaths to the United States?

Mr. Combs: Frankly, I don't see any reason for singling out the teachers as those who must take loyalty oaths because it seems to be indirectly an impeachment of the patriotism of the teachers, as if they were in some way being isolated as possible or potential traitors. I don't see any more reason why teachers should take loyalty oaths than radio commentators.

Now, I would have no objection to taking a loyalty oath. I've taken the oath of the Constitution of the United States several times. So far as I can see, there is no reason why every citizen of the United States should not take a loyalty oath. It seems to me perfectly reasonable and something which I would accept as pride in citizenship rather than as an odious and perhaps differentiating distinction.

Mr. Buckley: Therefore, why not teachers?

Mr. Combs: Why, I have no objection, except that I don't see why they should be singled out.

Prof. Budenz: My answer to the question is yes, emphatically yes, because a teacher is in this respect in the same capacity as a soldier in our army.

—he's fighting Soviet psychological warfare.

The great success of the Soviet Union has been, precisely, infiltrating other nations and persuading them to do what it wants them to do. The teacher, in beginning to teach communism in an analytical way, begins to offset that. And I think they should take loyalty oaths.

Prof. Hodges: I am perfectly in accord with loyalty oaths for every American citizen; I think that there should be a time when he assumes the responsibilities of citizenship and takes an oath. However, in my opinion, it is a silly move, because any Communist — with his higher loyalty to Moscow — will swear and swear and swear. I know that from experience on my faculties; I have had to sit in judgment on two of my colleagues for communism, and I know exactly how they were involved.

Mr. Buckley: I don't get too excited about loyalty oaths one way or the other because, with Professor Hodges, I doubt their efficacy. On the other hand, it can be maintained that if you can trip a man up for perjury, it's a whole lot easier to oust him than it is if you actually detect him slipping the Communist party line into his books or into his lectures. Incidentally, it's unfortunate that you can mobilize American sentiment in behalf of going after someone who has committed perjury, but you can't get them nearly so excited about somebody who is just a plain old Communist.

Prof. Hodges: I think that's an important view, Mr. Buckley, but it has been our experience — since I have headed the university group which has had to hear these cases — that we can't make a charge of Communist membership. It's very important to recognize that.

Mr. Burt: Gentlemen, let's consider now our third question:

If communism is taught in the schools, should schools also teach the principles of other totalitarian concepts, such as nazism and fascism?

Prof. Hodges: I'm heartily in favor of taking the whole of political philosophy. I think that we have failed in the so-called civics courses and citizenship courses because we have tried to give them pep talks on democracy. I think nothing could be more effective than to line true democracy — the free-world theories of Western man up against totalitarianism, communism, nazism, and fascism. I include, by the by, native fascism, of which some exponents are on the public scene.

Prof. Budenz: I will discuss this, but in a *sotto voce*, because our great problem today — and we can't get away

from it — is the world conquest aims of the Kremlin. They are the foe that we are confronted with today.

We also have to have in mind that the Communists are able to persuade others in part — and they hold to this very definitely — that a Fascist is anyone who opposes the Communists. There has to be a very clear-cut definition of what we mean by this thing, a Fascist.

Mr. Buckley: There are a whole lot of common denominators, of course, between the Fascists and the Communists. They're closer together than they are apart.

Mr. Combs: I agree with Bill Buckley that communism and fascism share a surprising number of principles. They are at the two ends of the political spectrum, but it is sort of a horseshoe so that they are closer together than either is to the middle.

During the war, as I recall, communism was denounced simply as Red fascism; and I think that's probably true.

But isn't it necessary for us, however, to make sure in teaching or in discussing these matters that there be a dynamic curriculum or organization of teaching materials and personnel to do it? I think, quite frankly, that we should have such a course if we could put it in the hands of really competent men.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

(Continued from Page 42)

In elaboration of his views as to the failure of progressive education techniques, Professor Schmidt declared: "We've never been in a greater mess in our lives as a nation. We have a lack of discipline that manifests itself in a wave of juvenile delinquency, in a difficulty in training soldiers for hard discipline of war, in broken homes (one out of five marriages ending that way)—and you say that theology has no place? Of course, I wasn't referring to a fully developed theology in the sense that a theologian would talk about it; I'm talking about respect for God and God-fearingness instead of godlessness." Professor Schmidt continued, "The question was asked as to which religion should be chosen; I say that's the parents' function."

"I don't think education has failed," replied Professor Hodges; "I say the parents have fallen down on their job."

In conclusion, Mr. Combs stated: "My principal quarrel with our educational methods is that progressive education does not seem to impose that severity of discipline and that degree of diligence and zeal which alone can develop a well-rounded intellectual man."

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Has Facts Forum gone left? Has it, like the United States Senate, been mildly brainwashed? Why then did you give Senator McCarthy the worst of it in Sunday's broadcast of January 2?

An ocean of propaganda—directed by the *Daily Worker* and spread throughout the country by the pinkish press and leftist commentators — bullied and shamed and badgered two-thirds of the membership of that august body, the United States Senate, into condemning McCarthy. And they had to comb his record with a fine-tooth comb to find any grounds whatever to condemn him for. This was the same McCarthy who exposed a lot of Communists, fellow travelers, subversives, and Fifth Amendment pinks who were in the State Department, the Army, and the defense plants.

In last Sunday's broadcast you put McCarthy completely on the defensive and then let him down with a weak defense. You repeated all the lies of the *Daily Worker*, the innuendoes of Elmer Davis, and the half-truths of Benton and the *New York Times*; but you failed to tell of their connections, which would have given the correct color to everything they said. Facts Forum in this instance was about as fair as the Watkins Committee.

P.S. "A faint commendation is equal to a condemnation." From a supposed friend, this hurts. You damned McCarthy with faint praise and have caused many of the uninformed to doubt him. On the other hand, if the disgraceful records of his traducers whom you have quoted had been given, it would have put the pinkish tint on all they could say, for they are linked irretrievably with Communist fronts.

Early Van Deventer
19-331 Leaside St., Glendora, Calif.

... wish I could somehow get your paper into every home in America. It is vitally needed. I pray God will assist you in your work.

Olaf C. Gabrielson
3118 N. Oakland Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.

... Balanced thinking is more essential than balanced diet. You help keep me balanced.

Mrs. Birdie Cowden
551 Main St., Osawatimie, Kan.

... If our nation is to be saved, *Facts Forum News* will have played one of the most important parts in saving it. Thanks.

Samuel W. Dunaway
4502 Cass St., San Diego, Calif.

... Thank you for the fine work you are doing to combat subversive thinking in this country.

Mrs. James Painter
935 Carr St., Greensboro, N. C.

... I will help you out in the good work any way I can.

Robert H. Priddy
R. 3, B. M. Rd., Winston-Salem, N. C.

National Chamber of Commerce Head Reviews U. S. Economics

In a REPORTERS' ROUNDUP interview, Clem D. Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, speaks out on corporation taxes, tariffs, waste in civil service; and offers suggestions on balancing the national budget.



Clem D. Johnston (above), C of C Chief, was interviewed by (lower photo, left to right) John Madigan of NEWSWEEK and Jack Doherty of the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS. Moderator was Robert F. Hurleigh.



REDUCE TAXES—INCREASE TREASURY INCOME

(MADIGAN): Mr. Johnston, it came as no great surprise to the correspondents here in Washington when President Eisenhower said that he would like to see the corporation and excise taxes, originally scheduled to drop April 1, extended in their present form. What is your reaction?

It did not come as a surprise to us, Mr. Madigan. We do view it with regret. Although we realize that business has to pay its full share of the taxes and we have to somehow balance the budget, yet we in business feel that perhaps we have already exceeded the real productive limits of taxation—that perhaps a lower rate over a given period, say five years, would actually produce more revenue for the Treasury than the higher rates that now exist.

(MADIGAN): "Regret" is a word awfully close to "alarm." Will you bring pressure on various congressmen and senators to try to stop this extension?

No, we are going to try using persuasion in an attempt to educate the general American public to the fact that high taxes tend to discourage initiative and venture capital and, therefore, actually produce less revenue for the government in the long run. We are not contemplating at the moment any active campaign against this tax rate.

(MADIGAN): You have a legislative representative at the Washington Chamber in constant contact with Capitol Hill on all pending measures. Do you plan to thwart this proposal through appealing to the public rather than to the gentlemen who must vote on it?

We will appeal to both the people and Congress. We are going to try to persuade them that the long-range interest of the country is such that we should not have this confiscatory tax rate of 52 per cent on corporations, followed by individual income taxes. Some of the top brackets are 70 to 80 per cent—up to a present maximum of 91 per cent—on what's left of that same money.

BUSINESS NEEDS INCENTIVE

American business somehow has to provide jobs for at least 600,000 additional men each year; that's the net increase in our labor force. It requires a business investment of about twelve to fourteen thousand dollars of venture capital, risk capital, on the part of somebody to provide one job for one man. Therefore, business has to have an incentive not all drained away by taxation.

(MADIGAN): Do you mean that some of the expansion capital would be taken out of the market if these existing taxes continue?

It is already rather clearly evident that some of that capital is leaving the market. Also, some of the people are retiring from business at an early age; people who would normally form new enterprises and provide jobs for men are now simply finding it convenient to coast.

And there is a big market now in tax-exempt securities—businessmen in these high brackets are finding that a two per cent tax-exempt bond is a preferable investment to a six, eight, or ten per cent common stock.

(HURLEIGH): Now you say you will appeal to the public and to Congress. Would it not be perhaps wiser to try to persuade the administration, which is the effect is the instigator of this continuation of the high taxes?

Yes, we will certainly try to persuade the administration also, and we have already been in discussion with them as individuals. I think they accept our general idea that over a long period of time a lower tax rate would actually produce greater revenue. They are faced with an immediate necessity of somehow balancing the budget.

(DOHERTY): Is it possible that this whole argument over corporate and excise taxes might be entirely academic since we are going to have a Democratic Congress? Might they not enact—will enough votes to override a veto—a tax cut for the people, on individual income taxes, rather than for business?

I think of course that is strongly advocated by the labor unions. Such a cut would, however, have to be accompanied by some increase in excise taxes—something resembling a national sales tax—if we were going to get enough money because there is simply not enough revenue if you are going to tax only the so-called rich. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder brought out that if we were to confiscate outright the entire income of all the people in this country making over \$10,000 a year, you would only get three and a half billion dollars for the Treasury. That is less than the predicted budget deficit.

Secretary Snyder added further—and showed the figures—that if the entire income of everyone making \$5,000 a year and over were given to the government, the income to the government would be less than ten billion dollars.

(MADIGAN): Mr. Johnston, do you think this is a "soak the rich" program on the part of the administration?

I think that there are efforts on the part of certain groups in this country—not within the administration—to turn the tax program into a "soak the rich" program.

(MADIGAN): But it's the administration's proposal, is it not?

No, I think the administration's proposal is one of simply facing up to conditions as they stand. I think the administration wants to cut the tax rate for the coming year and for the future; and I think they already recognize that a lowered rate would actually produce more revenue over a given time; but at the moment they tell us that they feel the expedient thing to do is to continue the present rate.

(MADIGAN): In other words, you are saying that this is necessary now, but nevertheless you are opposed to it?

The administration seems to feel that it's necessary. I do not.

(DOHERTY): Treasury Secretary Humphrey has said that the budget cannot be balanced this coming fiscal year.

SLASH DEPARTMENTAL SPENDING

I have great admiration for Secretary Humphrey. However, there is another factor—a very marked reduction in governmental expenditures. I have been in and around government for a good many years and have done, I think, my share in serving in various departments. Now, there may be some government departments that couldn't do so, but I have never yet seen a department of government, including the Defense Department, that couldn't do an adequate job for the nation on 25 per cent less expenditure than they are now making.

(DOHERTY): That's an amazingly high proportion of cut. Every time the administration brings out a budget, be it a Democratic or a Republican administration, it always says that the budget has been cut to the bare bones and any further cuts would be disastrous.

I think that's rather usual. Nevertheless, it has been my experience in quite a number of government agencies, including the Defense Department where I spent a good many years, that that cut can be made without any essential impairment of our defense posture.

(DOHERTY): Didn't that attitude prevail with Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson in the last administration, who said he was cutting "fat" and not "muscle"—yet we found ourselves in a military posture of unreadiness when the Korean war broke out?

I think that in any event we would have been in a position of unreadiness for the Korean war. I am simply talking about the "fat" and not the "muscle." It is still there. Last summer I had the privilege of serving as a member of the Tabor committee, the House Appropriations Committee investigative staff. We found an endless variety of places where cuts could be made in nonmilitary expenditures (connected, however, with defense expenditures) without any impairment of our real defense.

(MADIGAN): Secretary of Defense Wilson has stated that the defense budget for fiscal '56 will probably be five billion dollars more than it is now because of Russia's power. Do you feel that this money is needed for weapons and men and not for "fat"?

Mr. Wilson has done, I think, a remarkably fine job of putting real efficiency into the Defense Department, but there is such a large area where more can and should be accomplished. For instance (and I am going to get into trouble right now with some of my good friends), you have right here in Washington five military commissaries. In one of them, the last time I looked, there were seventy enlisted men serving as grocery clerks. It costs the taxpayers about \$10,000 a year for each one of these men in uniform who are assigned as grocery clerks. That would be \$700,000 per year, and you could hire civilians to do the same job for approximately one-third less.

(MADIGAN): Do you accuse the Defense Department's "New Look" of being one of its wasteful expenditures?

By no means. They are going just as fast and as far as they can. Those men are putting in long hours. I have the greatest admiration for what they have been able to achieve, but they are up against a system—civil service, as we all know. Supervisors, by and large, are paid according to the number of people they supervise, not according to the real efficiency of their departments.

I think the civil service men are as fine people as there are; I don't mean any discredit to them at all. But most of the individuals will tell you that in their department they don't have enough to do—that they are recruited for maximum performance, yet in the average day's work are not required to put out a maximum performance.

(HURLEIGH): Would you say, then, that a bureau head might have a selfish interest in maintaining a certain number of employees to protect his title and income?

Let's not call it "selfish interest." Let us say that if a supervisor who is supervising fifty people cuts down his staff to thirty people, he runs a risk of impairing his own promotion and prospects for the future.

(DOHERTY): Even if we were to cut down approximately 25 per cent in each item of the budget, wouldn't we still have a lot of fixed obligations, such as debts, management and veterans' benefits, the new aid for Asia program, plus a military pay raise?

Oh, there are many fixed charges, and we are not going to accomplish this in any one fiscal year or any ten fiscal years, but I think we should continue our very strong efforts toward that.

For instance, you mentioned the veterans. The men who are being inducted into service now are getting benefits just like the Korean veterans, and that is costing us 45 million dollars a month extra. Now, these men are not going overseas to Korea to be shot at, and therefore I think we might well save that particular 45 million dollars a month. That is simply typical.

HEALTHY ECONOMY—SOUND COUNTRY

(DOHERTY): In view of President Eisenhower's decision to press for tax changes favorable to labor, do you think the administration has turned its back on big business?

I can't speak for big business. We in the Chamber of Commerce of the United States represent a large segment of business, and I can't find an adequate line of demarcation between big and small business in this country. All business is subject to the same rules, and in no sense has the administration turned its back on business. I think it recognizes that a healthy economy is an absolute essential to a sound country.

(MADIGAN): Mr. Johnston, is business—big or small—for Mr. Eisenhower for a second term?

I would think that business is for anyone who will follow a sound economic policy for the country, and I think by and large Mr. Eisenhower's policies do suit the average businessman.

(MADIGAN): Would you be for him for a second term?

Yes.

(MADIGAN): And you think that most of business would?

I think most businessmen would, yes.

(MADIGAN): Do you, as a businessman and head of the Chamber, favor a lowering of tariffs to permit more foodstuffs and other commodities to come into this country—in line with our "trade, not aid" policy?

Our policies favor an increase in our trade with other countries and, I think, along with that would envision an eventual gradual lowering of our trade barriers. Actually, our tariff rates as such are not high. It is the import quotas and things of that sort that are much more disruptive to our international trade than the actual tariff rates.

(MADIGAN): Mr. Clarence B. Randall, head of the commission appointed by President Eisenhower to study tariffs and foreign trade, pointed out recently that we must lower tariffs and liberalize our trade program; otherwise, other countries will impose damaging trade conditions on us. Will the U.S. Chamber back President Eisenhower and Mr. Randall in this liberalization policy?

(Continued on Page 61)

RUSSIANS HATE COMMUNISTS

(Continued from Page 24)

other peoples behind the Iron Curtain hate, as well as fear, the Soviet government. The trouble is that no one has any hope of overthrowing it without outside help. The fact that so many millions of Russians went over to the Germans in the first stages of the war is a proof of what I have always contended concerning the attitude of the Russian people. The Germans might have retained or won the support of the overwhelming majority of the Russian people had it not been for the stupid and cruel behavior of the Nazis.

We should take care that we do not ourselves make the mistake of forcing the Russian people to support their Communist government by regarding them, instead of communism, as the enemy. Today many of the very same people who have been most sympathetic to communism in the past are busy telling us that we should hate the Russians. They are today, wittingly or unwittingly, furthering the Communist cause by diverting our enmity away from communism as such to Russia. This kind of upside-down Communist propaganda has been so effective that Dr. Ward V. Evans, in his minority report on Dr. Oppenheimer, cited as "evidence" of Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty the fact that "he hates Russia."

AMERICA HELPED STALIN

I consider the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union would put fresh heart into the forces of resistance to Communist tyranny behind the Iron Curtain. It would help to wipe out the impression we created during and after the war that we approved of Communist tyranny. It is a true but tragic fact that at the war's end America and her allies helped Stalin to re-establish his dictatorship in full force over the Russian people. By the many pronouncements of our government leaders, by the attitude of our newspapers and radio commentators, we made it all too clear that we were behind Stalin and that we gave him, instead of the Russian people, the credit for the heroism of the Red army.

By turning back uncounted numbers of Russian deserters, displaced persons, and others who knew that they would be shot or sent to concentration camps when returned to the Soviet Union, we must have helped establish the belief in the hearts of the Russian people that there was no hope to be expected from the West. It is necessary that we do everything possible to wipe out the impression given in the war and postwar periods that we are ready to support Communist tyranny so long as that tyranny does not menace us. And nothing

could be better calculated to achieve this purpose than implementation of the Jenner-McCarran resolution.

I could quote many statements by past and present representatives of the American people showing their misunderstanding of the nature of communism, of its aims and its methods, and of the basis of its terrible power. The past two administrations made repeated statements implying that we believed that Soviet communism is a progressive power. As late as July 16, 1950, President Truman said:

"By making possible the formulation and execution of liberal reforms such as the nationalization of certain industries and land redistribution, which are desired by a majority of Koreans, this policy should also help to broaden the basis for an understanding with the Russians."

The only possible meaning which can be read into this statement of Mr. Truman's is that the Communists are liberal and progressive and that if we emulate them we can get along with them. In other words, the basic assumption upon which the Truman-Acheson foreign policy was based was that America could insure world peace if we showed evidence that our economic, social, and political policies are as progressive as those of the Communists.

The second great illusion about communism which has distorted our policy is a corollary of the first. It is the belief that communism conquers not by force and terror, but through popular support. For instance, Mr. Acheson, on January 12, 1950, declared that the best way of stopping communism in Asia was to "develop a soundness and administration of these new governments and to develop their resources and their technical skills so that they are not subject to penetration either through ignorance or because they believe these false premises, or because there is real distress in their areas. If we can help that development, if we can go forward with it, then we have brought about the best way that anyone knows of stopping this spread of communism."

In other words, the Acheson school of thought believes that good works and the redistribution of wealth can stop communism.

OUTSIDE HELP NEEDED

The third great illusion which formerly permitted the State Department to view Communist conquests, such as that of China, with complacency, is the belief that once the Chinese or any other people learn that communism does not give the benefits expected, they can discard it. The fact is, however, that it is

impossible for a nation which has come under Communist tyranny to find a way of overthrowing it without outside help.

It would seem that in spite of all the lessons of the past few years our thinking and our policy are still permeated with the old illusions. For instance, on June 16, last, President Eisenhower, in opposing the breaking off of all trade with the Iron Curtain countries, stated that the satellite countries would then have no place to go but Russia for anything they needed. He further stated that it should be our objective "to encourage the centrifugal forces," and implied that this could be done by continuing to trade with the Soviet Empire.

The plain fact is, as the Jenner-McCarran resolution recognizes, that breaking off diplomatic and trading relations with the Soviet countries would help weaken the Soviet empire and strengthen, not weaken, the ties between us and the Russian people. For it would give them hope that the tyrannical régime which rules over them could collapse thanks to our pressure. And far from hurting the people of the Soviet Empire materially, it might help them. The Soviet government is able to export only by squeezing its subjects and depriving them of food and other necessities while using imports almost exclusively to build up its war potential. Consequently, the Russian people, like those of the satellite countries, far from deriving any benefit from increased trade with the free world, would in probability be hungrier than ever now.

It will be fatal should we listen to the contrary advice given by Sir Winston Churchill and the Americans who share his illusion that the Soviet government represents the Russian people and that we can have peace and security by appeasing the Communists either in the Far East or in Europe.

RUSSIAN MASSES VOICELESS

Those who like and those who hate the Russians are equally wrong in assuming that the Russian people have any say in determining Soviet policy as equally dangerous as advisers as to what American policy should be.

When I read Sir Winston Churchill's statement last summer to the National Press Club, I was appalled at his ignorance and the bad advice which he was giving, thanks to that ignorance, based his plea for a try at "peaceful existence" with the Soviet Empire. "the mood of the people of Russia," he said, "the great wish in Russia to have better time among the masses of people." He urged us to "make it clear that the Russian people would not that they might gain far more in a quarter of a century of peaceful development of their own country" than in war. And he begged us "to leave

stone unturned" to give the Russian people "a chance to grasp the prospects of great material well-being which will be offered to all these millions." In a word, he urged us to base our policy on the erroneous assumption that the wishes of the Russian people determine Communist policy.

I am convinced from my own experience, as well as from my years of study of Communist aims, methods, and strategy, that the policy being urged upon us by the British government, and the American supporters of this policy, would destroy all hope of liberation among the Russian people and other peoples under Communist rule and thus immeasurably strengthen the Soviet tyranny and increase both its capacity for, and will to, aggression.

There was, no doubt, a time in its early stages when communism appealed, as it did once to me, to the desires of people for social justice and emancipation. Today, with the abundant evidence available to us of what goes on under Communist rule, it is no longer possible to believe in Communist professions or propaganda. Today, Communist power advances not because people believe that it offers hope of a better world, but because people fear it and have too little confidence in the will to resist it in the Western world.

THE MEANING OF TERROR

It is difficult for an American to understand what terror means. People who have never been hungry cannot imagine what it is to be without bread. People who have never known the fear of death or slavery, not only for themselves but for their loved ones, under a totalitarian tyranny, cannot realize what it means to be without freedom. Americans cannot imagine what it means to be under a regime in which every man fears his neighbor and even his friends, because anyone may be a member of the secret police, or be driven sooner or later to betray his friend or neighbor by intolerable pressures to accuse others in order to escape himself. This terror which keeps the people behind the Iron Curtain subservient also has a terrible effect on the countries close to the Soviet Union and menaced by communism. There, the fear is of what will happen to you or to your family if and when the Communists seize power. People in the lands which fear Communist conquest sometimes give money to the Communists or in other ways assist the Communists, not because they have any illusions about communism, but as a sort of insurance policy for the future. If in those countries there were no poverty, the Communists would still have strength because of the fear of the terrible penalties which await all who dare to oppose communism.

The only way to overcome that debilitating fear is to arouse confidence and hope that there is a banner on our side to which brave men can repair with some hope of saving their countries, their families, and their faith. Every time we give way to Communist pressures or bolster up Communist governments by diplomatic dickering and nice words, such as Mr. Churchill is so fond of addressing to the Soviet Union, we strike fear into the hearts of millions of people. They have seen how, in the past, we have been ready to grasp the bloody hand of the Communist tyrants in friendship, and they are always afraid we may do it again if it suits our purpose—and then what would happen to those who had been on our side?

The breaking off of diplomatic relations as recommended by Senators Jenner and McCarran would allay such fears by recreating confidence in American leadership of the free world.

The people who have already had personal experience of what Communist rule means are today our most reliable allies. We have seen this in the case of the people of Berlin and East Germany. Today, I consider that the Germans and probably also the Spaniards are our most reliable allies in Europe—thanks to the fact that they have seen for themselves what Soviet Russia is like, or what communism means. The Spaniards experienced the horror of communism in their civil war. In the case of the Germans, they not only know what their brothers are suffering in Soviet Germany; almost every German family has a member who fought in Russia or who was a prisoner in Russia, or died of starvation there. Others know what Communist conquest means by their experience of the raping, looting, and murder of the Red Army. These people can be counted upon to prefer death to Soviet slavery.

You will have heard that the slogan which the late Ernst Reuter, mayor of Berlin, gave to his people during the blockade was "Better a horrible end than horror without end." A year ago the people of East Berlin and East Germany gave signal proof in their unarmed uprising against the Communist power that they are prepared to die for liberty. But here again we must recognize the fact that men must have hope and the right of self-defense if they are to remain on our side. The Germans are still denied the right of self-defense. Thanks to French stalling on the EDC treaty, we have still not accepted the West Germans as our allies. We may succeed in forcing them to try to save themselves by coming to terms with Moscow if we convince them that this is the only way in which they can hope to reunite their country, or avoid the fate of being conquered by the Communists because we refused to let them rearm.

HATE FIRES FANNED

As we know, the Communist technique is always to divide and rule. In the case of our former enemies, the Communists and their friends and dupes have continued successfully to divide us by keeping the old hate fires burning.

There is another point which I think we should take into consideration in considering the techniques of communism and the manner in which it has successfully advanced its power so fast and so far. I refer here to what one might call the demand for perfection. We have seen how, in the case of one of our most loyal allies, Chiang Kai-shek, the charge continually made by the Communists and echoed by many good but deluded Americans, was that the Nationalist government of China was so undemocratic and corrupt that we should cease to give it any aid. This propaganda was so successful that we abandoned our Chinese allies, denied them arms and ammunition in the most critical period of the civil war and thus helped bring the Communists to power in China.

The same game, in a minor way, has been played on Syngman Rhee. It is clear that the Communists and their friends and dupes have been extremely successful in undermining and vilifying some of our best allies by making impossible demands for the premature establishment of American democratic institutions and methods of government in backward countries fighting against communism.

I was in China in 1945-46 during the period of General Marshall's mission and saw how United States policy was distorted by the influence of the Communists and their dupes and by the "dumb liberals" who failed to realize that Chinese Communist rule would be a calamity for us as well as for the Chinese people. I warned against the consequences of the Marshall-Acheson policy in a book called *Last Chance in China*, published in 1947. But my voice, like that of others who realized what must be the consequence of the Truman-Acheson China policy, was drowned by the IPR chorus and other friends of the Chinese Communists. In 1951, in *The China Story*, I told the story of those tragic postwar years during which American policy was based on a complete misunderstanding of the nature and aims of communism.

RESOLUTE ACTION AVOIDED

Even today this misunderstanding continues in the Western world in a revised form, as illustrated by my quotations from Sir Winston Churchill's most recent statement.

Today we are in danger of disheartening the resistance forces in the Communist world, not because we any longer believe in the false promises of

the Soviet government, but because we fear to provoke the Communists by resolute action. This was made clear to me in Berlin in February, 1954. At the beginning of the conference, thanks to the fine speeches being made by the representatives of the Western powers, hopes were raised that at long last we were going to stand up to the Soviet Union. By the end of the second week of the conference, it had become clear that the Communists had once again succeeded in making us climb down. We agreed to discuss the Far East at a news conference in Geneva without any *quid pro quo* in the shape of concessions on German unification.

The streets along which the representatives of the victorious powers passed in their automobiles each day on the way to the conference were thickly lined with crowds, standing for hours in the bitter cold in both the West and East sectors of the city. Every one I spoke to among those crowds expressed the hope that America would show sufficient strength and will to force the Soviet Union to retreat. But during the last days I was there, disillusionment had already set in. It was felt that we or our allies had displayed such a lack of power and resolution that it was unlikely that the Soviet Union would ever make any concessions. If, at that time, instead of arranging another conference with the Soviets, the Jenner-McCarran resolution had been passed, I am certain that these despairing people would once again have had confidence in us.

If the Berliners and East Berliners who are in the front line of the battle hope that we will not make concessions to the Soviet Union, surely we in the far rear should not be governed by our fears, or give way to the desire of the British and the French for peace at any price.

It seems to me that—in spite of the fact that the Communists and their sympathizers no longer hold important posts in our government and the press, radio, and universities—people with a soft attitude toward communism and, above all, people who have no understanding of the nature, aims, or methods of communism, still hold the commanding heights in the press, radio, and other media which influence public opinion.

"COMMANDING HEIGHTS" VICTORY

I use the words "commanding heights" because I recall that Lenin used this expression in 1921 when he instituted the New Economic Policy which permitted some private ownership of land and small-scale industry. He then said that, provided the Soviet state continued to own all large-scale industry and the banks, its possession of these "commanding heights" would insure the victory of socialism. So today

it seems to me the influence in the press and radio of Communist sympathizers and dupes, and of those who know nothing about communism, is still sufficient, if continued, to insure a Communist victory.

So long as those who form public opinion and those who direct our foreign policy hold fallacious opinions as regards the nature of communism and how to combat it, we can have no hope of winning the struggle for the world.

We also face a certain danger from those who say, "A plague on both your houses," and think that at this stage of history we can return to isolationism. It is of vital importance that we should do two things if we are to survive.

One is to give moral and material support to our real allies; that is to say, to the people who can be counted upon to stick by us and fight with us if necessary and not to those who want to be neutral but whom we hope to win over to our side by bribes or by following their appeasement policies.

Secondly, we must try to keep hopes of liberation alive among the Russians, the Chinese, and the other people under Communist rule. This we can do only if

we give proof of our own steadfast position to Soviet tyranny and convince them that we shall never again betray other people for our own illusory advantage, as we did at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. This is why it seems to me that breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Soviet government would have such an excellent effect. I see the Soviet empire as a structure which would fall very rapidly if once a revolt started against it with a little hope of success. If the oppressed people of the Soviet empire believe that we would help them they might free themselves of the fetters which paralyze them. And if a revolt once started it would spread like wildfire.

The Jenner-McCarran resolution should awaken the American people to the immediate necessity for the "aggravating reappraisal" of our foreign policy which Mr. Dulles said a year ago must have to be undertaken. I am glad of the opportunity to testify in favor of the resolution from the standpoint of an American who knows from experience how greatly it would be welcomed by the subjects of the dictator of all the Russias.

COMMIE COMEBACK IN H'WOOD

(Continued from Page 31)

identified as having been Communist-dominated. . . .

MR. LASKY: The Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. . . .

MR. BREWER: . . . and raised some funds by that method and made what they have tried to sell as a union picture.

MR. MENJOU: Why was that picture permitted to be released in this country?

MR. BREWER: It has not been released to any of the legitimate channels of the motion picture industry.

MR. MENJOU: Who cares? It was released. . . .

MR. LASKY: Adolphe, that gets to the heart of free speech and freedom of expression.

MR. MENJOU: You can't tell me you can't holler "Fire!" in a crowded theater.

CAN'T BLAME HOLLYWOOD

MR. LASKY: There's nothing that Hollywood can do about stopping anyone from putting out the *Daily Worker* or putting out a motion picture. I can't blame Hollywood for *Salt of the Earth*.

MR. BREWER: I say that *Salt of the Earth* was a great tribute to Hollywood because none of the facilities which are available to people to make motion pictures normally were used in the making of *Salt of the Earth*. They did slip it in a few places before people found out, but the minute that it was exposed for

what it was, they couldn't work Hollywood.

MR. LASKY: WASN'T THAT YOUR FORMER UNION THAT KEPT THE PICTURE FROM BEING SHOWN ON THE SCREEN OF THIS COUNTRY?

MR. BREWER: In some places.

MR. MENJOU: I think one of the touching and human sidelights to the thing was the fact that the man who rented the cameras to them turned the money he got over to the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals. He wouldn't take the money he gave it to us.

MR. BURT: THIS MOTION PICTURE ALLIANCE WAS FORMED AS A RESULT OF THIS RATHER SHOCKING DISCLOSURE OF COMMUNISM IN HOLLYWOOD. WASN'T IT?

MR. MENJOU: No, no, no, it was formed after the disclosure. We were a part of the disclosure; we were a part of the disclosure.

MR. BREWER: It was the group that made the disclosure possible.

MR. MENJOU: That's right, that's right.

MR. BURT: WHO ARE SOME OF THE PEOPLE INTERESTED IN THIS MOTION PICTURE ALLIANCE?

MR. BREWER: The MPA, as we call it, was formed in 1944, and the main spirits in the early days were Jim Ginnis, who was the executive president

of M-G-M at the time; Sam Wood, a prominent director, and many others. Both of the men mentioned have unfortunately passed out of the picture. The MPA is a tribute to their foresight and courage. Clark Gable is a member; John Wayne served as president.

MR. LASKY: Wonderful fellow!

MR. BREWER: Robert Taylor served as president. Ward Bond has been one of our diligent workers, and Morrie Ryskind....

MR. LASKY: Mr. Menjou here, too.

MR. BREWER: ...the writers, Borden Chase, Robert Arthur; Charles Coburn, and many others.

MR. LASKY: Gary Cooper.

MR. BREWER: Gary Cooper, many others, have fought this fight, and it was the work which this group did in collecting the facts that made the exposé of 1947 possible.

MR. LASKY: DO YOU ASSIST THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN ITS INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNISM?

KNOWLEDGE BEST WEAPON

MR. BREWER: We have tried to work closely with those organizations in giving them the benefit of the knowledge which we have because, after all, there's only one thing that will defeat a Communist infiltration and that's knowledge. If you know where they are and who they are, it's relatively easy to combat them. But if you find them sitting in your office and every place else—unknownst to you—you just can't combat them.

MR. BURT: SINCE MR. LASKY AND I HAVE BEEN IN HOLLYWOOD, WE HAVE TALKED WITH QUITE A FEW PEOPLE AND ASKED THE QUESTION, "ARE THE COMMUNISTS MAKING A COMEBACK?" WE ARE BOTH REPORTERS; WE WANT TO GET THE FACTS, MEN! SO IN ASKING A LOT OF QUESTIONS, WE'VE HEARD QUITE A FEW RUMORS (JUST RUMORS, NOTHING FACTUAL TO BACK IT UP) THAT THERE IS A RESURGENCE, A RETURN OF INFILTRATION.

MR. LASKY: Specifically, take the situation in the Screen Writers' Guild, of which I'm a member, where I've heard reliable reports that numerous unknown characters have been turning up at meetings and voting along the Communist line. This sort of thing is what's giving the reporters like Hardy Burt and me the "willies," and I'm wondering whether you would care to comment on these reports.

MR. BREWER: You have to realize that the motion picture industry is only a part of the amusement industry, and there's a constant line of communication between radio, television, the legitimate theater in New York, and the

motion picture industry in Hollywood. You cannot exclude the Communists permanently from Hollywood unless you exclude them permanently from the amusement industry which feeds Hollywood.

Now the really sad part of this story is that the program and the effort which we have made here has not been extended more effectively in the other branches of the amusement industry. Now "let's look at the facts," as Jack Webb says. The TWA (Television Writers of America), when it was controlled, when it represented the radio and television writers of this country, had an executive secretary who was called before the House committee and who refused to testify as to whether or not she was a Communist. In a test vote as to whether or not she should be discharged from representing these writers, she won a substantial vote of confidence. I don't recall the exact figures, but it was a substantial vote of confidence.

MR. MENJOU: Tremendous.

MR. LASKY: It was a shocking figure.

REMAINING ALERT IMPERATIVE

MR. BREWER: Now those people who were in that group are now moving into what used to be the Screen Writers' Guild and which is now the Writers of America—West. These people are moving in there and, therefore, it is imperative that we remain alert. There's a constant flow of actors from the East, too.

MR. LASKY: AS ADOLPHE MENJOU POINTS OUT, "THE COMMUNISTS NEVER SAY DIE; THEY KEEP ON INFILTRATING." HOW DO YOU PROPOSE TO COUNTERACT THIS RENEWED INFILTRATION?

MR. BREWER: If you can alert enough people and make them aware of what the Communist movement is, these people will, if they are to be effective, have to ultimately disclose themselves.

MR. MENJOU: That's right.

MR. BREWER: It's an alertness on the part of the people who are here who, if they know the Communist line and if they know the Communist techniques and if they know what the Communists are saying among themselves, can within a reasonable time begin to detect the people who are giving out that line and who are carrying on these activities that they know are wrong. This is the only solution we have.

MR. MENJOU: If we are to preserve this republic, everybody must attend all of their meetings. I don't care who or where they are—in any community, in any industry, in any organization—you must attend the meetings because if you don't, that dedicated minority of Communists who are there will take over.

MR. BURT: ARE THE INDUSTRY LEADERS THEMSELVES—THE OWNERS OF THE STUDIOS—ON THE ALERT, OR ARE THEY TOO WRAPPED UP IN BUSINESS TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE REALLY IN THERE ALL THE TIME AS A PART OF THIS WORLD-WIDE CONSPIRACY TO DESTROY FREEDOM AND TAKE THE WORLD OVER FOR THE SOVIET UNION?

DON'T UNDERSTAND MENACE

MR. MENJOU: Yes, I think they're alert to the menace. I don't know whether they've made a study of it. The great trouble with our leaders in this country today, not only in the motion picture industry—and this is the most important thing of all—is that they don't understand the menace of communism at home or abroad. They won't read about it. I'm talking about senators, congressmen, and cabinet members.

MR. BREWER: I'm sure that any of the responsible leaders in the industry will admit that they were pretty well deceived about this thing in its early stages.

MR. MENJOU: That's right.

MR. BREWER: But since the '47 hearings and the subsequent disclosures, they have become alerted to the fact that it is a serious problem for them in their principal occupation which is making motion pictures that will sell.

MR. LASKY: I'm going to pass on an unsolicited suggestion, Roy. If the industry was smart, they'd make you the czar of the motion picture industry on this problem, and what you say goes.

MR. BREWER: Well, I'm sorry. They wouldn't do that because I wouldn't let them. (Laughter)

MR. LASKY: I insist on it, Roy.

MR. MENJOU: I think it's an excellent idea!

MR. BURT: TO GET BACK TO ONE FINAL POINT, A MOST IMPORTANT ONE—ACCORDING TO YOU GENTLEMEN, THE RUMORS WE HEARD CONCERNING THE RESURGENCE OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION INTO HOLLYWOOD HAVE SOME VALIDITY. THERE IS MORE PRESSURE THAN THERE WAS PREVIOUSLY, EVEN WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OUTLAWED, TO GET BACK INTO HOLLYWOOD. DO YOU THINK THEY CAN BE STOPPED?

MR. BREWER: I not only think they can, but I think they will. However, it's going to take continuing efforts on the part of all of us. I'll say this, though, that the problem of stopping them today is nothing compared to the problem which we had in 1947 because then it was really tough.

MR. MENJOU: Right.

FACTS FORUM NEWS HAS 100,000 NEW READERS

Money in the Bank

Facts Forum News now goes to all 14,000 U. S. bank presidents, courtesy the First National Bank in Dallas, Ben H. Wooten, President. This, we think, is gratifying. Your banker is a reader of *Facts Forum News*. It is good to have a common interest with your banker.

As a matter of fact, you have many interests in common with your banker. He wants you to succeed, and you want him not to fail. He is the keeper of opportunity. The love of money is the root of all evil, but the use of money is the source of great good. The miser will not put his money in the bank. The good and faithful servant doubles his talents by investment.

Without money civilization cannot operate. Our civilization cannot operate without banks. As the use of coins instead of cattle made possible the commerce of antiquity, so the use of checks instead of coins makes possible the transactions of modern business.

"The growth of monetary institutions," says the *Columbia Encyclopedia*, "has largely paralleled that of trade and industry. While some societies, such as the Inca, were able to benefit from extensive division of labor without making significant use of a monetary medium, this was possible only through rigid reliance on custom and status and a system of extreme regimentation. Today currency and coin are less widely used as a means of payment than checks, which probably account for over 80 per cent of the payments made in the United States."

The use of money is a condition of freedom and progress, and banks are essential to the most effective use of money. A banker is a man with dependable imagination. What he cannot do himself, he makes possible for others to do. The essential technology of the steel industry was known by the end of the Civil War through the inventions of Kelly, Bessemer, Holley, Siemens, and Martin. Direct business management was fabulously successful under Carnegie and Schwab. But the formation of U. S. Steel had to wait until somebody could see (1) that a billion-dollar organization was required, (2) that a billion-dollar organization would work, and (3) that a billion dollars was available. Banker J. P. Morgan was the man.*

A banker is a man with knowledge and nerve. The first London Rothschild got by carrier pigeon the news that



Ben H. Wooten, banker, is known for judgment and competence in all affairs in the public interest. Trustee of Baylor University, A.E.F. veteran, World War II Civil Defense Chairman, he has led Dallas for a decade in Community Chest, Scouts, hospital, and every kind of constructive enterprise.

Wellington had defeated Napoleon at Waterloo. This was contrary to rumors then reaching England. In one day Rothschild made a fortune by buying up the securities with which the panic of the ill informed was flooding the market.

"Ah, the rascal!" say the envious. But not so. He "saved the London stock exchange from collapse," says the *Encyclopedia*.

That means he saved thousands of Englishmen from the otherwise catastrophic consequences of their own false fright. A good banker not only sees the risks which the reckless ignore; he also sees the opportunities which the timid distrust.

He is the keeper of opportunity. And he is the merchant of opportunity. Today you have money which you must either waste or hoard unless you put it in the bank. Tomorrow you need money you cannot get unless you borrow it from the bank. There have been bankers with bad judgment and bankers with bad faith, but if the judgment and faith of bankers were not generally superior, we would have no banking system. And if we had no banking system, you could not be reading any nationally circulated magazine at all, much less the same issue of *Facts Forum News* which your banker is reading.

Freedom to Think

It is not enough to be free to think. One must be able to think. Thought can hardly be controlled from without. The serious impediments to thought are within. Torture cannot change thought, but neurotic prejudice can inhibit it. A college president said in December 1953, "I would not agree with McCarthy if he was right." No one enforced the mental blackout. It was self-imposed as a child pulls the cover over his head at the lightning. The first essential intellectual freedom is intellect.

Most of those who work against the interest of their own country are simply badly mistaken in their judgment. They have a variety of emotional motives—some good, some bad. They may be idealistic or envious, filled with pity or filled with ambition. What they have in common is that they are mistaken. They do not think precisely or consecutively.

Insensitivity to logic is nowhere better illustrated than in the famous opening sentence of the *Communist Manifesto*. Marx and Engels introduce "scientific" socialism by saying that "a specter is haunting Europe." If this figure of speech in a declaration of aims of a materialist organization is not ridiculous, then it implies a serious self-contradiction.

A similar contradiction is common today. An eminent professor quotes with approval Justice Robert Jackson: "forefathers found the evils of free thought more to be endured than the evils of inquest or suppression."

The same professor says concerning the product of legislative investigation committees: "The whole thing ought to be put into the incinerator."

An exhortation to book-burning must be morally bad in a totalitarian. Coming from a devotee of free speech it suggests a mental lapse. Somehow.

*Morgan has been called a "Robber Baron." But his will began: "I commit my soul to the hands of my Saviour, in full confidence that having redeemed it and washed it in the most precious blood He will present it before my Heavenly Father; and I entrust my children to maintain and defend, at all times and at any cost of personal sacrifice, the blessed doctrine of the complete atonement of sin through the blood of Jesus Christ, offered, and through that alone." Quoted by Frederick Lewis Allen, *THE GREAT PIONEERS*, Morgan, Harper, 1949, p. 13.

Allen also describes Morgan's conduct toward his fiancée, Amelia Sturges ("Mimi"). She came ill with tuberculosis: "Pierpont declared that she must be taken to a warmer climate and that he would marry her and take her there. His business? That could go hang. Nothing—nothing in the world—mattered. Mimi." *Ibid.*, p. 22.

professor is mistaken. Too many of us are mistaken too often. The purpose of Facts Forum is to act as a catalyst in the interaction of mind and mind, that mistakes on public issues may be fewer.

Facts Forum News welcomes 100,000 new readers, including the bankers and their customers. This seems like a good time to restimulate thinking about our economic system. To that end we reprint significant portions of the *Communist Manifesto* and selected passages from the monumental work *Socialism* by the celebrated Dr. Ludwig von Mises.

The Golden Rule

While dispute is endless regarding particular matters of moral and social conduct, there is practically universal agreement on the principle that obligations run two ways. The Golden Rule is that I should do unto others as I would have them do unto me. Here the reciprocity is perfect. The earlier rule of "an eye for an eye" was inferior since it left out of account the inner motives of the heart and out of account the effect of the passage of time between the original act and the act of retribution. Yet "an eye for an eye" and the Golden Rule are alike in that both are concerned with what is fair and just, and both command us to think of our companions in the journey of life.

The Golden Rule is more essential to our economic system than is gold. The only way free individuals can engage in peaceful trade is through some kind of mutual regard. The desire to trade may come first and the regard be developed from it, or regard may come first and lead to trade.

Charles Kingsley, English clergyman and author, outraged by certain conditions in the clothing industry of nineteenth-century London, urged the British public "that no man who calls himself a Christian—no man who calls himself a man—shall ever disgrace himself by dealing at any show-shop or slop-shop. . . . The thing is damnable—not Christianity only, but common humanity cries out against it."

One must do what he would want others to do if positions were reversed. This may present a practical problem, as for example when two others are fighting each other. They may both want you to stay out of it, or either or each may want you to help him. Here you've got to come to some kind of decision about the justice of the case. You will be (properly) influenced by any previous ties between yourself and either antagonist. In any case, you are not supposed to "pass by on the other side."

Freda Utley—with unique firsthand knowledge of life in the Soviet Union—has testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that "breaking off trade with the Soviet Union . . . is

of the greatest importance."

"Here again," she continued, "we are far from doing any hurt to the peoples of the Soviet empire. We will . . . actually help them. I know from my experience in the Soviet Union that exports from Russia are squeezed out of the people. . . . That is, by increasing trade with the Soviet Union, we merely make the life of the people more miserable."

It does not pay to trade with a Communist outfit. Such trade not only supports slavery, it also makes worse the condition of the slave.

If that view of Miss Utley's is correct, then the practical application of the Golden Rule cannot be left to sentimental impulse. There is an obligation to find out the real consequences of a superficially generous deed. We ought

to love our enemies and return good for evil, but not at the expense of our friends nor in such a way as to confirm the enemy in evil.

"Do good unto all men," said St. Paul, "especially unto them who are of the household of faith."

The best defense of country is common sense and kindness. No miracle is needed, but the result of the use of this defense will be miraculous.

Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.

If you are a loyal American you would like for loyal Americans—patriots—to recognize and appreciate you. Discover patriots and appreciate and help them. They need your help, and the more active they are in the exercise of loyalty the more they need your understanding, sympathy, and help.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK IN DALLAS

BEN H. WOOTEN
PRESIDENT

December 28, 1954.

Dr. Medford Evans
FACTS FORUM
Dallas, Texas

Dear Dr. Evans:

Your promptness in getting in the mail the first issue of the gift subscriptions to FACTS FORUM NEWS which we presented to the bank presidents throughout the country is genuinely appreciated. I am glad you did not allow the holidays to slow you up. A very great number of bank presidents have already written, thanking me for the gift of a subscription to them, and without exception they expressed gratification for FACTS FORUM and complimented the copy which they received as to contents and format. The letters referred to came voluntarily in that I had not communicated with any recipient. The response came as a result of your mentioning the fact that our bank was the donor.

It will be recalled that last year we purchased gift subscriptions to FACTS FORUM for many of our individual customers, and their communications were so favorable that we thought it well to include in our public relations activities the additional subscriptions, all of which were sent to bank presidents. Judging by the letters, the NEWS this year is received with more interest than those of last year, and it is indicative of the improvement you are continuously making in the publication.

I appreciate your presenting me with a copy of the splendid book, "Secret War for the A-Bomb," which you authored. I like your style in writing.

Best wishes for a good New Year for both you and FACTS FORUM.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Wooten

Ben H. Wooten

How About Zaroubin Now?

G. N. Zaroubin is the Soviet Ambassador to the United States. He also represents the Soviet Union in secret negotiations with U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles regarding the atoms-for-peace plan.

Zaroubin was the Soviet Ambassador to Canada in 1945, during the operations of the spy ring which was broken up by the defection to us of Igor Gouzenko. All the atom spies ever caught were directly or indirectly due to Gouzenko's break.

The *Report of the Royal Commission* cleared Zaroubin of complicity in the illegal and hostile espionage activities of 17 members of the Soviet Embassy staff nominally under his supervision.

"Gouzenko has testified before us," says the *Report*, "that the Soviet Ambassador had no right of access to the secret rooms in the special wing on the second floor of the Embassy. Moreover, according to Gouzenko, the Soviet Ambassador had no right of access to the secret telegrams sent to and received from Moscow by Zabolotin, Pavlov, and Goussarov, the heads of the military espionage, NKVD, and 'political system' sections respectively."

This is strong support for Zaroubin's having been either the dupe of his own underlings or else, despite the surface, an underling himself.

The question was, however, reopened for speculation in 1953 by Ismail Ege, ex-Lieutenant Colonel of the military intelligence department of the general staff of the Red Army, who broke with the U.S.S.R. and the Communist party in June, 1942. Colonel Ege testified before the Jenner Committee October 29, 1953, being examined by Mr. (now Judge) Robert Morris, then counsel for the committee, as follows:

MR. MORRIS: Now, Mr. Ege, would you tell us the role that the Soviet Embassy in Washington and the Soviet Ambassador to Washington played in Soviet espionage based upon your own personal experience in the Soviet intelligence system?

MR. EGE: Well, in 1942 Soviet Ambassadors, having their diplomatic position as chief of the Em-

bassy, were a little away from intelligence activities. . . .

Under roofs of Soviet embassies, consulates, trade organizations, there were secret organizations of Soviet intelligence channels working for Soviet intelligence. But they personally did not take part in it and did not direct it.

In 1942, approximately in February or January, there was top secret order.

MR. MORRIS: This is January of what year?

MR. EGE: 1941.

MR. MORRIS: There was a top secret order. Did you see this?

MR. EGE: I read it myself and signed it that I had read it.

MR. MORRIS: You signed that you had read this top-secret order?

MR. EGE: That is right.

MR. MORRIS: What did the order say?

MR. EGE: That order was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Bi-Council of Peoples Commissars and was signed by Stalin and Molotov.

In that order it was stated that from now on Ambassadors of Soviet Union had to become real bosses. In Russian that is the word "Chaosyain." In English translated, that means proprietor, boss, the first manager, the person who is running some business.

* * * *

Now the top-secret document signed by Stalin and Molotov made an excellent point in a very categorical way that up to this date, I mean the date of issue of that order, Ambassadors were not playing the role of real boss.

* * * *

MR. MORRIS: And the date again?

MR. EGE: That was January or February, 1941.

MR. MORRIS: Continue, please.

MR. EGE: And it was pointed out that especially in the most important countries as Germany, United States, Turkey, Ambassadors had to play that role of boss in every sense of the word, representing in the country in which they were a real representative of Communist party and Soviet government.

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

...Our family heard the program for the first time...and were very impressed. We plan to make Facts Forum a regular listening habit in the future.

Miss Eleanor Hazen
Jewett St., Georgetown, Mass.

...Let's have more of such program PLEASE.

C. Augustat
1011 Liveoak St., Marlin, Tex.

...very interested in your organization and its aims and its ideals. It's about time something was done to wake up the people of this nation...

Phyllis Kyle
4214 Chamberlayne Ave., Richmond, Va.

...How much we need well-informed people like you to give us "inside information" that is so impossible to get...

Russell Harmon
315 Dawson, Wolf Point, Mont.

...a gentleman named Smoot spoke intelligently on the following subject: "Should U.S. Subscribe to U.N.?" Having myself worked with the United Nations under FAO and in close cooperation with the Point Four experts, I was particularly interested in what was said. In fact, I am writing today to ask for a copy of the statements made over the radio...

J. R. Pelletier, Superintendent
Dom. Experimental Station, Ste. Anne de Pocatieri, P. Quebec, Canada

...Mr. Smoot, I think your two sides were simply wonderful!...Thanking you for these quite extraordinary broadcasts, as well as the STATE OF THE NATION, which was vastly informing in range and interest.

Laura H. Ingalls
5437 Virginia Ave., Hollywood 29, Cal.

I should like to get *Facts Forum News*. Your...TV show best on the air for money. It fills a vital need—someone speak up for and sell good old fashioned Americanism.

Fred S. Kullgren
P. O. Box 426, Paso Robles, Cal.

...It is quite discouraging to see our country fall apart little by little. I am encouraged to hear...about Facts Forum...It makes the people think I want to do all I can to help...I want to be able to answer any questions with facts...

Roy M. Culver
321 Vine St., Glendale 4, Cal.

...submitted [poll] answers on a piece of paper so that the poll card...could be sent to a friend and patriot in Hollywood...May Facts Forum's future be all we wish for it...

Mrs. B. J. McDonald
8006 Broadleaf, Van Nuys, Cal.

CONTEST RULES

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS:

Write letters of 150 or less words to your favorite paper about any subject of national interest. If you need more than 150 words to express your views, divide the material into two or more letters. Letters must have been published in newspaper or magazine, and clipping sent for entry. First award, \$25 cash plus 75 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS for persons specified by winner; second award, \$10 cash plus 50 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, 30 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS, with a token award of 5 records containing 10 Dan Smoot talks, for all other letters which Facts Forum publishes. Decision of judges will be made four days prior to closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month.

FIRST HALF OF 1955 CONTEST:

The letters submitted by you for the monthly contest will be held in competition for the half-year contest ending June 30, 1955. A judging committee different from the monthly contest and not used heretofore will be selected for this contest. First award, \$300; second, \$200; third, \$100.

SLOGAN:

An award of \$32 will be given for the best slogan adopted for use the following month. Closing date is four days prior to the closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month. Each person is invited to keep one slogan only in this competition. Entries may be changed at any time.

POLL QUESTIONS:

Ask a \$64 question! Facts Forum offers prizes of \$64, \$32 and \$16, respectively, for the first, second and third best questions submitted by readers for the monthly Poll. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces, so as not to exceed one line on the Poll Card. **EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN THE CONTEST.** Your questions may be published in the Facts Forum Poll even though they do not win a prize. 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:

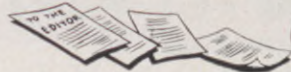
Send questions to be answered on the **ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS** program to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. Those who send questions which become the subject of a broadcast will receive a \$100 bond.

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTERS' ROUNDUP:

Send questions for this program to **REPORTERS' ROUNDUP**, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The best three questions submitted will receive Cyma dual-purpose clocks.

PROVOCATIVE PROSE:

Send quotations worth reading and remembering. Be sure to list authors and sources. Persons sending in excerpts printed in FF NEWS will receive one-year subscriptions to FF NEWS. If winners are already subscribers, they may in turn designate someone whom they want to receive the award subscription. In case of duplication of entries, the one with the earliest postmark will be used.



Award Winners



LETTERS to the EDITORS

1st Award BATAAN VETERAN WRITES

To the Louisville *Courier-Journal*:

The *Courier-Journal* gave front page space to a news release from Tokyo which told of a nine-year-old girl's death. "Tokyo newspapers said she was the 13th school student to die of the atomic bomb this year."

We have the A-bomb and the H-bomb because Tokyo and Berlin let loose the miseries of unlimited war. Let us cease this morbid introspection about how we killed and hurt people in the process of winning a war we did not want.

We have too many fearful, weak-kneed sisters who feel we must expiate the sin of winning war. Such news releases do not contribute to national strength. Why not a feature on the survivors of Bataan? I'm sure more than 13 have died this year and medical evidence concerning the causes of death will not be as vague as "symptoms similar to those found in victims of radiation poisoning."

Norman Tant, Prof. of Educ.

P. O. Box 477 (Wilson Ave.)

Morehead, Kentucky

ED. NOTE: Professor Tant writes us: "Latest Bataan victim is I. B. Knight, Nashville, Tennessee, who died early in week of November 21-27. I, too, am a Bataan veteran."

* * * * *

2nd Award ART IN THE SCHOOLS

To the *Chicago Daily Tribune*:

We read that foreign countries, particularly those on the far side of the iron curtain, are producing scientists much faster than we in America. Is it any wonder? My three children, in the eighth and sixth grades, are kept busier with art work than with mathematics, spelling, grammar, and other basic subjects.

As none of them has any artistic talent, the idea of splashing color to produce some abstract design is distasteful to them and to me. To see them work at such tripe when they should be studying mathematics and learning to speak and read intelligently is enough to make anyone regret every cent of his school tax dollar.

If this country should become engaged in another great war, our children will be well equipped to make devil masks to frighten the enemy away. They are certainly learning little on which to base a scientific education.

Milo Asmussen

1401 West 174th St.,

E. Hazel Crest, Ill.

3rd Award HURTING MORALE

To the Boston *Post*:

The greatest secret weapon that has enabled the United States to win all wars and retain our freedom has been the fearlessness and innate daring of all of our fighting men.

Marxism knows it must destroy that in order to control the world. Hence the publicized lists of U.S. prisoners and the tortures they undergo are intended to put fear of capture into the hearts of young America.

It is time we had an administration equally fearless as our soldiers, who would drop the words "consistent with our foreign commitments" and "feasibility" or "short of war" and acquire a new "pro-American" vocabulary consistent with the bravery and devotion of our fighting men and would say we will rescue our soldiers by "any means necessary."

The present Washington attitude of "fear and uncertainty" will eventually destroy the morale of our soldiers and all America because Marxism is planning it that way.

G. Bacon

37 Walnut St., Newtonville, Mass.

* * * * *

4th Award REDS GAINING GROUND

To the *Dallas Morning News*:

I see by the papers a man wants to know if the Red conspiracy gained ground in 1954.

I'm sorry to say it did. Russia picked up a lot of ground in Italy and has tightened her grip on Hungary, East Germany and some other countries. She has gained ground in India and England is becoming more conciliatory. She won at Berlin, Geneva and has taken Indochina from France. She now has Red Tito in a friendly mood and in China she is building up her war machine, maybe to hit Formosa.

By tying up the United States Senate in the Army-McCarthy row, the Watkins ruckus and hanging black eyes on congressional committees, she has picked up a lot of ground in the United States and is now picking up some more in the 13-prisoner incident.

H. L. Harrell

Box 62, Argyle, Texas

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Really enjoy your television program and the subjects you present... Hope you can continue and expand the important and necessary work. We need more of you people... in this world to save it from communism...

John J. Bailer
109 64th Pl. N. E., Maryland Park,
Washington 27, D.C.

You should feel honored to join the list of... other good Americans who believe in truth and freedom.

Unsigned from New York, N. Y.

...would like a copy of... that speech by Mr. Dan Smoot which should be in the hands of every loyal American... Am also enclosing one dollar for subscription... I enjoyed the issues of *Facts Forum News* which someone was kind enough to have you send me.

Mrs. M. B. Montana
Rt. 1, Bloomington, Ind.

Find enclosed a one-dollar subscription. The broadcasting channels are too crowded in this trade winds area to get most... of the... programs... The opposite end from the bottom of the list of forums is where I rate Facts Forum.

G. W. Goodloe
Richmond, Ky.

... You are doing a fine service to educate and build public opinion, upon which our democracy must depend to function...

Mrs. J. W. Lorenz
211 N. Adams Ave., Mason City, Iowa

... How you can be so impartial is a marvel. It is hard to believe one man [Dan Smoot] can be so versatile...

A. J. Lamb
1504 Quebec St., Adelphi, Md.

Please send me eight copies of the Facts Forum talk on television... I wish to express gratitude for the wonderful work you are doing for America.

Melvin P. Johnson
1111 Briarcliff Rd., Greensboro, N. C.

... for over three years... I have had the opportunity to hear your debates on the radio... Last Saturday I was fortunate enough to see your program... on television. The important subjects you discuss, presented on such a popular medium, cannot help but stimulate clearer thinking among your listeners.

John C. Kern, AF 15446114
3561st Plt. Trng. Sqdn.,
Webb A.F.B., Texas

... Your radio programs are excellent and one of the few sources of political facts.

James L. Drew
1067 N. Fifth St., New Hyde Park, L.I., N.Y.

5th Award CATASTROPHE

To the *Los Angeles Times*:

Where are the policies of our leaders taking us? How many atrocities must we endure before the responsible people in America demonstrate, even partially, the type of nationalism which released us from England's bondage 175 years ago?

President Eisenhower says Russia's tone is milder in the most recent U.S. plane shooting incident, and that Ambassador Bohlen had to make up his mind on the spur of the moment whether or not he should join the Kremlin gang at a party and drink a toast to 37 years of mass murder and slavery.

There are no doubts as to what George Washington would have said under a similar circumstance.

Diplomatic recognition of Russia and her satellites is proving to be America's greatest catastrophe.

R. Horstman, M.D.,
12734 Grovetree Ave.,
Downey, Calif.

6th Award WOULD OUST McCARTHY

To the *Louisville Courier-Journal*:

I am very happy to know the Democrats are getting back in their place in the government but one thing that should be done is to kick McCarthy out of the government. He is not fit to hold any kind of office. All this so-called investigating is just to get his name in all the newspapers. It's just a publicity stunt, his running around pretending to find Communists, when he doesn't give a hoot whether there are Communists among our government leaders or not.

All he cares for is his name to be on everybody's lips. And I can't see what the other senators mean by letting McCarthy hold the name of senator.

Mrs. W. L. Dillard,
Route 4, Scottsville, Ky.

7th Award MAKING PATRIOTISM A CRIME

To the *Tulsa Tribune*:

What kind of monkey business is it when "wire-tapping" evidence is not allowed against traitors while mail-cover is used against a senator trying to rid our country of its traitors?

Those who used the mail-cover will no doubt be protected by the executive department in the same way that those who promoted Peress are being protected.

The one-worlders in control of our government have shown clearly that patriotism is a far greater crime than treason.

Thank God for those 20 senators who had the guts and brains to stand by Senator McCarthy. Now if the real

Americans will get behind those 20 senators, lest our country become another satellite of the Red regime, which even now shoots down our planes while our diplomats simper and flatter their diplomats, and Fulbright calls it hysteria when we write our hearts out to our senators and editors in protest!

Mrs. Dean Curry,
Route 1, Tallequah, Okla.

8th Award DELINQUENT PARENTS

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

Delinquent parents are the cause of juvenile delinquency. Father is too busy to be bothered, and the mother has her clubs and card parties, so she hires someone to bring up her children, and just lets them run.

Bringing up children is a 24-hour per-day job for both parents. They must be honest. They are on trial all the time before the most understanding judge in the world. It is the job of parents to bring up their children. They can't let it done.

John P. Johnson
4701 Strobel, Dallas, Tex.

9th Award READER SAYS U.S. MENACED FROM WITHIN

To the *Ft. Wayne News Sentinel*:

What do we have to fear? Is it hydrogen or atomic bombs? Is it heavily armed Communist hordes? It is not. It is the stealthily creeping conspiracy to infiltrate our government, our schools, our labor unions, churches and all phases of American life.

We as American citizens must awaken to this danger. Much of the press information media is slanted. For true unbiased view see our own *News Sentinel*, *Facts Forum News*, *Dallas Texas*, and *U.S. News and World Report*.

It appeals to each and every American to awaken today to Red danger within. If America ever falls it will be from within, not from without.

Fight for our way of life, be informed, and inform your congressmen of your never ending vigilance against the insidious Red conspiracy.

Donald R. Terry
1004 Harrison
North Manchester, Ind.

10th Award ANOTHER VIEWPOINT

To the *Dallas Morning News*:

Someone has said, "Forget the men in Red China." Well, suppose we were one of the 13. Suppose one of them was your brother or your son. Would you still want them forgotten? The son they are prisoners today is that the United States Government has allowed this to be done.

SECOND HALF 1954 LETTER CONTEST WINNERS

1st Award—\$300.00

COMPROMISE WITH SATAN

To the *Boston Post*:

Facts Forum asks: "Should we break diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia?" That begs the question, which is, "Is communism an evil or not?"

If there is any crime in the category of which the Soviet is not guilty, no one has heard of it. The question then is, is it possible for righteousness to compromise with evil? To talk of disapproving the means and ends of communism while recognizing them is sheer expediency, moral cowardice.

But it is precisely this expediency which has lost us the faith and respect of the world, earned for us the contempt of our enemies, cost us many thousands of lives, billions of dollars and brought us and the world to the brink of World War III.

Christ might have worked out some compromise with Satan, but had He done so, the world would have lost a Savior.

Leslie A. Shaw

122 E. Avenue 45, Los Angeles, Calif.

2nd Award—\$200.00

'OUR DECLINING SOCIALISTS'

To the *Washington Evening Star*:

Your June 2 editorial entitled "Our Declining Socialists" is most misleading. You would have Americans think that the Socialist danger is a dead duck and nothing is further from the realities.

The Socialists who are doing the damage to America are not Norman Thomas' card-carrying Socialists. They are the "Socialist Planners" as John Flynn calls them in his excellent book, "The Road Ahead." They do not call themselves Socialists nor do they openly advocate socialism. They operate in both the Democratic and Republican Parties and you will find them advocating every major economic objective of the Socialist revolution.

Incidentally, you will find that the economic goals of these "Socialist Planners" are almost 100 per cent identical with the economic goals of the Communist conspiracy. The Communists also call themselves Socialists. Maybe that is why our planners for Utopia are satisfied to retain their Democratic and Republican labels.

Julian E. Williams

10003 Edward Ave., Bethesda 14, Md.

3rd Award—\$100.00

INFORMATION

To the *Wall Street Journal*:

Certain columnists and commentators manage to keep their left-wing standing by the derogatory use of the term, "informer," to stigmatize anyone who has broken cleanly with Communism and has been of tested, priceless service in rooting out subversion. Whittaker Chambers expressed in "Witness" his emotional conflict about what it would mean to be called an "informer," when he was preparing to come forward—and I have watched Elizabeth Bentley recoil at this label by an irresponsible newspaperman. On the other hand the FBI and Congressional investigating committees which understand the invaluable contribution by sincere ex-Party members always refer to them as "informants."

It is significant how a choice of words can reveal one's stand on a vital issue. Regarding those people who prefer the term of opprobrium for a Bella Dodd or Louis Budenz, it may be said, "By their semantics, you shall know them."

Patricia McDonough

25 Monroe Place, Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

(Continued from Page 56)

The United Nations started out to stop war. Now it has become a referee in war, at an expense of \$145,000,000 per year. This country is hog-tied to that debating society.

Tim Walker

2211 So. Tyler, Dallas, Texas

* * * * *

11th Award

QUOTES PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION GROUP

To the *Houston Chronicle*:

A candidate for one of the positions on the school board recently said he did not know the meaning of Progressive Education. Perhaps a resolution the association adopted in 1947 will give him an idea as to its meaning. The resolution read: "To channel the energies of education toward the reconstruction of the (American) economic system, to create a system in which national and international planning of production and distribution replaces the chaotic planlessness of traditional free enterprise." Part two of the plank says the teachers shall work for an order in which "international economic planning of trade, resources, labor distribution and standards is practiced."

The Progressive Education Assn.,

with a membership of 8000 teachers, is now called the American Education Fellowship. This revolutionary idea in education was fostered by John Dewey, a professor at Columbia University.

Mrs. M. K. Alston, Sr.,

112 Hathaway, Houston, Texas

* * * * *

12th Award

RECOGNIZING RED CHINA

To the *New York Herald Tribune*:

In your editorial "On Exploring the Unpalatable" you call it fantastic to

consider Red China an untouchable subject.

Recognition of Red China by the United States is not, it seems to me, a debatable issue.

Let us not forget, while our academicians talk glibly about the "new" China, that thousands of Americans suffered unspeakable torture and death at the hands of these bloody Oriental barbarians during the Korean hostilities.

John C. Schaefer, Jr.

555 Broadway

Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y.

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Make a list of stations for your friends, over which they can hear FF Programs.

Watch your local newspapers for any change in the scheduling of FF programs. Please notify the FF office of such changes.

*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters' Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

ALABAMA				Ontario				Harrisburg			
Albertville	WAVU*	630	Sun 4:00 p	KOCS*	1510	Sun		WEBQ-AM**	1240	Wed	
Alexander City	WRFS*	1050	Sun 12:15 p	KMOR**	1340	Sun	5:00 p	WEBQ-FM**	99.9	Wed	
Andalusia	WCTA*	1340	Mon 7:15 p	KAFP*	1490	Sun	4:45 p		1450	Sun	
	WCTA†	1340	Mon 8:30 p	KAFP**	1490	Mon	7:30 p		1450	Sun	
Anniston	WSPC*	1390	Wed 7:30 a	KFXM‡	590	Sun	8:30 p	Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun
Birmingham	WBRC*	960	Tues 6:30 p	KGB*	1360	Sun	8:30 p		WPRC**	1370	Sun
Brewton	WEBJ*	1240	Mon 8:30 p	KGO*	810	Sun	9:45 p	Litchfield	WSMI*	1540	Sun
	WEBJ‡	1240	Thurs 10:30 p	KFRG‡	610	Sun	8:30 p	Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun
Carrollton	WRAG*	590	Sun 12:30 p	San Luis Obispo	KVEC‡	920	Sun 8:30 p	Rock Island	WHBF*	1270	Mon
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun 12:15 p	Santa Cruz	KSCO**	1080	Thurs 7:30 p				
Cullman	WFMH*	1300	Thurs 7:15 a	Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed 6:45 p				
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed 7:15 a		KSUE**	1240	Mon 7:00 p				
	WHOS**	800	Sat 12:15 p	Turlock	KTUR*	1390	To be announced				
	WMSL‡	1490	Mon 8:30 p								
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Sun 6:00 p	COLORADO				INDIANA			
Dothan	WOOF*	560	Sun 12:15 p	Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon 7:30 p	Bedford	WBIW‡	1340	Thurs 10:30 p
Eufaula	WULA**	1240	To be announced		KGIW‡	1450	Thurs 9:30 p	Fort Wayne	WKJG‡	1380	Mon 8:30 p
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun 1:00 p	Colorado Sp'gs.	KRDO*	1240	Sun 3:45 p	Jasper	WITZ**	990	Sun 1:00 p
	WWWF**	990	Sun 12:30 p	Denver	KOA*	850	Mon 7:45 p	Lafayette	WASK‡	1450	Mon 8:30 p
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun 12:30 p	Grand Junction	KFKJ†	920	Mon 7:30 p		WASK‡	1450	Thurs 10:30 p
Gadsden	WGAD*	1350	Sun 12:45 p	La Junta	KBNZ**	1400	Sun 5:30 p	Portland	WPGW*	1440	To be announced
Geneva	WGEA*	1150	Sun 12:45 p		KBNZ*	1400	Mon 7:30 p	Seymour	WPGW**	1440	To be announced
Greenville	WGYV*	1400	Thurs 9:15 p		KBNZ‡	1400	Thurs 9:30 p		WJCD*	1390	Tues 5:30 p
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun 12:45 p						WJCD**	1390	Sun 5:30 p
	WGSV**	1270	To be announced	DELAWARE				IOWA			
Hamilton	WERH*	970	Fri 7:30 a	Dover	WDOV**	1410	Sun 4:00 p	Cedar Rapids	KCRI‡	1600	Mon 8:30 p
	WERH**	970	Sun 1:00 p					Clinton	KCRI‡	1600	Thurs 10:30 p
Huntsville	WHBS*	1550	Mon 7:00 p	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA				Decorah	KROS‡	1340	Mon 8:30 p
	WBHP†	1230	Mon 8:30 p	Washington	WMAL*	630	Sun 6:15 p	Des Moines	KROS‡	1340	Thurs 10:30 p
	WBHP‡	1230	Thurs 10:30 p		WEAM‡	1390	Sun 8:30 p	Marshalltown	KDEC‡	1240	Mon 8:30 p
Jackson	WPBB*	1290	Mon 4:30 p	FLORIDA					KDEC‡	1240	Thurs 10:30 p
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs 7:30 a	Cocoa	WKKO*	860	To be announced	Mason City	WHO*	1040	Mon 8:30 p
Mobile	WABB*	1480	Wed 7:00 p	Daytona Beach	WMFL*	1450	Sun 8:15 p	Oelwein	KFJB†	1230	Mon 8:30 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600	Mon 7:15 p	Gainesville	WRUF*	850	Sun 8:00 p		KFJB‡	1230	Thurs 10:30 p
	WJJJ‡	1170	Mon 8:30 p		WRUF†	850	Mon 9:30 p		KRIB‡	1490	Mon 8:30 p
Muscle Shoals	WLAY‡	1450	Thurs 10:30 p	Jacksonville	WJHP†	1320	Thurs 11:30 p	Ottumwa	KRIB‡	1490	Thurs 10:30 p
Ozark	WOZK**	900	Sun 5:00 p	Key West	WKWF†	1600	Mon 9:30 p	Spencer	KRIB‡	1490	Thurs 10:30 p
	WOZK*	900	Sat 5:15 p		WKWF‡	1600	Thurs 11:30 p	Storm Lake	KICD†	1240	Mon 8:30 p
Phenix City	WPNX*	1460	Sun 7:15 p	Kissimmee	WRWB*	1220	Sun 3:00 p	Waterloo	KAYL*	990	Sun 8:30 p
	WPNX**	1460	To be announced	Lakeland	WLAK*	1430	Sun 4:45 p		KWWL‡	1330	Mon 8:30 p
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	To be announced	Live Oak	WNER*	1450	Wed 6:30 p		KWWL‡	1330	Thurs 10:30 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun 12:15 p		WNER**	1450	Fri 7:30 p	KANSAS			
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun 12:45 p	Marianna	WTYS†	1340	Mon 9:30 p	Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced
	WWWR**	920	Sun 3:30 p	Miami	WIOD*	610	Thurs 6:15 p		KCRB**	1460	Sat 8:30 p
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun 12:15 p		WKAT†	1360	Mon 9:30 p	Dodge City	KGNO†	1370	Mon 8:30 p
Troy	WTBF*	1490	Sun 6:45 p		WKAT‡	1360	Thurs 11:30 p		KGNO‡	1370	Thurs 10:30 p
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs 9:45 p	Panama City	WPCF*	1400	Sat 5:45 p	Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon 8:30 p
					WPCF†	1400	Mon 9:30 p	Hutchinson	KWHK*	1260	Sun 8:30 p
					WDLP**	590	Sun 2:00 p	Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon 8:30 p
									KIND‡	1010	Thurs 10:30 p
				GEORGIA				McPherson	KNEX**	1540	To be announced
				Atlanta	WSB*	750	Thurs 7:15 p	Pittsburg	KSEK*	1340	Sun 8:30 p
					WQXI‡	790	Thurs 11:30 p	Salina	KSEK*	1340	Sat 8:30 p
				Cordele	WMJM†	1490	Mon 9:30 p		KSAL‡	1150	Mon 8:30 p
					WMJM‡	1490	Thurs 11:30 p		KSAL‡	1150	Thurs 10:30 p
				Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun 1:15 p	KENTUCKY			
					WGFS**	1430	To be announced	Campbellsville	WTCO*	1150	To be announced
				Dalton	WBLV*	1230	Sat 6:45 p	Cumberland	WCPM†	1490	Mon 8:30 p
				Decatur	WEAS*	1010	Wed 4:45 p	Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon 8:30 p
				Dublin	WMLT†	1340	Mon 9:30 p	Elizabethtown	WIEL*	1400	Fri 8:30 p
				Gainesville	WGGA†	550	Mon 9:30 p	Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon 8:30 p
					WGGA*	550	Thurs 11:30 p		WKIC‡	1340	Thurs 10:30 p
				Griffin	WKEU†	1450	Mon 9:30 p	Henderson	WSON‡	860	Mon 8:30 p
					WKEU‡	1450	Thurs 11:30 p		WSON‡	860	Thurs 10:30 p
				La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon 9:30 p	Lexington	WLEX*	1300	Sun 8:30 p
					WLAG‡	1240	Thurs 11:30 p	Louisville	WAVE*	970	Sun 8:30 p
				Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon 9:30 p		WAVE*	970	Mon 8:30 p
					WMVG‡	1450	Thurs 11:30 p	Madisonville	WFMW*	730	Sun 8:30 p
				Monroe	WMRE*	1490	Sun 8:15 p	Pikeville	WPKE*	1240	Mon 8:30 p
				Statesboro	WWNS†	1490	Mon 9:30 p		WPKE‡	1240	Thurs 10:30 p
				Swainsboro	WJAT**	800	Sun 5:15 p	Prestonsburg	WPRT**	960	To be announced
				Toccoa	WLET†	1420	Mon 9:30 p				
					WLET‡	1420	Thurs 11:30 p	LOUISIANA			
				Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon 9:30 p	Baton Rouge	WJBO*	1150	Fri 8:30 p
					WGOV‡	950	Thurs 11:30 p		Rebroadcast	Sun	
				Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon 9:30 p	Crowley	KSIG*	1450	To be announced
					WAYX‡	1230	Thurs 11:30 p		KSIG*	1450	Sun 8:30 p
				HAWAII				Lake Charles	KPLC*	1470	Sun 8:30 p
				Hilo	KILA*	850	Sun 8:45 p	Mansfield	KDBC*	1360	Sun 8:30 p
				Honolulu	KULA**	690	To be announced	Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun 8:30 p
				IDAHO				Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat 8:30 p
				Blackfoot	KBLI*	1490	Sun 9:00 a	New Orleans	WWL*	870	Mon 8:30 p
				Moscow	KRPL**	1400	To be announced		WNOE*	1060	To be announced
				Weiser	KWEI**	1240	Sun 5:30 p	Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun 8:30 p
				ILLINOIS					KSLO*	1230	Tues 8:30 p
				Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun 8:30 p	Ruston	KRUS**	1490	Sun 8:30 p
				Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon 8:30 p	Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed 8:30 p
					WKRO‡	1490	Thurs 10:30 p	MAINE			
				Chicago	WGN*	720	Sun 9:15 p	Orono	WORO*	To be announced	
					WGN†	720	Mon 8:30 p	Portland	WCSH*	970	Sun 8:30 p

(Continued on Page 58)

FACTS FORUM RADIO SCHEDULE -- continued

*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters' Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810	To be announced
Baltimore	WBAL*	1430	Sun 9:45 p
Cambridge	WBCE**	1240	Sun 7:00 p
Salisbury	WBOC†	950	Mon 9:30 p

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WBZ*	1030	Mon 8:15 p
	WNAC†	680	Mon 9:30 p
	WNAC‡	680	Thurs 11:30 p
Holyoke	WREB**	930	Sun 2:30 p
West Yarmouth	WOCB**	1240	Fri 9:30 p

MICHIGAN

Alpena	WATZ‡	1450	Mon 9:30 p
	WATZ‡	1450	Mon 11:30 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon 9:30 p
	WBCK†	930	Thurs 11:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon 9:30 p
	WATT†	1240	Thurs 11:30 p
Detroit	WJR*	760	Sun 10:30 p
	WJLB*	1490	Sun 7:30 p
Escanaba	WDBC†	680	Mon 8:30 p
	WDBC†	680	Thurs 11:30 p
Flint	WBBC†	1330	Mon 9:30 p
Grand Rapids	WFOR*	1570	Sat 12:30 p
Iron River	WIKB†	1230	Mon 8:30 p
	WIKB†	1230	Thurs 10:30 p
Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon 8:30 p
	WJMS†	630	Thurs 10:30 p
Petoskey	WMBN†	1340	Mon 9:30 p
	WMBN†	1340	Thurs 11:30 p
Saginaw-Bay City	WSGW†	790	Mon 9:30 p
	WSGW†	790	Thurs 11:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR*	1230	Sun

MINNESOTA

Austin	WAUS†	1480	Mon 8:30 p
	KAUS‡	1480	Thurs 10:30 p
Bemidji	KBUN†	1450	Mon 8:30 p
	KBUN†	1450	Thurs 10:30 p
Breckenridge	KBW*	1450	To be announced
Grand Rapids	KBZY†	1490	Mon 8:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun 10:15 p
Wadena	KWAD†	920	Thurs 10:30 p

MISSISSIPPI

Aberdeen	WMPA*	1240	Sun 5:30 p
	WMPA**	1240	To be announced
Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun 4:30 p
	WVMI**	570	To be announced
Biloxi-Gulfport	WLOX†	1490	Mon 8:30 p
	WLOX†	1490	Thurs 10:30 p
Brookhaven	WJMB†	1340	Mon 8:30 p
	WJMB†	1340	Thurs 10:30 p
Canton	WDOB†	1370	Sat 11:30 a
	WDOB†	1370	Sun 3:00 p
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun 6:30 p
Hattiesburg	WFOR*	1400	Tues 7:15 p
Jackson	WRBC†	1300	Mon 8:30 p
	WRBC†	1300	Thurs 10:30 p
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
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon 8:30 p

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon 8:30 p
	KFVS†	960	Thurs 10:30 p
Clinton	KDKD**	1280	Sun 12:00 p
Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon 8:30 p
	KHMO†	1070	Thurs 10:30 p
Jefferson City	KLIK**	950	Sun 1:45 p
	KWOS†	1240	Mon 8:30 p
	KWOS†	1240	Thurs 8:30 p
Joplin	KFSB*	1310	Sun 3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon 8:30 p
Kansas City	KMBC*	980	Sun 12:15 p
Kennett	KBOA*	830	Sun 12:15 p
Kirksville	KIRX*	1450	Sat 6:15 p
	KIRX**	1450	Sun 2:00 p
Lebanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon 8:30 p
	KLWT†	1230	Thurs 10:30 p
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun 2:45 p
	KNIM**	1580	Fri 3:45 p
Moberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun 1:30 p
Nevada	KNEM*	1240	Sun 1:05 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Sun 6:30 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon 8:30 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed 7:45 p
	KSGM**	980	To be announced
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon 8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	Sun
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon 8:30 p

MONTANA

Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs 7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLQ*	1230	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLQ**	1230	Sat
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLF**	1370	To be announced
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
	KOJM†	610	Thurs 9:30 p
Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLJ**	1240	To be announced
	KCAP†	1340	Mon 7:30 p
	KCAP†	1340	Thurs 9:30 p
Livingston	KPRK†	1340	Mon 7:30 p
	KPRK†	1340	Thurs 9:30 p
Miles City	KATL†	1340	Mon 7:30 p
	KATL†	1340	Thurs 9:30 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLL**	1450	To be announced
Shelby	KIY†	1230	Mon 7:30 p
	KIY†	1230	Thurs 9:30 p
Sidney	KGCX†	1480	Mon 7:30 p
	KGCX†	1480	Thurs 9:30 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR**	To be announced
Hastings	KHAS†	1230 Mon 8:30 p
	KHAS†	1230 Thurs 10:30 p
Lincoln	KLMS*	1480 Sun 6:15 p
McCook	KBRL†	1450 Mon 8:30 p
	KBRL†	1450 Thurs 10:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG**	780 Sat 10:15 a
Omaha	KFAB*	1110 Sun 12:15 p
Scottsbluff	NKEB†	960 Mon 7:30 p

NEW JERSEY

Millville	WMLV**	1440 Sun
Newark	WNJR*	1430 To be announced

NEW MEXICO

Clayton	KLMX*	1450 Tues 6:30 p
Hobbs	KWEW†	1490 Mon 7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN†	1230 Mon 7:30 p
	KFUN†	1230 Thurs 9:30 p
Portales	KENM*	1450 Wed 7:15 p
	KENM**	1450 Fri 6:30 p

NEW YORK

Albany	WPTR†	1540 Mon 9:30 p
	WPTR†	1540 Thurs 11:30 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490 To be announced
Auburn	WMBO†	1340 Mon 9:30 p
	WMBO†	1340 Thurs 11:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360 Mon 9:30 p
Bronx	WFUP-FM*	90.7 Wed 10:15 a
Buffalo	WXR*	1080 Sun 9:30 a
Hornell	WLEA**	1480 Sun 3:00 p
Malone	WICY†	1490 Mon 9:30 p
	WICY†	1490 Thurs 11:30 p
New York	WOR*	710 Sat 6:15 p
	WOR*	710 Mon 11:45 p
	WOR†	710 Sun 9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340 Mon 9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLG*	1490 Wed 7:00 p
Watertown	WATN†	1240 Mon 9:30 p
	WATN†	1240 Thurs 11:30 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheboro	WGWR*	1260 Tues 6:45 p
Asheville	WWNC*	570 Sat 6:30 p
Burlington	WBBB*	920 Sun 1:00 p
Charlotte	WBT*	1110 Sun 5:30 p
	WIST*	930 Thurs 11:30 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410 Wed 10:00 a
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240 Mon 9:30 p
	WCNC†	1240 Thurs 11:30 p
Gastonia	WLTC*	1370 Sun 12:45 p
Greensboro	WBIG*	1470 Thurs 5:15 p
Henderson	WHNC†	890 Mon 9:30 p
Hendersonville	WHKP*	1450 Tues 8:00 p
Hickory	WHKY*	1290 Tues 7:30 p
	WIRC*	630 To be announced
High Point	WNOS*	1590 Sun 3:00 p
	WNOS*	1590 Sun
Jacksonville	WJNC†	1240 Mon 9:30 p
Leaksville	WLOE†	1490 Mon 9:30 p
	WLOE†	1490 Thurs 11:30 p
Lenoir	WJRI†	1340 Mon 9:30 p
	WJRI†	1340 Thurs 11:30 p
Lexington	WBUY*	1430 Thurs 7:30 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740 Sun 1:15 p

New Bern	WHIT†	1450 Mon 9:30 p
Raleigh	WPTF*	680 Sun 1:30 p
	WRAL†	1240 Mon 9:30 p
Roxboro	WRXO*	1490 To be announced
Salisbury	WSAT*	1280 Wed 8:00 p
	WSTP†	1490 Mon 9:30 p
Statesville	WSIC†	1400 Mon 9:30 p
Wallace	WLSE†	1400 Mon 9:30 p
Washington	WHED**	1340 Wed 9:30 p
Wilmington	WGNI†	1340 Mon 9:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA

Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240 Mon 8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX**	1230 To be announced
Minot	KLPM†	1390 Thurs 10:30 p
Valley City	KOVCF	1490 Mon 8:30 p

OHIO

Ashtabula	WICA**	970 Sat 8:00 p
Canton	WCMW*	1060 Sun 12:15 p
Cincinnati	WLW*	700 Sun 12:30 p
Cleveland	WHK†	1420 Mon 9:30 p
	WHK†	1420 Thurs 11:30 p
Columbus	WTVN†	610 Mon 9:30 p
	WTVN†	610 Thurs 11:30 p
Dayton	WHIO*	1290 Tues 7:15 p
Elyria	WEOL*	930 Sun 9:45 a
	WEOL**	930 Wed 7:30 p
Gallipolis	WJEH**	990 To be announced
Hamilton	WMOH**	1450 Sun 12:30 p
Marietta	WMOA†	1490 Mon 9:30 p
	WMOA†	1490 Thurs 11:30 p
Mt. Vernon	WMVO*	1300 Sun 2:00 p
Newark	WCLT**	1430 Sun 6:30 p
Portsmouth	WNXT*	1260 Mon 8:15 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370 Sun 10:00 p
Warren-Youngstown	WHHH†	1440 Mon 9:30 p
	WHHH†	1440 Thurs 11:30 p
Youngstown	WFMJ*	1390 Sat 6:45 p

OKLAHOMA

Altus	KWHW†	1450 Mon 8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL**	1580 Wed 10:30 a
Cushing	KWHF*	1600 Sun 12:45 p
Duncan	KRHD†	1350 Mon 8:30 p
	KRHD†	1350 Thurs 10:30 p
Elk City	KASA†	1240 Mon 8:30 p
Enid	KCRC*	1390 Sun 10:15 p
Idabel	KBEL*	1240 To be announced
Oklahoma City	KOMA*	1520 Sat 5:45 p
	KOCY†	1340 Thurs 10:30 p
Okmulgee	KHBG†	1240 Mon 8:30 p
	KHBG†	1240 Thurs 10:30 p
Ponca City	WBBV†	1230 Mon 8:30 p
	WBBV†	1230 Thurs 10:30 p
Poteau	KLCO**	1280 To be announced
	KLCO*	1280 To be announced
Shawnee	KGFF†	1450 Mon 8:30 p
	KGFF†	1450 Thurs 10:30 p
Tulsa	KTUL*	1430 Tues 9:45 p
	KVOO*	1170 Thurs 9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW†	1450 Mon 8:30 p
	KSIW†	1450 Thurs 10:30 p

OREGON

Astoria	KAST†	1370 Sun 8:30 p
Bend	KBND*	1110 Sun 8:30 p
Hillsboro	KRTV**	1360 Sun 1:00 p
Lebanon	KGAL*	930 Sun 7:30 p
McMinville	KMCM*	1260 Sun 7:45 p
	KMCM**	1260 Wed 8:45 p
Portland	KXL*	750 Sat 4:15 p
Roseburg	KRXL†	1240 Sun 8:30 p
Salem	KGAE*	1430 To be announced

PENNSYLVANIA

Bradford	WESB†	1490 Mon 9:30 p
	WESB†	1490 Thurs 11:30 p
Butler	WBUT-AM*	1050 Sun 12:45 p
	WBUT-FM*	97.7 Sun 12:45 p
	WBUT**	1050 Sun 4:30 p
Carbondale	WCDL*	1230 Thurs 6:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960 Sat 8:15 a
Coudersport	WFRM*	600 Sat 5:30 p
	WFRM**	600 Sun 1:30 p
Gettysburg	WGET**	1450 Sun 7:30 p
Lock Haven	WBPZ†	1230 Mon 9:30 p
	WBPZ†	1230 Thurs 11:30 p
New Castle	WKST†	1280 Mon 9:30 p
Oil City	WKRZ†	1340 Mon 9:30 p
Philadelphia	KYM*	1060 Sun 6:15 p
Pittsburgh	KDKA*	1020 Sun 10:15 p
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450 Mon 9:30 p
Punxsutawney	WPXY*	1300 Sun 2:00 p

(Continued on Page 60)

FACTS FORUM RADIO SCHEDULE -- continued

*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters' Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

Scranton	WUSV-FM*	89.9	Thurs	7:15 p
	WUSV-FM**	89.9	Tues	7:30 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
	WISL‡	1480	Thurs	11:30 p
State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
St. Marys	WKBI†	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	WKBI‡	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	1:00 p
	WLYC**	1050	Sun	5:00 p
York	WNOV**	1250	Sun	5:30 p

PUERTO RICO				
Mayaguez	WTLT**	1300	To be announced	

SOUTH CAROLINA				
Aiken	WAKN*	990	Sat	1:00 p
Barnwell	WBAW**	740	Sat	6:00 p
Camden	WACA*	1590	Sun	2:00 p
Charleston	WTMA*	1250	Sun	6:00 p
Cheraw	WCRC**	1420	Sat	12:30 p
Columbia	WIS*	560	Sun	1:15 p
Conway	WLAT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WLAT‡	1490	Thurs	11:30 p
Florence	WJMX**	970	Thurs	8:30 p
	WOLS*	1230	Sun	9:15 p
Georgetown	WGTF†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenville	WFBC*	1330	Wed	10:15 p
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
	WGSW‡	1350	Thurs	11:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280	To be announced	
	WJAY**	1280	To be announced	
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	7:00 p
Rock Hill	WTYC*	1150	Sat	6:00 p
Spartanburg	WSPA*	950	Sun	2:00 p
Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WFIG‡	1340	Thurs	11:30 p
Union	WBCU*	1460	Fri	7:15 p
Walterboro	WALD*	1490	Thurs	7:15 p
	WALD**	1490	Sun	12:15 p

SOUTH DAKOTA				
Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KORN‡	1490	Thurs	10:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KRSD‡	1340	Sun	2:00 p
Watertown	KWAT†	930	Mon	8:30 p

TENNESSEE				
Chattanooga	WDEF*	1370	Sun	6:15 p
	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WAGC‡	1450	Thurs	10:30 p
Cleveland	WBAC*	1340	Sat	7:00 p
	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	6:45 p
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WDSG‡	1450	Thurs	10:30 p
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Tues	9:45 p
	WTJS**	1390	Thurs	
	WDXI†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL*	910	Mon	7:30 p
Knoxville	WROL*	620	Mon	10:15 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	11:00 a
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WCRK‡	1450	Thurs	11:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGNS*	1450	Sun	2:30 p
Nashville	WSM*	650	Fri	10:15 p
Oak Ridge	WOKE*	1290	Sun	7:00 p
Paris	WTPR†	710	Sun	12:30 p
	WTPR‡	710	Mon	8:30 p
	WTPR‡	710	Thurs	10:30 p
Pulaski	WKSR*	1420	Mon	7:15 p
Sparta	WSMT*	1050	Sun	1:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDT†	1340	Thurs	10:30 p
	WCDT‡	1340	Mon	8:30 p

TEXAS				
Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400	To be announced	
Beaumont	KFDM*	560	Mon	9:15 p
Beeville	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL**	1490	Mon	7:00 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
	KTXC‡	1400	Thurs	10:30 p
Bonham	KFYN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFYN**	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KHUZ‡	1490	Thurs	10:30 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	7:00 p
Brownwood	KBWD†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Bryan	KORA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
College Station	WTAW*	1150	Fri	8:45 a
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Wed	9:45 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY**	1290	Tues	1:00 p
Dallas	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA**	570	Mon	10:30 p
	WRR†	1310	Thurs	10:30 p
	WRR‡	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Denton	KDNT*	1440	Tues	7:45 p
Eastland	KERC*	1590	Sun	4:00 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	8:15 p
	KEPO**	690	To be announced	
Freeport	KBRZ*	1460	Sun	1:00 p
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KNAF‡	1340	Thurs	10:30 p
Gainesville	KGAF*	1580	Sun	12:45 p
Greenville	KGVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Kermit	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kerrville	KERV*	1230	Fri	8:15 p
Kilgore	KOCA*	1240	To be announced	
Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	6:00 p
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:15 p
Levelland	KLVT**	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW**	1490	Sun	1:15 p
Longview	KLTI*	1280	Sun	12:30 p
	KLTI**	1280	Sun	3:00 p
Lufkin	KTRE*	1420	Sat	6:15 p
	KTRE‡	1420	Mon	8:30 p
Marlin	KMLW*	1010	Thurs	5:45 p
Midland	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:00 p
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960	To be announced	
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
New Braunfels	KGNB*	1420	Sun	9:00 a
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Tues	7:30 p
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:30 p
San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
	KRRV**	910	Sun	7:30 p
	KRRV‡	910	Thurs	10:30 p
Snyder	KSNY*	1450	Sun	6:00 p
	KSNY†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	12:45 p
Sulphur Springs	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:45 p
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KXOX‡	1240	Thurs	10:30 p
Taylor	KTAE*	1260	Sun	1:00 p
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KVIC‡	1340	Thurs	10:30 p
Weslaco	KRGV*	1290	Wed	9:45 p

UTAH				
Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	
Salt Lake City	KSL*	1160	Sun	
	KALL‡	910	Thurs	
Vernal	KJAM*	1340	Mon	
	KJAM**	1340	Sun	

VERMONT				
Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	
	WTWN**	1340	Sun	

VIRGIN ISLANDS				
Christiansted,	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Croix	WSTA**	1340	To be announced	
St. Thomas				

VIRGINIA				
Arlington	WEAM‡	1390	Sun	
Bedford	WBLT†	1490	Mon	
	WBLT‡	1490	Thurs	
Galax	WBOB†	1400	Mon	
	WBOB‡	1400	Thurs	

Newport News	WACH-AM*	1270	To be announced	
	WACH-AM**	1270	To be announced	
Orange	WJMA**	1340	Sun	
Richmond	WRVA*	1140	Sun	
Staunton	WAFC*	900	Sun	
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	

WASHINGTON				
Everett	KRKO‡	1380	Sun	
Grand Coulee	KFDR**	1400	Sun	
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Wed	
	KSEM**	1450	Sat	
Olympia	KGY‡	1240	Sun	
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	
	KOFE**	1150	Sun	
Seattle	KOMO*	1000	Mon	
	KVI‡	570	Sun	
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	

WEST VIRGINIA				
Bluefield	WKQY†	1240	Mon	
Charleston	WCAW*	1400	Sun	
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon	
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon	
Parkersburg	WCEF*	1050	To be announced	
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	

WISCONSIN				
Appleton	WBHY†	1230	Mon	
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon	
	WATW‡	1400	Thurs	
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon	
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Thurs	
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon	
	WJPG‡	1440	Thurs	
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon	
La Crosse	WLX†	1490	Mon	
	WLX‡	1490	Thurs	
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	To be announced	
Sturgeon Bay	WDR*	910	Sun	
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced	

WYOMING				
Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	
Cody	KODI*	1400	Tues	
Lander	KOVE†	1230	Mon	
	KOVE‡	1230	Thurs	
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	
	KPOW‡	1260	Thurs	
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	
	KWYO‡	1410	Thurs	
Torrington	KGOS**	1490	Tues	

...Mr. Smoot is certainly provoking thought among our citizens...

Mrs. Ethel Bierman
Roosevelt, Okla.

May I have two copies of Mr. Smoot's splendid and heartening broadcast . . . to keep, to read to friends, and to aid me in realizing that there are still a few Americans left in our great country...

Mrs. Elizabeth Roraback
205 W. 15th, New York, N. Y.

...Your programs fill the important need today of helping one to be well informed concerning vital issues...

Miss M. Michael
116 Jefferson Ave., Cresskill, N. J.

...my compliments to Mr. Dan Smoot and his very fair manner in presenting his opinions so that both sides of the questions are well understood...

Josephine Wakefield
Rt. 5, Box 907, Escondido, Calif.

Congratulations to you for your splendid inspirational and thought-provoking casts...

Mrs. Grenhow Maury
Windsor Farms, Richmond

...I have been following the broadcast and have greatly profited by the fair presentation of the various viewpoints issues discussed.

Rev. O. T. Ehrhart, D.
R. D. 1, Washington, D. C.

FACTS FORUM TELEVISION SCHEDULE

Watch your local newspapers for any change in the scheduling of FF programs. Please notify the FF office of such changes.

ALABAMA					MARYLAND					PENNSYLVANIA				
Decatur	WMSL-TV*	23	Sat	7:30 p	Salisbury	WBOC-TV*	16	Tues	9:30 p	Easton	WGLV-TV*	57	Thurs	9:00 p
Montgomery	WCOV-TV*	20	Mon	9:30 p							WGLV-TV**	57	Sun	7:30 p
	WCOV-TV**	20	Fri	1:00 p						Johnstown	WARD-TV*	56	Sun	3:00 p
ALASKA					MASSACHUSETTS						WARD-TV**	56	Tues	10:30 p
Anchorage	KFIA-TV*	2	Tues	9:00 p	Pittsfield	WMGT-TV*	74	Fri	7:30 p	New Castle	WKST-TV**	45	Wed	8:30 p
	KFIA-TV**	2	Thurs	6:30 p	Worcester	WWOR-TV**	14	Sun	3:00 p	Reading	WEEU-TV**	33	Tues	9:30 p
ARKANSAS					MICHIGAN					Scranton	WARM-TV*	16	Thurs	10:00 p
Fort Smith	KFSA-TV*	22	Wed	9:00 p	Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV*	20	Fri	8:00 p	York	WNOW-TV*	49	Sun	7:00 p
Texarkana	KCMC-TV*	6	Sat	8:30 p		WPAG-TV**	20	Mon	8:00 p		WNOW-TV**	49	Fri	8:30 p
CALIFORNIA					Cadillac	WTVW**	13	Thurs	7:30 p	SOUTH CAROLINA				
Hollywood	KCOP-TV**	13	Sun	11:15 p	Detroit	WJBK-TV*	2	Sun	10:30 a	Columbia	WCOS-TV**	25	Sun	2:30 p
San Diego	KFSD-TV*	10	Sat	7:00 p	Lansing	WILS-TV*	54	Thurs	7:30 p	Greenville	WGVLT-TV*	23	Sun	2:00 p
	KFMB-TV**	8	Sun	4:30 p		WILS-TV**	54	Wed	7:30 p		WGVLT-TV**	23	Tues	6:30 p
San Francisco	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	9:30 a	Saginaw	WKNX-TV*	57	Sat	9:30 p	TENNESSEE				
San Luis Obispo	KVEC-TV*	6	Sun	7:00 p	MINNESOTA					Johnson City	WJHL-TV*	11	Sun	3:00 p
	KVEC-TV**	6	Sat		Austin	KMMT-TV**	6	Fri	8:00 p		WJHL-TV**	11	Tues	6:00 p
Stockton	KTVU*	36	Tues	8:30 p	MISSISSIPPI					Knoxville	WTSK-TV*	26	Thurs	9:00 p
	KTVU**	36	Sun	6:30 p	Jackson	WJTV*	25	Tues	6:00 p		WTSK-TV**	26	Thurs	8:00 p
COLORADO						WSLI-TV**	12	To be announced		Nashville	WSIX-TV*	8	Sun	5:00 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ-TV**	5	Sun	9:00 p	MISSOURI					TEXAS				
CONNECTICUT					Joplin	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues		Amarillo	KFDA-TV*	10	Thurs	9:00 p
Waterbury	WATR-TV*	53	Sun	5:30 p	Kansas City	KMBC-TV*	9	Fri	2:30 p	Beaumont	KBMT-TV**	31	Sun	8:00 p
	WATR-TV**	53	Wed	8:30 p	St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV*	2	Sun	1:00 p		KBMT-TV*	31	To be announced	
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA					MONTANA					Corpus Christi	KVDO-TV*	22	Sun	4:00 p
Washington	WTTG-TV*	5	Sun	6:30 p	Butte	KXLF-TV*	6	Wed	7:00 p	Dallas	KRLD-TV*	4	Wed	10:30 p
FLORIDA						KXLF-TV**	6	Sun	9:45 p	Decatur	WMSL-TV*	23	Sat	7:30 p
Fort Lauderdale	WFTL-TV*	23	Tues	8:00 p	Missoula	KGVO-TV*	13	Sun	8:00 p	Longview	KTVE-TV*	32	Sun	6:15 p
	WFTL-TV**	23	Wed	9:30 p		KGVO-TV**	13	Fri	9:30 p	Lubbock	KDUB-TV*	13	Sat	5:00 p
Fort Myers	WINK-TV**	11	Wed	8:30 p	NEVADA					Midland	KMID-TV*	2	Sat	6:30 p
	WINK-TV*	11	Sun	9:30 p	Reno	KZTV*	8	To be announced		San Angelo	KTXL-TV*	8	Sun	4:00 p
Hollywood	WITV*	17	Fri	10:30 p	NEW HAMPSHIRE					San Antonio	WOAI-TV*	4	Sun	1:00 p
W. Palm Beach	WIRK-TV*	21	Sun	7:00 p	Manchester	WMUR-TV*	9	Sun	9:30 p	Tyler	KLTV**	7	Wed	10:00 p
GEORGIA						WMUR-TV**	9	To be announced		Waco	KANG-TV*	34	Sun	3:00 p
Atlanta	WLW-A*	11	Mon	2:30 p	NEW MEXICO						KANG-TV**	34	Sun	2:00 p
Macon	WNEX-TV*	47	Sun	6:30 p	Roswell	KSWs-TV*	8	Sun	2:30 p	Weslaco	KRGV-TV*	5	Sun	10:30 p
	WNEX-TV**	47	To be announced		NEW YORK					Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV*	6	Tues	9:30 p
HAWAII					Elmira	WTVE-TV**	24	Sun	6:30 p	VIRGINIA				
Honolulu	KGMB-TV*	9	Sun	5:30 p	Kingston	WKNY-TV*	66	Fri	7:30 p	Newport News	WACH-TV*	33	To be announced	
	KULA-TV**	4	To be announced		No. Albany	WROW-TV*	41	Thurs	7:30 p		WACH-TV**	33	To be announced	
IDAHO						WROW-TV**	41	Fri	9:00 p	Roanoke	WSLS-TV*	10	Sat	2:30 p
Boise	KIDO-TV*	7	Sun	11:00 p	NORTH CAROLINA						WSLS-TV**	10	Sun	2:30 p
ILLINOIS					Raleigh	WNAO-TV*	28	Tues	10:00 p	WASHINGTON				
Bloomington	WBLN-TV**	15	Fri	9:00 p	Wilmington	WMFD-TV**	6	Sun	8:00 p	Spokane	KHQ-TV**	6	Sun	5:30 p
Danville	WDAN-TV**	24	To be announced		Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV*	26	Sun	9:30 p	WEST VIRGINIA				
Rockford	WREX-TV**	13	Thurs	7:30 p	NORTH DAKOTA					Charleston	WKNA-TV**	49	Fri	9:30 p
INDIANA					Fargo	WDAY-TV*	6	Sun	4:00 p	Fairmont	WJPB-TV*	35	Thurs	9:30 p
Lafayette	WFAM-TV*	59	Sun	8:00 p		Alternating		Sun	4:30 p		WJPB-TV**	35	Sat	8:00 p
IOWA					OHIO					Parkersburg	WTAP-TV*	15	Sun	5:30 p
Des Moines	KGTV*	17	Fri	7:00 p	Ashtabula	WICA-TV**	15	Wed	8:00 p		WTAP-TV**	15	Wed	9:30 p
Waterloo	KWWL-TV**	7	Sun	1:00 p	Lima	WLOK-TV*	73	Tues	8:30 p	WISCONSIN				
LOUISIANA					Steubenville	WSTV*	9	Sun	6:30 p	Neenah	WNAM-TV*	42	Mon	8:00 p
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV**	25	Thurs	7:30 p	Zanesville	WHIZ-TV*	50	Mon	7:00 p	WYOMING				
	KTAG-TV*	25	Thurs	7:00 p		WHIZ-TV**	50	Wed	7:00 p	Cheyenne	KFBC-TV*	5	Sun	6:00 p
Monroe	KNOE-TV*	8	Sat	5:30 p		Alternating		Thurs	9:30 p	Footnotes				
New Orleans	WJMR-TV*	61	Sun	9:00 p	OKLAHOMA					*Facts Forum.				
	Retelecast	Mon	4:30 p		Lawton	KSWO-TV*	7	Thurs	7:30 p	**Answers For Americans.				
	WJMR-TV**	61	Sun	2:00 p	Okla. City	KMPT-TV*	19	Wed	9:00 p					
	Retelecast	Mon	9:30 p			KTVQ**	25	Sun	9:30 p					

C OF C CHIEF ON OUTLOOK

(Continued from Page 47)

Yes, our policy favors a general liberalization, an increase of our international trade. I was very much pleased to see only yesterday that the export figures (other than military) for 1954 showed that we have actually had an increase in our exports for the year as against 1953.

1955 BEST YEAR ECONOMICALLY

(HURLEIGH): Mr. Johnston, the stock market looks much as it did in 1929. Are its movements apt to lead to what we experienced in 1929?

I don't think that the stock market is necessarily a real barometer of American business or American business soundness. At the moment, business is not overextended. We are not deeply in debt as we were in 1929, so there is no comparability. However, we should always be careful not to gamble beyond our means.

(DOHERTY): What sort of year, economically, do you look for in 1955?

While there will be soft spots because we are undergoing rapid change, I think the calendar year of 1955 will be the best year in our economic history.

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

(Continued from Page 8)

upon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle class by industrial millionaires—the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeoisie.

Modern Industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all—even the most barbarian—nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery; application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs; clearing of whole continents for cultivation; canalization of rivers; whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of laborers who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers who must sell themselves

piecemeal are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

The lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself.

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class—in fact, within the whole range of old society—assumes such a violent, glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat and, in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

II

Proletarians and Communists

In what relation do the Communists

stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties.

They have no interest separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggle of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interest of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand—practically—the advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country that section which pushes forward all others. On the other hand—theoretical—they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearer understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties—formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine tenths. You reproach us, therefore, intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition of whose existence is the nonexistence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with *your* property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labor can no longer be converted into capital, mortgage or rent—into a social power capable of being monopolized—i.e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that the "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the private class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way and made impossible.

Communism deprives no man of

power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriation.

It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work acquire nothing; and those who acquire anything do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: that there can no longer be any wage-labor when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the communistic mode of producing and appropriating material products have, in the same way, been urged against the communistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property—just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economic conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform, into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical relations that arise and disappear in the progress of production—this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property.

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention—direct or indirect—of society by means of schools, etc.? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more—by the action of Modern Industry—all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.

"But you Communists would introduce community of women," screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women, which—they pretend—is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal—not to speak of common prostitutes—take the greatest pleasure in seducing each others' wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from

that system, i.e., of prostitution both public and private.

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationalities.

The working men have no country. We cannot take away from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against communism made from a religious, a philosophical and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions—in one word, man's consciousness—changes with every change in the condition of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove than that intellectual production changes in character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of the ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the eighteenth century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death-battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The idea of religious liberty and freedom of conscience merely gave expression to

the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law constantly survived this change."

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as freedom, justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But communism abolishes eternal truths; it abolishes all religion and all morality instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of one part of society by another. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common forms or general ideas which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

We have seen above that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position

of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy, to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property and on the conditions of bourgeois production, by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of

communication and transport in the hands of the state.

7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state, the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.

8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of population over the country.

10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association, the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so-called, is merely the organized power of one class for suppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with the conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

* * * * *

In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question—no matter what its degree of development at the time.

Finally, they labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of the existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries, unite!

FACTS FORUM NEWS BELIEVES THAT:

The presentation of unpleasant facts is also essential. Most Americans never see an unquestionably Communist publication. Yet it is vital to our interests to know what the Communists have said and are saying. Instead of claiming that this, that, or the other "reflects Communist thought" or "follows the party line," we reproduce material from the *Daily Worker*, the Communist party's open New York newspaper, and from other often-talked-about—but to the average American mysterious—Communist documents, such as the *Manifesto*. We do not know how it is unfair to the Communists to publish their material for them, but we imagine it will be said that it is.

The only thing that would be unfair—to the American people—would be to publish it without a clear indication of what it is and where we got it. Therefore we label the material plainly, and give its source. It is Mistaken to avoid reading Communist material. It is also Mistaken to read it without knowing what you are reading. Of course the material itself is Mistaken.

THE FACTS FORUM POLL

JANUARY POLL RESULTS

(Closed January 5)

% YES

- 47 Does the U.S. need the "Atoms for Peace" plan?
- 73 Are we showing signs of increased appeasement to communism?
- 37 Is Mendes-France really our friend?
- 57 Should school and college students debate U.S. recognition of Red China?
- 85 Should John Paton Davies have been fired?
- 11 Can we win the fight against communism using only defensive measures?
- 53 Should the federal government spend \$50 billion on our highways?
- 86 Will a rearmed Germany be an able ally?
- 62 Should the United States break off relations with Russia?
- 59 Is drastic reduction of government the best way to curb corruption?
- 63 Do most Americans prefer freedom to security?
- 91 Should the question "Who promoted Peress?" be answered in full?
- 91 Should the secret Yalta agreements be made public?
- 28 Are public Xmas decorations planned to undermine Christian tradition?

FEBRUARY POLL QUESTIONS

(Closes February 10)

Yes No

- ☐ ☐ 1. Should we substitute an executive council for the presidency?
- ☐ ☐ 2. Does the U.S. need constitutional protection from Treaty Law?
- ☐ ☐ 3. Is communism gaining more in "cold war" than is possible in "hot war"?
- ☐ ☐ 4. Is it really un-American for press, radio, and TV to suppress news?
- ☐ ☐ 5. Have we lost control of our government to unelected officials?
- ☐ ☐ 6. Should the public schools accept aid from the federal government?
- ☐ ☐ 7. Is calling our economic system "the free-enterprise system" a misnomer?
- ☐ ☐ 8. Can America defend itself without allies?
- ☐ ☐ 9. Will there be another stock market crash like 1929?
- ☐ ☐ 10. Should we blockade Red China as Sen. Knowland recommends?
- ☐ ☐ 11. Would "one-world" government prevent war?
- ☐ ☐ 12. Is foreign aid spending a part of the plan to destroy U.S.A.?
- ☐ ☐ 13. Did the recent Senate censure hearings change your opinion of Senator McCarthy?
- ☐ ☐ 14. Are Communists in the U.S. conniving to promote juvenile delinquency?

NAME (Please Print)

NO. and ST.

CITY and STATE

* You or your friends may 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 will be counted the same as if they were entered on a ballot.

* To receive regular Facts Forum Poll card, already addressed and with postage paid, simply write your request once to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas.

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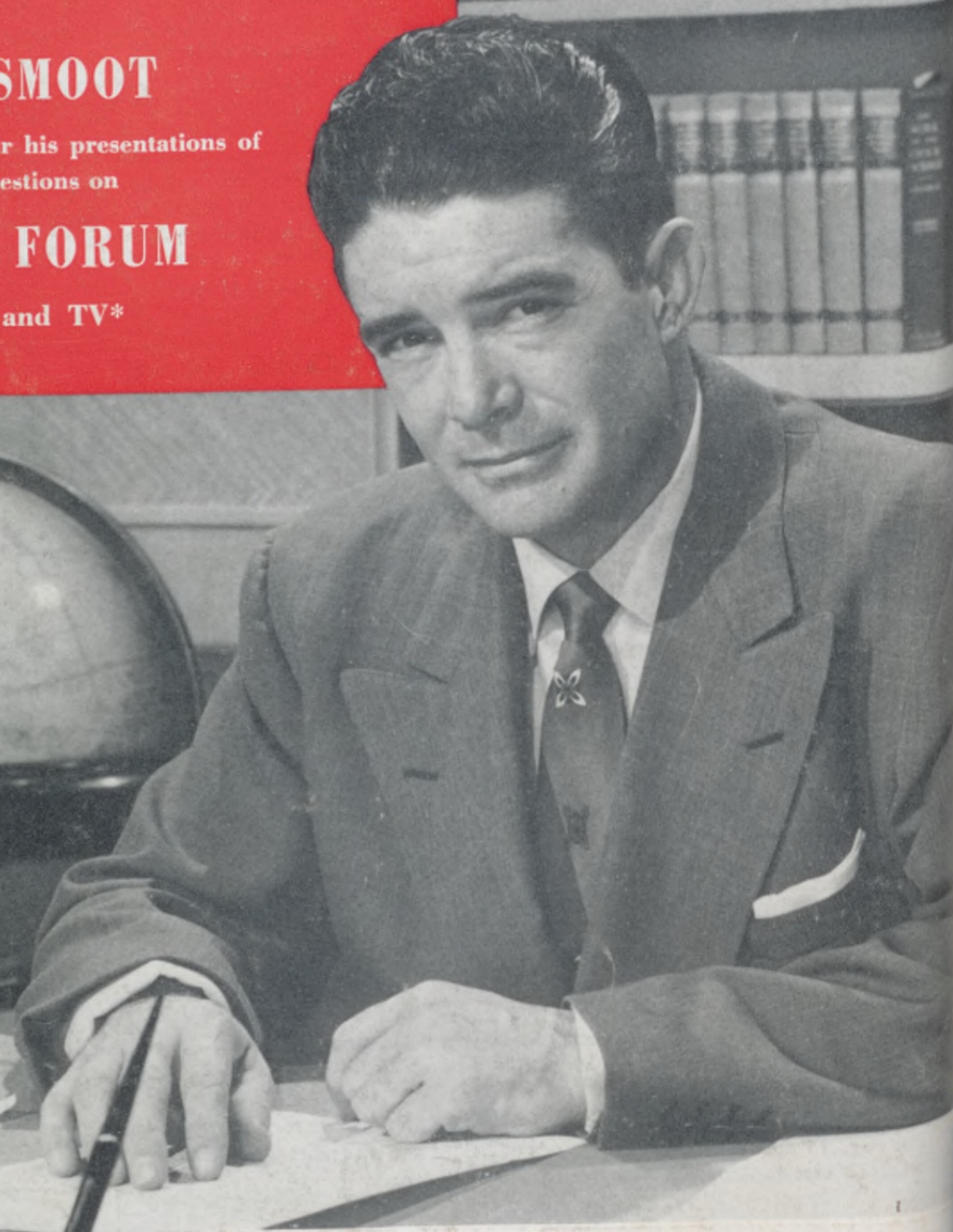
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