

EXCLUSIVE: Paul Crouch tells OPPENHEIMER STORY

APRIL, 1955

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MINERS vs. TVA

Provocative Prose

"There is a kind of dictatorship which can come about through a creeping paralysis of thought, readiness to accept paternalistic measures of government, and along with those paternalistic measures comes a surrender of our responsibilities and, therefore, a surrender of our own thought over our own lives and our own right to exercise our vote indicating the policies of our own country."

—DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

* * *

"Socialism and communism won't work because Socialists and Communists won't work—the incentive is lacking."

—CLEM D. JOHNSTON

President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce

* * *

"I am not a gentleman. I am the representative of the Soviet Union."

—SEMYON K. TSARAPKIN

Russian delegate to the UN, when asked by the Security Council Chairman "For what purpose does the gentleman wish to speak?"

* * *

"If both, or all, political parties try to be all things to all men, the electorate has no choice even at election time."

—FREDA UTLEY

(See Article on Page 32)

* * *

"Republics, one after the other, have perished through a want of intelligence and virtue in the masses of the people. They have been delivered over to anarchy and thence to despotism... If we do not prepare children to become good citizens... if we do not enrich their minds with knowledge, imbue their hearts with love of truth and duty and reverence for all things sacred and holy, then our republic must go down to destruction, as others have done before it."

—HORACE MANN

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

Readers Report

Books Battle Communism At Ithaca, N. Y.

A reading room containing a comprehensive collection of material on communism has been opened for public use in Ithaca's historic Tompkins House. Established through the volunteer efforts of city and county residents, the reading room will offer an extensive indexed file of the *Congressional Record*, official reports of the House and Senate investigating committees, anti-Communist periodicals (including *Facts Forum News*), and other pertinent information.

Classroom TV a Trojan Horse?

"The forceful appeal of schoolroom television could be of infinite service," points out California's *Eagle Rock Sentinel*. "Our obligation will be to see to it that the program is not distorted by those who plan our ruin."

Author of the article, Mrs. Doris A. Parks, who has originated and conducted Pro America's Workshop in Los Angeles, asks, "By our indifference as to what television material is brought into the classroom are we to risk admitting a Trojan horse which, once inside, can warp the minds of our children? Or shall we act decisively to prevent the misuse of this supplementary aid to education?"

"The way to defeat Communist influence in classroom TV is 'to be there first' before it begins to seep in. Good old 'Yankee' determination can get us there first if we have an explicit program prepared by those who want to see our children develop into upstanding citizens."

Shadow of the Cross On the Iron Curtain

Along the Iron Curtain, from Hamburg to the Austrian border, new churches are being constructed by the American Wooden Church Crusade. East German refugees at Traunreut, Bavaria, who had been worshipping in an old barracks, now have a new Catholic church. On the fringe of the Soviet Zone in West Berlin, a Protestant congregation, without a place to worship since the war, now has a church of its own. The crusade plans to build forty-nine modest structures.

Schoolbooks Screened

An investigating committee of the James Campbell Chapter, Daughters of

Of, by, and for
Facts Forum News readers

the American Revolution, Dallas, Texas, checked thirty-five new textbooks to ascertain whether they contained anything of a subversive nature. The thirty-five books were for Dallas classrooms from the elementary grades through high school.

Among other things, each book was judged on the basis of what it had to say about capitalism and free enterprise; whether it presented world government as superseding the United States governmental system, and whether American history and heritage were passed over lightly or derided. The committee approved the books.

Century-Old Prophecy

About a hundred years ago, Commodore Matthew Perry, USN, returned after opening isolated Japan to American shipping. His remarks on that occasion, as retold in the *Los Angeles Examiner*, show striking insight.

"It requires no sage to predict that westward will the course of history take its way, but the last act of the drama is yet to be unfolded. I think that eastward and southward will Russia, America's great rival, stretch forth her power to the coasts of China and Siam."

"And thus the Saxon and the Cossack will meet once more, in strife or in friendship. Will it be in friendship? I fear not! The antagonistic exponents of freedom and absolutism must thus meet at last."

"Then will be fought that mighty battle on which the world will look with breathless interest, for on its issue will depend the freedom or the slavery of the world—despotism or rational liberty must be the fate of civilized man."

"I think I see in the distance the giants that are growing up for that fierce and final encounter. In the progress of events that battle must sooner or later inevitably be fought."

More Time for Treason?

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist party, and John Gates, *Daily Worker* editor, were released from Atlanta Federal Prison, but kept in federal custody to face other charges. Prison sentence was for conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the government.

(ON THE ALERT—Keep this column informed of anti-Communist activities in your area by writing "Readers Report," *Facts Forum*, Dallas 1, Texas.)

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Facts Forum is nonprofit and nonpartisan, supporting no political candidate or party. Facts Forum's activities are designed to present not just one view of a controversial issue, but all views, believing that it is the right and the obligation of the American people themselves to learn all the facts and come to their own conclusions.

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COVER PHOTO CREDIT: *Wide World*

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Thanks a million for the additional copies of *Facts Forum News*. . . We will place them . . . where they will do the most good. . .

After two years of reading *Facts Forum News*, we know before each issue comes out that it will provide the best source of background and information on whatever subjects it includes. . . Our thanks for a job superbly done.

H. J. Pierson, Director

Public Information Services

The Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce
Indianapolis 11, Ind.

We more than appreciate having your magazine and feel it is a dandy publication, giving the facts which we want to be informed on—and have a voice in, too—to keep our constitutional rights in force.

Also, we enjoy receiving the Facts Forum Poll each month. I am enclosing a long list of friends who I'm sure would like to receive your Facts Forum Poll.

E. G. Beck

101 Carl Dr., N.E., Ada, Mich.

Your program [STATE OF THE NATION] in my opinion is the best of its kind on the air. It is entertaining, interesting and instructive. It is a must in our house for radio listening. . .

Harry M. Todd

Cross River, N. Y.

. . . Just received. . . *Facts Forum News*. It's jammed to the cover with fine articles and facts. I never can put it down until I read it. Am glad it's going to be on the newsstand. . .

Mrs. Roy Chaffee

Lansing, Minn.

We are arranging a showing of the [Facts Forum television film] interview with Postmaster General Summerfield for our Postmaster and postal supervisors. They in turn plan to use the film in group meetings to disseminate the information.

R. H. Mayfield

Coordinator, Instructional Aids
San Angelo Public Schools
San Angelo, Texas

I thoroughly enjoy your program [ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS] as your subjects are always such interesting and vital ones. Then, too, I always enjoy the enthusiasm displayed by each of your panelists as they enter the "fray."

Viola Griffin

606 Tenth St., Lake Charles, La.

I wish to express my gratitude—and that of my family—to your organization, and especially to Mr. Dan Smoot, for the highly inspirational radio and television programs you present for our enjoyment every Sunday evening. . . You have superbly met a challenging need of our times—the encouragement of good citizenship and faithful adherence to Christian ideals. . .

Margaret L. Fisher

2900 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Origin and Purpose of the United Nations

THE year 1955 is the tenth anniversary of the United Nations.

The Charter of the United Nations provides that in this tenth year, the General Assembly of the UN must consider a proposal for a general conference to review the United Nations Charter.¹

This provision was intended to focus the attention of the world on the UN in its tenth year.

This is the year when—according to the United Nations Charter itself—the people of the world should review the record of the UN to find out how the organization is doing at the end of its first ten years—to determine whether any basic changes should be made in its charter.²

Consequently, we here in the United States, throughout 1955, will hear, read, and participate in innumerable discussions on the United Nations.

It is, of course, proper that we should do so.

The United Nations—as both Dean Acheson and John Foster Dulles have said—is the keystone of American foreign policy.

It is impossible to understand—or even intelligently to discuss—American foreign policy without considering the United Nations.³

There is no discussion subject, therefore, of more profound importance to the people of America than the subject of the United Nations.

Nor is there any subject more controversial.

Since it is the function of Facts Forum to present pros and cons on important controversial subjects, I



—Wide World Photos

UNITED NATIONS

Dan Smoot

am, at this time, initiating a series of discussions about the United Nations.

Facts Forum's notion of pro and con is, of course, to present a subject from two exactly opposite points of view.

One sincere and legitimate view is that the United Nations is the world's best (and perhaps last) hope for peace on earth—that the United Nations is potentially the finest political achievement of the twentieth century.⁴

Another equally sincere and legitimate view is that the United Nations was conceived in treachery, fobbed off on an unsuspecting and war-weary world as something good, when actually it was a vast Communist conspiracy to destroy American institutions and prepare America for integration into a great Soviet, Socialist one world.⁵

In the Facts Forum articles on the United Nations, the UN will be discussed from these two opposite points of view.

Now, let's consider the first topic in this series: What was the origin; who were the originators; what were the real purposes of the United Nations?

First the views of those who like the UN.

THE United Nations was basically an American idea. President Roosevelt and the men around him, looking with horror upon the chaos of World War II, realized that this holocaust might have been prevented if there had been an effective international organization to guarantee peace—some kind of organization which would bind the nations of the world into a pact for collective security and give them a forum for continuous contact, exchange of ideas, and public debate: a place where they could fight out their differences around the conference table instead of on the field of battle.

From the beginning of the wartime alliance between the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States, Roosevelt frequently sacrificed political interest at home and abroad and worked with tireless determination to forge this alliance for war into a permanent alliance for peace.⁶

The United States took the lead and assumed almost the full burden of the postwar rehabilitation activities of the United Nations for peace.

UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) — which literally saved millions of homeless Europeans from starving and set them on the road to salvaging their war-ravaged homelands—was directed by Americans and financed almost exclusively by America.⁶

None of the humanitarian activities of the United Nations—such as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), which has saved hundreds of thousands of homeless children from starvation throughout the world—would have been possible without United States leadership and financial support. None of the United Nations programs for bringing learning and economic development to backward and war-devastated areas could have been possible without American leadership and financial support.⁷

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, the Genocide Pact, and the various other social and political conventions created by the International Labor Organization, the Human Rights Commission, and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, bear the mark of American leadership.

The best way to disprove the vicious allegation that the United Nations is a Communist plot is to trace the steps taken by the nations of the free world in establishing the UN.

The first step was the London Declaration, signed on June 12, 1941, by the representatives of Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and of the exiled governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, and by General DeGaulle of France.⁸

SOCIAL SECURITY FOR ALL

This document states that the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing cooperation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security.⁸

Now, note that the United States did not sign this London declaration. The intent and purposes of this declaration were reaffirmed, however, in the Atlantic Charter, signed on August 14, 1941, by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill.⁸

The Atlantic Charter expressed the hope that after the final destruction of

Nazi tyranny, a peace could be established which would afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which would afford assurance that all the men in all the lands might live out their lives in freedom from fear and freedom from want.⁹

Roosevelt and Churchill expressed the desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the objective of securing—for all—improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security.

UN TO PREVENT WAR

Less than five months later—January 1, 1942—the United Nations Declaration was signed by representatives of 26 nations in Washington. This declaration restated the principles expressed in the Atlantic Charter and widened the area of cooperation among the nations allied against Japan, Italy, and Germany. In addition to the 26 nations which originally signed this first formal UN declaration, other nations which were rendering material assistance and contributing to the struggle for victory over Hitlerism were invited to join. Twenty-one nations did later sign the pact.¹⁰

This was the actual beginning of the United Nations Organization. Here, in the midst of the most terrible war the world has ever known—at a time when an allied victory was not even certain—the leading statesmen of the world sought to find some means to prevent further wars and to ensure political, economic, and military security for all the peoples of the world.

On November 1, 1943, a statement signed in Moscow by Molotov of Russia, Eden of Britain, Hull of the United States, and the Chinese Ambassador to the Soviet Union, declared:

"They (the Foreign Ministers of the four great powers) recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."¹⁰

Two months later, Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill, meeting at Teheran, declared:

"We are sure that our concord will

win an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the good will of the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."¹⁰

FIRST BLUEPRINT PREPARED

The first actual blueprint of this international organization which came to be called the United Nations was prepared at a conference between the representatives of China, Great Britain, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States, held at a mansion known as Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C. The conference concluded on October 7, 1944, when the proposals for the structure of the world organization were published. Extensive public discussion followed in Allied countries.¹⁰

According to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the key body in the United Nations for preserving world peace was to be the Security Council on which the "Big Five"—China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States—were to be permanently represented. The proposals, however, did not specify the voting procedure in the Council. This was discussed at Yalta at a conference between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. On February 11, 1945, the Big Three announced from Yalta that this point had been settled. They declared their resolve to establish, at the earliest possible moment, a general international organization to maintain peace and security.¹⁰

The Yalta declaration announced a Big Three agreement that a conference of the United Nations would be called to meet at San Francisco on the twenty-fifth of April, 1945, to prepare the charter for the UN, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations of Dumbarton Oaks.¹⁰

Delegates of 50 nations met at San Francisco between April 25 and June



—Wide World Photos

Indian carriers transport milk supplied by UNICEF to rural school children in Guatemala. At right, a seven-year-old Guatemalan enjoys his milk.

26, 1945. Working on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, on the Yalta agreements, and on amendments proposed by various governments, the conference hammered out the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the new International Court of Justice. The Charter was approved unanimously and signed by all the representatives.¹¹

It came into force on October 24, 1945, when China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States, and a majority of the other signers, had filed their instruments of ratification.¹¹

Today, the United Nations and its affiliated agencies are under bitter attack in the United States. Who are these people seeking to drive the United Nations from our shores, and who try to pin the label of "Communist" or "fellow traveler" on every supporter of the UN?¹²

For the most part, the people who attack the United Nations are neo-Fascists, Communist witch-hunters, crackpots, and superpatriots.¹²

There is, of course, another kind of opposition to the United Nations—the critical opposition of distinguished organizations such as the American Bar Association, which has raised serious questions concerning possible conflict between powers embodied in the United Nations and the provisions of the United States Constitution.¹³

In the final analysis, however, criticism of the United Nations is criticism of the work and motives of those who have labored for the success of the United Nations.

Who are these supporters of the UN?

A list of them would include the finest minds and greatest statesmen of the twentieth century.

One of the outstanding American supporters of the United Nations is Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt has tirelessly given her time and effort to the cause of the United Nations. She has devoted her energies primarily in the fields of social and economic advancement for all people. Her work on the Commission of Human Rights resulted



—Wide World Photo

President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill met aboard a British battleship at sea August 10, 1941.



—Wide World Photo

FDR, Churchill, and Stalin around the conference table at Yalta in 1945.



—Wide World Photo

President Truman (center) talks to Premier Stalin (left), as they pose with Prime Minister Churchill (right), during first meeting of the Big Three in the Berlin Conference in 1945.

in a document—the UN Declaration of Human Rights—which, if fully implemented, would mean a higher standard of decency and living than most of the people of the world have ever known.¹⁴

In short, the United Nations is an organization born of the desires of sincere men and women for a world at peace with itself—a world which will respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all men.

* * * * *

That was one side of the question. The other side will come next.

Let's now examine the origin and purposes of the United Nations from the point of view of some who do not like the UN.

* * * * *

THOSE Americans who believe that the United Nations is our last, best hope for peace on earth—and most of them, of course, are sincere people who think they are promoting the interests of our country in promoting the United Nations—naturally assume that the United Nations was well-intentioned. They find many high-sounding phrases in the United Nations Charter. They point to the high-minded and influential Americans who support the United Nations; and they conclude that the UN is bound to be good.⁴

It is quite true that some of the best Americans of our time have supported the United Nations. But it is also true that some of the most sinister traitors

in our history have been involved in it.

The good people who helped to set up the United Nations and who continue to support it greatly outnumber the bad. But the evil forces have actually been in control and have managed to use literally thousands of fine Americans as window dressing to hide a treasonable conspiracy.

The one American who contributed more thought, more time, more energy, and more creative effort toward setting up the United Nations than all other Americans put together was Alger Hiss.¹⁵

Alger Hiss (a disciplined member of the Soviet espionage apparatus inside the United States government, working under orders from Moscow and in close cooperation with Molotov and other Soviet officials) labored long and effectively to bring the United Nations into existence as an agency for hamstringing American policy, dissipating American resources and strength, creating continuous nerve-shattering discord among nations, and thus promoting the cause of the world-wide Communist program.¹⁵

From 1942 through 1945, Alger Hiss was the guiding personality in all of the international conferences where the character and charter of the United Nations were formed.¹⁶

Alger Hiss was in close contact with Harry Dexter White (Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and another American Communist espionage agent) who conceived, organized, and ran the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference held in July, 1944, at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. This conference resulted in the creation of the International Monetary Fund; and Harry Dexter White was the man whom Truman named as director of the Fund. Virginius Franklin Coe (who has taken the Fifth Amendment and refused to say whether or not he is a Soviet spy)



—Wide World Photo

Prime Minister Churchill, President Roosevelt, and Premier Stalin at Yalta in 1945.



—Wide World Photo

Mrs. Roosevelt (second from right) points out something of interest to India's Prime Minister Nehru (right), during his visit to Hyde Park. Looking on are Mrs. Indira Gandhi (left), Nehru's daughter, and Madame Pandit (second from left), Nehru's sister.



—Wide World Photo
Maxim Litvinoff makes his first statement to the press after United States recognition of Russia in 1933.

was the American who succeeded Harry Dexter White as head of the International Monetary Fund and remained its director until December, 1953.¹⁷

Alger Hiss was the executive secretary of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in 1944, at which the preliminary draft of the United Nations Charter was approved.

Alger Hiss was the busiest and most influential counselor who went to the Yalta Conference with Roosevelt in 1945. Alger Hiss was the only official counselor with Roosevelt during private meetings when Roosevelt and Stalin made basic agreements about the charter of the United Nations.¹⁸

"I SHOULDN'T HAVE DONE IT"

On one frightful occasion at Yalta, during the bitter fight over Russia's demand for sixteen votes in the United Nations, Roosevelt, Hiss, Stalin, and an interpreter were left alone in a conference room. The rest of the high brass at Yalta cooled their heels outside. When Roosevelt, then a dying man, came out

of the room with Alger Hiss, he announced to his advisers that an "agreement" had been reached which would give Russia three votes against America's one in the General Assembly of the UN. To the protests of the American delegation, Roosevelt wearily announced: "I know I shouldn't have done it. But I was so tired when they got hold of me."¹⁹

Who were "they"? There were only four people in the room: Roosevelt, Stalin, Alger Hiss, and the interpreter. The interpreter was Charles Bohlen, our present Ambassador to Russia.

Upon his return from Yalta in February, 1945, Alger Hiss began immediate preparation for the San Francisco Conference to be held in April.²⁰

In secret meetings with fellow conspirators, Communists, and miscellaneous fellow travelers in and around the Institute of Pacific Relations, Alger Hiss prepared the agenda for the United Nations Conference at San Francisco weeks before it was held.

Alger Hiss organized the American



—Wide World Photo
Signing the Moscow Tripartite Conference Agreement in 1943 are: (left to right) Secretary of State Cordell Hull; Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov, and British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden.

delegation to the San Francisco Conference. Alger Hiss—an American Communist spy—was the general secretary, the chief executive officer, at the International conference in San Francisco when the UN Charter was adopted. Alger Hiss organized and ran the San Francisco Conference. It was his show.²⁰

When the United Nations Charter was finally approved at San Francisco, it was Alger Hiss who took charge of the document itself and had the solemn responsibility of flying it back to Washington.

It is also interesting to note that the day which the President of the United States proclaims as United Nations Day every year is October 24. America ratified the UN Charter in July. October 24 was the day when the Soviet Union ratified the UN Charter.²¹



—Wide World Photo
Secretary of State Stettinius shown presiding at the final session of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in June, 1945. Left to right, President Truman, Stettinius, and Alger Hiss.

After the San Francisco Conference in June, 1945, Alger Hiss helped to organize and staff the American mission to the United Nations. Alger Hiss secretly recommended approximately five hundred persons for employment on the United Nations Secretariat staff, many of whom were actually employed; many of whom are still there; many of whom, when questioned by congressional committees, take the Fifth Amendment and decline to say whether they are Communists or spies.²⁰

By the middle of 1944, when it was clear that the Nazis were going to be defeated, the Communist conspirators all over the world began working to exploit the military victory of the Grand Alliance, in the interests of Soviet power and world revolution.

Communists, fellow travelers, and Soviet agents who were in key positions in most of the important wartime agencies of the United States government, began filtering into posts where they could exert decisive influence on the postwar policies of the United States.²⁰

Alger Hiss was in charge of the postwar Policy Planning Division of the State Department. When the first United Nations relief activity was organized on a massive scale (the United Nations Re-

relief and Rehabilitation Agency), Communists, Soviet spies, and fellow travelers filled practically all of the controlling positions in that organization.²²

It was largely through the control and clever use of billions of dollars worth of American goods given through UNRRA for relief to people in war-ravaged nations of Central Europe that the Communists managed to take over those nations.²²

The Communist conspirators tried to give the United Nations total control over American foreign policy. They did not succeed completely; but as a result of their manipulations, the United Nations did become the keystone of American foreign policy.

In our fatuous efforts to operate within the framework of the United Nations Charter, we have voluntarily given the United Nations a veto over our foreign policy. For ten years we have operated without an independent foreign policy. We clear all major decisions through the United Nations—or at least with specific allies of ours in the United Nations—in such a way that American foreign policy, in many vital instances, is actually controlled by foreign governments.²⁰

ATTLEE FIRED MacARTHUR?

It is not, for example, stretching a point to say that Clement Attlee, the Socialist Prime Minister of Great Britain, fired General Douglas MacArthur. Harry Truman, of course, actually did the firing—but primarily in response to pressure from England and other United Nations members who wanted to get rid of MacArthur because MacArthur was an implacable foe of communism.

Even the Dean Acheson State Department wanted to give our commanders in Korea the authority to order their air force to follow Communist planes in hot pursuit when the Communists came across the Yalu River to attack our men. But when Acheson cleared this matter with the United Nations, he was turned down. And we left our soldiers in Korea



—Wide World Photo

John Marshall Harlan



—Wide World Photos

Italian children (at top) are served lunch by UNRRA at a school near Pietrala. Another phase of UNRRA work has the girls (lower photo) sorting discarded U.S. Army boots for repair and distribution to the Italian people.

to be strafed and murdered by the enemy, and wouldn't let them strike back.²³

The Communist conspirators have managed to control American foreign policy by the simple device of hypnotizing us with the senseless idea of collective security through the United Nations.

The phrase, "collective security," incidentally, is a coinage of that foxy old Bolshevik, Maxim Litvinov, who obtained recognition for the Soviet Union from President Roosevelt back in 1933.

On many tragic occasions—such as those in Korea, when we held our armies back to keep them from destroying the Communists; when we sent drafted American boys to die in Korea, instead of giving training and equipment to adequate numbers of South Koreans and Chinese Nationalists who wanted to fight the Communists; when we walked into truce talk traps that the Communists set for us; and when we accepted, finally, the Communist terms for a stalemate armistice and thus saved the Communists from utter ruin—we were voluntarily surrendering to the United Nations our essential sovereignty: that is, our independence to take strong, unilateral action in our own national interest.²³

The Communist conspirators who worked feverishly behind the scenes to

set up the United Nations planned to control American domestic policy indirectly through the United Nations and its specialized agencies by committing America, through treaties and executive agreements, to socialistic legislation, foreign giveaway programs, and international trade concessions.²⁰

INROADS UPON U.S. LAW AND LIFE

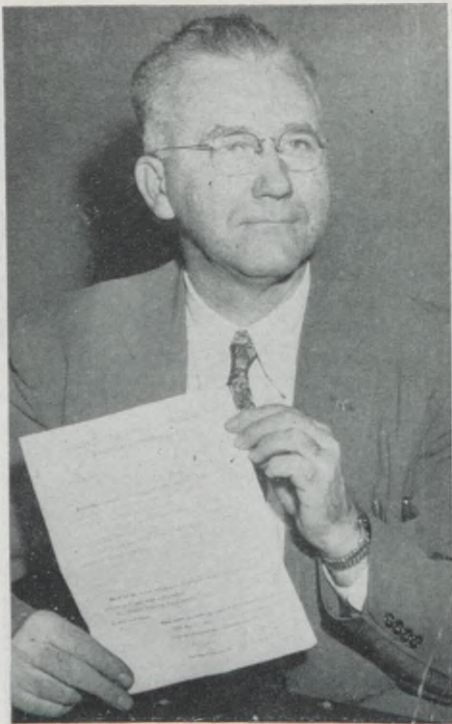
Here again, they have not wholly succeeded; but they have made dangerous inroads upon American constitutional law and upon our own control over our own lives.

UN schemers prepared a charter for a UN agency to be called the International Trade Organization. This thing would have given United Nations bureaucrats autocratic control over American foreign commerce. The Acheson State Department approved this ITO thing, but it died when Congress refused to support it.²⁴

The UN schemers are, nonetheless, partially achieving the ITO objective through GATT—the General Agreements on Trade and Tariffs—which can be handled by executive action without congressional approval.

American laws—dealing with strictly local, domestic American affairs—have

(Continued on Page 58)



—Wide World Photo

THE UNTOLD OPPENHEIMER STORY

by Paul Crouch

Paul Crouch (above) was the first man publicly to accuse Robert Oppenheimer of Communist party activity. Crouch is an ex-Communist who left the party during World War II. He has appeared before juries, grand juries, and investigating committees sixty-three times.

Drew Pearson, the Alsop brothers, and Harvey Matusow have said that Crouch is unreliable.

Most of what Crouch said about Oppenheimer in 1950 and 1951 has been corroborated by later testimony, including that of Dr. Oppenheimer. Certain items are still in doubt. Crouch has never been indicted for perjury or cited for contempt. He has not claimed the Fifth Amendment or reversed his testimony.

The Alsops wrote in April, 1954: "...if it does turn out that Dr. Oppenheimer was a secret Communist throughout the time he was running the Los Alamos atomic project, informer Crouch will be thoroughly vindicated — though the nation may well despair."

Since then the Gray Board and the Atomic Energy Commission have determined that Oppenheimer is a security risk.

Crouch has filed suit against the *New York Herald Tribune* for \$500,000 for publishing and distributing attacks on him by the Alsop brothers. Crouch has notified Pearson that he will sue him if Pearson does not retract certain statements about Crouch.

A key episode in this affair is a Communist party meeting in Berkeley, California, in July, 1941. Crouch, then a Communist party leader, was the speaker. He and his wife, Sylvia, later said that they saw Oppenheimer at that meeting, though at the time they did not know who he was. Oppenheimer has denied having attended the meeting.

"He has the mind of a genius!" I thought, as everyone's attention focused on a thin, tense, wiry man seated directly in front of the fireplace. His questions—difficult for me to answer—revealed true understanding of Communist philosophy and theory.

He was hurling questions at me in quick succession: "How can we be sure that Great Britain will not double-cross the Soviet Union? I agree that we must give all-out aid to the Soviet Union. But should we also aid the imperialist government of Great Britain? Do we not now have two wars—one a continuation of the imperialist war between Germany and Great Britain, the other a people's war between Germany and the Soviet Union?"

These were not easy questions for any Communist party leader to answer at that time. I had to go back to the most fundamental points of Marxian theory to answer them in a convincing way. Apparently everyone present, including the intent stranger, finally was satisfied with the new line and the reasons for it.

After the meeting was adjourned the brilliant questioner came over to where I stood and talked with me for perhaps ten minutes, discussing the new developments in the international situation and the Communist party's analysis of the turn of events.

As he walked away Kenneth May, who had been standing near us, remarked, "He is a very famous scientist." People were not introduced to each other at party meetings of that nature. I did not know then in 1941 that the name of the "famous scientist" was Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

• • •

To understand the amazing and bizarre facts about Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, his wife and brother, and also to make an objective appraisal of the success of Soviet espionage, it is necessary in both cases to go back twenty-seven years.

An idea in the mind of a Russian-born scientist, Marcel Scherer, in the summer of 1928 has already done much to change the entire course of history; and it is still too early to tell the ultimate outcome. It could yet lead to the doom of our nation and of civilization.

I must take the reader back to 1928, otherwise the rest of my story would make little sense. The importance of even seemingly irrelevant points will become obvious as the story unfolds.

In 1928 I was a leading Communist official, head of the national department of the party for infiltration of the armed forces. This department sent selected Reds into the Army, Navy, National Guard, ROTC, and all other branches of the military services. The objectives were to form secret cells for ultimate espionage, sabotage, and other steps in time of war that would insure the defeat of the United States, and also to obtain military training for Communists at the expense of the "enemy" American government.

In late April I returned from Moscow, after months of directives and instruction from the General Staff of the Red army, after participation in commissions and conferences where detailed plans were worked out for activities during the "inevitable" war of the future between the Soviet Union and the United States and other capitalist countries. Under supervision of the highest officials of the Soviet government, plans were formulated for espionage, sabotage, and other steps intended to insure the defeat and destruction of the "capitalist" governments of the United States and other countries.

My assistant (who later succeeded me as head of the department) was Walter M. Trumbull,* educated at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Trumbull, a brilliant man with considerable scientific knowledge, had served with me in the U.S. Army and in 1925, while in uniform, we had together founded the Hawaiian Communist League. That event and resulting publicity had skyrocketed Trumbull and me to important positions of leadership in the world Communist movement.

One of our closest friends in New

(Continued on Page 55)

*Walter M. Trumbull died in 1944. During the war years he worked with RCA, contributing important inventions to the field of electronics, some resulting in saving thousands of man-hours.

IN BEHALF OF OPPENHEIMER

During the hearings before the AEC Personnel Security Board (Gray Board) April 12-May 6, 1954, a succession of distinguished character witnesses testified regarding their confidence in Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. As the Paul Crouch narrative is unfolded during the next few months, FACTS FORUM NEWS will publish contrasting statements by leading scientists and government officials who worked with Oppenheimer. The first of these is the famous scientist Dr. Hans Bethe. Future issues will include statements by David E. Lillenthal, George F. Kennan, John J. McCloy, and James B. Conant.

Witness: Dr. Hans Bethe

Interrogator: Herbert S. Marks

Date: April 19, 1954

Q. Dr. Bethe, will you please identify yourself and give a little account of your professional background?

A. I am a professor of physics. I have been a professor at Cornell University since 1935. I have been at Cornell all the time except during the war years when I was absent on war work, including a prolonged stay at Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory.

I am also this year the president of the American Physical Society.

Q. You are a member also of the National Academy of Science?

A. I am.

Q. Are you an American citizen?

A. Yes.

Q. By naturalization?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you come to this country?

A. In 1935.

Q. And where did you come from?

A. I came originally from Germany. I left Germany in 1933 because of the Nazi persecutions when I knew that I could not hold office under the Nazi regime. I first went to England and then came to this country.

Q. Since the war years have you had a connection with the atomic energy program?

A. Yes, I have. I have been a consultant to several laboratories of the Atomic Energy Commission. I have spent most of my consultations for the Los Alamos Laboratory. I have almost regularly spent summers at Los Alamos since 1949, I believe. I have taken off a whole semester in the spring of 1952 to help the Los Alamos work.

Q. How would you describe your role, as that of a consultant?

A. I am a consultant on matters of theoretical physics. I believe I am one of the chief consultants in theoretical physics to Los Alamos.

Q. What was your first acquaintance with Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. I first met Dr. Oppenheimer very briefly during a meeting of the German Physical Society at a regional section of it in 1929.

Q. When was your next connection with him?

A. The next that I remember was in 1940 on the occasion of a meeting of the American Physical Society at Seattle, Wash.

Q. What have been your associations or contacts with him since that time?

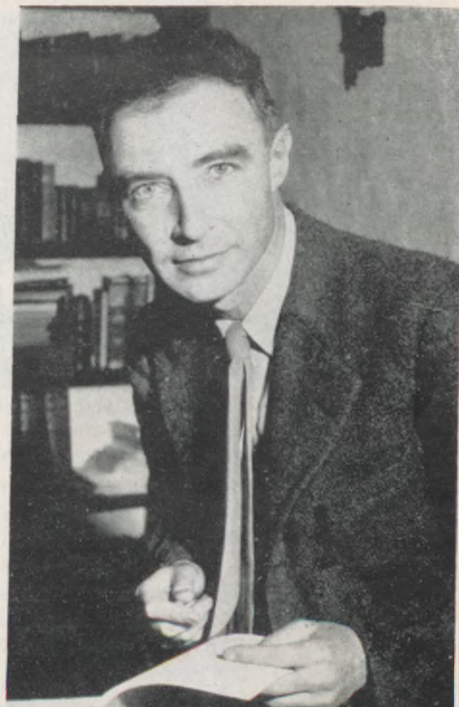
A. I have seen him quite frequently, especially we had a very deep association during the Los Alamos time, during the war, when he was the director of the laboratory, and I was the leader of the theoretical division of Los Alamos.

Q. How often have you seen him since the war?

A. I would say an average of perhaps three times a year, some years more, some years less.

Q. Have these contacts since the war had anything to do with your official connections with the atomic energy program?

A. Yes, many of the contacts had. Some were purely on matters of physics outside the atomic energy program, but many of our contacts have been connected with the atomic energy program—I in my capacity as consultant to Los Alamos, and he in his capacity as chairman of the General Advisory Committee—not that these contacts were also formal in a meeting of the Advisory Committee, but we often talked about these matters.



—Wide World Photo

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer

Q. How far back does your own familiarity with Dr. Oppenheimer's political associations and activities go?

A. I heard about his political inclination in 1938 from some good friends of ours, Dr. Weisskopf and Dr. Placzek, who is mentioned in Dr. Oppenheimer's answer letter, and I understood from them that he was inclined rather far to the left.

Q. Coming to the work on the atomic bomb, would you tell us briefly about the part that you and he played in the work on this subject before Los Alamos was formed and then subsequently during the Los Alamos days?

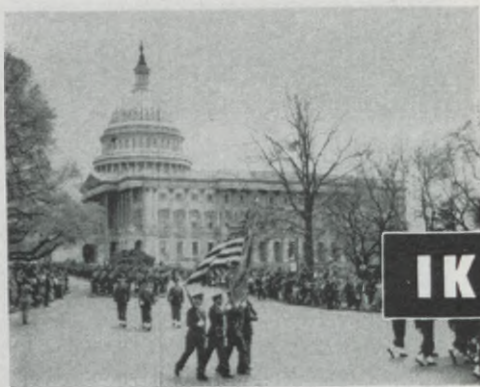
A. Our association began in 1942, on this matter. Dr. Oppenheimer called together a group of theoretical physicists, to discuss the way how an atomic bomb could be assembled. This was a small group of about seven people or so. We met in Berkeley for the summer of 1942. We first thought it would be a very simple thing to figure out this problem, and we soon saw how wrong we were.

Q. What about Los Alamos? When did you join the Los Alamos group?

A. Between that time and Los Alamos, the first was the time when Los Alamos was being created. It was a very hard task to create this laboratory. Most scientists were already involved in war work very deeply and it required somebody of very great enthusiasm to persuade them to leave their jobs and to join the new enterprise of Los Alamos. I think nobody else could have done this than Dr. Oppenheimer. He was successful in getting together a group of really outstanding people.

At Los Alamos, as I mentioned be-

(Continued on Page 43)



—Wide World Photo

Dan Smoot Poses the Question:

DO YOU APPROVE OF

IKE'S MILITARY SERVICE PLAN?

America's present Selective Service Law expires in June, 1955.

In his State of the Union message on January 6, 1955, President Eisenhower asked that the draft law be extended for another two years. He also suggested a reserve service plan to build and maintain powerful civilian reserves of manpower.

Facts Forum's question: Do you approve of Ike's new military service plan?

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

ONE of the best arguments for Ike's military service plan is to be found in his own words—in the brief section of his State of the Union message where his plan is formally announced.¹

The President said that his plan was designed to "assure our people not only of adequate protection but also of a defense that can be carried forward from year to year until the threat of aggression has disappeared."²

Since the 1940 draft act was passed, we have met the emergencies of national defense with compulsory induction for the regular armed forces of the United States. Draft regulations and requirements have varied, of course, according to the seriousness of the emergency involved.²

When the Korean war broke out in June, 1950, we had no real reserve, and our active armed force was relatively small. The result was that many veterans of the Army, Navy, and Air Force—men who had done their share of the fighting in World War II—were called back to serve two years more or to serve until they died.³

"FREE RIDE" FOR SOME

We reacted to the emergency by increasing selective service inductions, and before long we were sending half-trained recruits to Korea to fight with the veterans. But there were still about two million young men who had become qualified for military service since World War II but who never served in

uniform. These men got what President Eisenhower has called a "free ride."³

This situation could have been prevented if the nation had listened in 1944 to American military leaders who were laying plans for a universal military training program.

Instead, we demobilized at the conclusion of hostilities in 1945; and no concerted drive to develop a universal military training program began until months after the outbreak of the Korean war.

But, tragically enough, this drive was stopped cold in March, 1952, by a sudden, hysterical outburst from a strange assortment of pressure groups all over the nation.⁴

In 1951, men of vision in our Congress passed a law approving of UMT in principle; but in 1952, when they were trying to enact legislation to get the program started, they lost courage in the face of public pressure and killed the measure.⁴

Eisenhower's new plan for military service will remove much of the uncertainty which for fifteen years has plagued America's young men.

Draft calls are now being cut in half. This means that draft requirements can be filled from groups of age 22 or 23. Reduced demand for youths of 21 and younger will mean that almost all young men can make their college plans with assurance. The average youth can know that he will not be reached by the draft during a four-year college course, whether or not he remains in the upper levels scholastically.⁵

The draft itself will go on, but increases in pay for men who wish to reenlist will be an inducement for a regular army career. This will cut down the draft requirements.⁵

Any young man who wishes to avoid the draft may volunteer for regular two-year active service in the branch of his choice; or he may volunteer for the new form of reserve training, undergoing active training for six months and then serving nine and a half years in active reserve units.⁵

This active reserve plan will provide a reserve force ready to move out on short notice for limited emergency use.

By 1959, this program is expected to

produce an active reserve force of about three million men, plus an inactive reserve force of another two million men.⁵

While the plan would add to the cost of the reserve program—possibly 350 million dollars over the 700 million dollars now allotted—the expenditure is justified because it strengthens the national defense. And when national survival is at stake, it is ridiculous to hobble our efforts by penny-pinching.

50 YEARS OF TENSION?

President Eisenhower has warned the country that we are up against a long period of tension with the Communist world. He says it may be as much as fifty years. The best we can hope for is to keep a cold war from turning into a hot one during that long period. The only way we can do that is to keep constantly strong, for any sign of military weakness here might entice the Soviets to try an atomic war.⁶

Every proposal for any kind of fair, universal training plan has met with the cry that universal conscription breeds militarism. Right now, however, we



—Wide World Photo

President Eisenhower smiled and waved during the ovation for him in the House as he came to address Congress with his State of the Union message. Behind him are Vice President Nixon and House Speaker Rayburn (D-Tex.).



—Wide World Photos

Recruits arriving at Fort Dix, N. J., find out that it doesn't take the Army long to transform them from civilians into soldiers.

have well over three million men under arms—enough for any aspiring dictator if he knew how to manipulate them—and nobody seems to think they put our liberties in jeopardy.³

Actually, Eisenhower's proposal would decrease the standing armed forces—reducing the danger of militarism.

Not since the British came up the Potomac and burned the Capitol, the White House, and the Treasury have we faced the possibility of an attack upon our own homeland. We have been fortunate in fighting our wars away from our home soil. We can no longer expect that advantage. There can be no question that the Soviets have both the A-bomb and the H-bomb, and they have the long-range facilities to deliver them. If war should come, we would have to defend ourselves against air attacks.⁷

Eisenhower's reserve plan is actually a 1955 version of the Minute Man who stood, musket in hand, ready to spring to the defense when his nation was threatened and return to his civilian activities when the threat was put down. This concept of the citizen-soldier has much to recommend it. No nation, not even the Soviet dictatorship, can maintain continuously the level of mobilization required by all-out hostilities. The cost would not only be prohibitive, but the subtraction of able manpower from productive work would cripple our economy.⁸

In every age and every nation a balance must be struck between ready and reserve elements of the armed forces. The ideal situation is an adequate manpower pool in reserve that can be swiftly incorporated into a regular organiza-

tion, with a minimum of red tape and refresher training and without serious disruption of the domestic economy.⁸

PREJUDICE BROKEN DOWN

While Americans have traditionally been opposed to universal conscription, the experiences of World War II and of the Korean war have broken down most of the prejudice. We are now awakened to the need for a fair, democratic, and effective method of building up the nation's defenses, with equal responsibility for all.

Karl T. Compton, who headed President Truman's commission on UMT, has outlined the necessity for some kind of national security training:⁹

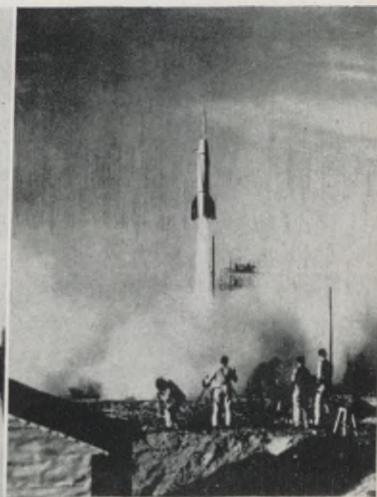
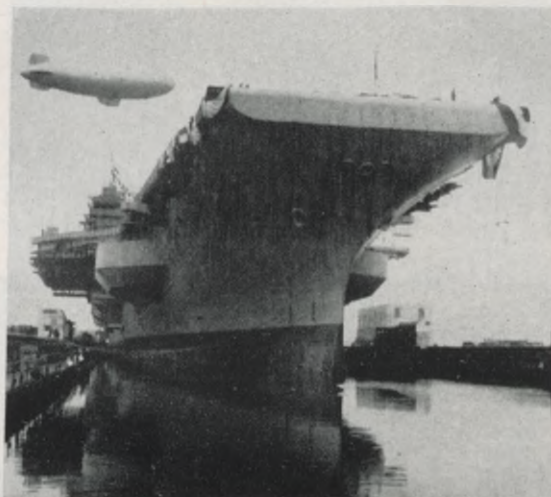
(1) It would act as a deterrent to Soviet aggression and as a strong support to the freedom-loving peoples of the earth in their efforts to establish the rule of international law and justice through the United Nations. By providing an enduring base for our military strength, we can negate the Soviet scheme to enslave the world and, by the same token, strengthen the will to resist

of those who are already under the Kremlin's heel or vulnerable to Russian attack.⁹

(2) It would give us maximum security at minimum cost. The most expensive type of national defense is the kind we have now—the kind that is measured by the number of men we have under arms at any given moment. It is the most expensive in terms of dollars and in its drain of productive manpower.⁹

(3) If war should come, it would reduce the time required for total mobilization. Even under our present costly system we do not begin to have the men in the armed forces that would be needed to fight a large-scale war. We would have to call up three men from civilian life for every one now in uniform. How quickly those men could be trained and organized into combat units might represent the margin between survival and extinction for our country.⁹

(4) It represents the best hope for a meaningful civil defense organization, competent to deal with a sudden and vicious attack upon our cities. In every community, there would be men whose



—Wide World Photos

(Top left) U.S. Navy blimp hovers over the U.S.S. Forrestal, giant 60-thousand-ton carrier; (top right) Army's two-stage "bumper" rocket at the long-range proving ground at Cocoa, Fla.; (lower left) Europe-bound infantrymen parade up Broadway; (lower right) Air Force pilots dash to jet fighter-interceptors during practice maneuvers in defending coastal area from possible attack.

military training would be a great help.⁹

(5) From the standpoint of the men as well as the nation, it would provide for the fulfillment of military duty at the time that entailed least disruption of civilian life. After once serving his active time, no young man would be called away from home except in an emergency; and that possibility would exist with or without the reserve training program.⁹

(6) It would eliminate injustice to veterans by providing for a democratic sharing of the liability for national defense.

Many arguments have been raised against the reserve training program, most of which, when examined carefully, have little or no merit.⁹

One argument is that the reserve program is valueless because of the development of push-button warfare based on the use of superweapons in place of masses of military manpower. None of our military or scientific leaders, however, agrees that we have reached the day when we can fight a war without men. On the contrary, each new development in warfare increases the number of men and the degree of training required.⁹

The next argument, then, says that six months is too short for worthwhile training. The answer to this argument is that any training program must represent a balance between the requirements of the military departments and the competing considerations of the civilian economy and of family life. There are

many weapons and military operations that take six, eight, or even ten years to master. But ranking officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force are unanimous in their conviction that six months of intensive basic training, plus reserve duty, will represent a genuine contribution toward preparedness.⁹

EVER-PRESENT ARGUMENT

There is also the ever-present argument that the program will lead to militarism and the building up of a military caste system in this country. The possibility that six months of training will turn our youth into militarists seems unworthy of a serious consideration when one considers the absence of any militaristic spirit among the millions of American veterans who spent years on combat duty in two world wars and then took their places among our most responsible and peaceful citizens as soon as they returned to their homes. The reserve program concept is geared to reduce, rather than enhance, the danger of militarism in the United States. It eliminates the need for maintaining a large standing force over a great number of years; it provides for the most equitable distribution of the security burden, thus reinforcing the democratic ideal; and it actually permits more civilian control than a standing army program does.⁹

The exigencies of the international situation that faces us simply do not permit continued delay in the matter of universal military training. If we hope



—Wide World Photo

The late Dr. Karl T. Compton

to prevent a hot war, or to defend ourselves if war should come, we must adopt President Eisenhower's military service plan, and we must provide sufficient appropriations to administer it properly.

* * * * *

That was one side of the question. Now comes the opposite side—arguments of some who DO NOT approve of Eisenhower's new military service plan.

* * * * *



—Wide World Photo

A draft bill that included for the first time a start toward universal military training was signed into law June 19, 1951, by President Truman. Defense Secretary George Marshall (right) and Mrs. Anna Rosenberg (center), Assistant Secretary of Defense, were among those witnessing the ceremony.

WE KNOW that the Soviets' first line of attack against America is from within. America is infinitely more powerful than the Soviet Union—so much more powerful that the Soviets cannot even begin to think about conquering us until they have dangerously weakened us internally. They have been in this phase of the attack against America for years. This is not a military operation and we cannot devise any military defenses against it. This is a war of ideas—a battle for the minds of men.¹⁰

The Soviet shock troops in this battle are American traitors—members of the Communist party and their sympathizers—and the misguided idealists who unwittingly do their work for them.

If, by infiltration and subversion, the Communists could cut us loose from the moorings of our own traditions and principles and national pride, and prepare us to accept what they call the wave of the future, the planned economy, the Socialist state—they could destroy the American constitutional system and integrate America into the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics without firing a shot or landing a soldier on our shores.¹⁰

Obviously, Ike's proposed reserve partially-trained soldiers won't help

counter this kind of Soviet attack.

On the contrary, in accepting the idea of peacetime compulsory military service, we have already lost one of the most important battles in the great war to save the American way of life.¹⁰

We have sent American soldiers to die on foreign soil in three wars in one generation — ostensibly to resist the spread of dictatorships. What is the essential feature of dictatorship? Compulsory military service.

Why did we repudiate our own traditions and ideals in 1940 and adopt compulsory military service, the very thing that we hated most about the dictators?¹⁰

Don't you remember? We were told that the draft law would keep us out of war. The only way for us to avoid war was to mobilize, build up such massive military strength that the dictators would leave us alone.

So we mobilized. On October 16, 1940, all American men in the proper age groups registered for the first peacetime draft in American history. That was going to keep us out of war. The next year we went to war.

As early as 1944, while the war was still going on and the people were likely to take anything, our top leaders began a quiet drive to fasten compulsory military service on the nation permanently by adopting universal military training.¹¹

RECKLESS HASTE AND WASTE

They didn't get it done, however. In fact, our leaders led us a fantastic distance in the opposite direction. With reckless waste and haste, we demobilized. Overnight we junked, dumped in the ocean, and gave away the greatest collection of fighting equipment in the history of the world.

That — together with secret agreements which Roosevelt and Truman had made with Stalin at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam — created all over the world power vacuums into which Soviet power flowed.

In less than five years after World War II ended, we were at war again — against the puppets of our partner in the United Nations, our former gallant ally: the Soviet Union.¹²

The drive for universal military training started all over again.

For many critical months, the American people apparently paid no attention to what was going on in Washington and, by their silence, gave approval to the schemes for UMT.

But suddenly there came a swelling outburst of public indignation, which had an immediate effect. The UMT law was shelved by a roll-call vote in the House on March 5, 1952.

Four months later — July, 1952 — our two major political parties nominated as candidates for the presidency two men who were on record as favoring

universal military training: Adlai Stevenson and Dwight D. Eisenhower.¹³

After the election, Eisenhower indicated that he would not ask for a UMT program.

But this reserve service plan of his is, in essentials, identical with the scheme that was called universal military training in 1952.

The reserve service is to be a volunteer service, but we will also continue the compulsory draft. The draft is intended as a club to make the boys volunteer for reserve service.⁵

If they volunteer, they will be given six months of actual training and then placed in an active reserve for nine and a half years, during which time they

this Status of Forces Treaty agreement with most of the 59 nations where American troops are now serving. All of them, of course, have laws which are strange to American soldiers. We have no way of knowing how many of the five hundred some-odd American soldiers already in foreign jails as a result of this treaty were sent to jail on trumped-up charges or for doing something that they did not know was a violation of law when they did it.¹⁴

This is the kind of thing American boys must anticipate if they don't volunteer for Ike's reserve service plan.¹⁴

After the draftees have served their two-year hitch — if they are still alive and not in jail — they are placed in the



—Wide World Photo

President Eisenhower and members of his National Security Training Commission shown Dec. 14, 1953, after a report was received from the commission which stated that a military training system and a draft can be operated at the same time by using a lottery. Left to right, seated: Eisenhower and Julius Ochs Adler of New York, commission chairman. Standing: Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid, Retired, of Washington; Lt. Gen. Raymond B. McClain of Oklahoma City, Warren H. Atherton of Stockton, Calif., and Dr. Karl T. Compton of Cambridge, Mass.

must attend drill one night every week and go to summer encampment two weeks out of every year. The military has them on tap and in hand for ten years.⁵

If a boy does not volunteer for this service, he will be drafted and assigned to the least desirable service for a two-year hitch. The draftee, moreover, can be shipped overseas.⁵

This is most important because, when our Senate ratified the Status of Forces Treaty in July, 1953, we gave away the constitutional rights of our soldiers serving overseas and surrendered criminal jurisdiction over them to foreign governments.

If an American soldier gets in trouble in France and comes before a Communist judge, the American Army can no longer get him and try him in an American military court. America must turn her back on her own soldier and let the Communist judge have him. We have

active reserve, along with the volunteers, where they too must serve out their ten years by attending weekly drills and annual encampments.

All this in the name of national defense! Defense against what?¹⁵

Recall what a terrible strain it is on us — powerful as we are — every time we send our armies across the oceans to save somebody from something or other. There is no nation or group of nations on earth — and that includes all of them put together — which could get enough men and materiel on our shores to make a successful land invasion of our homeland.¹⁵

Obviously, the millions of half-trained boys the Pentagon wants are not needed to defend America against that kind of attack. No one in his right mind believes that such an attack will ever be made. But if one were, we would not need a compulsory military service law to make American men defend America. The

spirit of the Texas Alamo is not entirely dead in any of the forty-eight states—nor in the District of Columbia.¹⁵

Is America in danger of any kind of military attack from abroad?

We are told that the Soviets have the same superweapons we have: atom and hydrogen bombs. We know they have a vast fleet of bombers capable of making, from their home bases, round-trip bombing runs on most of our major cities. We know they have an immense fleet of submarines with an around-the-world range, capable of sneaking in close to our shores, where the crews could quickly assemble small V-2 type rockets with hydrogen bomb war heads and fire them with rifle-like accuracy into the centers of our big coastal cities.¹¹

NORTH AMERICA JUST A CINDER?

On the basis of what has been revealed publicly, we must assume that the Soviets also have a thing called the "international ballistics missile." This is a guided weapon which could be fired from launching platforms in Siberia and which theoretically has the potentiality, not merely of wiping out a few American cities, but of reducing the North American continent to a cinder.¹¹

All of these frightful things are in the hands of tyrants so accustomed to shedding the blood of their own people that human life is meaningless to them.

Yes, indeed, America is in danger of attack from abroad.¹¹

But how much good will it do us to have five million or twenty million American boys scattered around the country in the active reserve or serving overseas if such an attack is ever made?

Do we have any defense against this kind of attack?

Only recently have we made a beginning. But we don't have enough money

to do it quickly or adequately. We are building this kind of defense on a penny-pinching basis, because we must have enough money for foreign aid, and standing armies, and overseas troops.

We have known about the danger of this kind of attack for several years. We have known that this is the only kind of attack that can be made against us. For many years, our government has been taking from us in taxes many times more than enough to build the kind of defenses we need, but still don't have.¹¹

AMERICANS PAY—DEFRAY GIVEAWAY

What has our government been doing with all that money?

Paying the bills of the United Nations; giving and lending abroad for building facilities that will more likely be used against us than for us in the event of a war with Russia; maintaining vast armies of American soldiers and civilian employees all over the earth; and building, in foreign lands, military bases which we may never be permitted to use or which might be taken over and used by the Communists.

Now, while still curtailing our expenditures on the only kind of defense that might some day save us from destruction, the Pentagon wants to spend from three to twelve billion dollars a year on this strange compulsory military service program.

The kind of defense establishment that we need can be built only with superior scientific and industrial knowledge, experience, facilities, and ability. It could be manned by a relatively small number of highly-trained experts, who do not need to be drafted—who could be hired at wages high enough to compete with what they could get for their skills elsewhere. This would be a real spur to youngsters to acquire, on their own, training and skills which they could sell at a good price.¹⁶



—Wide World Photo

In 1948, petitions urging UMT were presented to legislators in Washington by representatives of the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense. Left to right, Speaker Joseph Martin, Jr. (R-Mass.); Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau of Greenwich, Conn.; Mrs. Lee W. Hutton of Excelsior, Minn., national president of the American Legion Auxiliary; Mrs. Sally Cannon of Washington, D. C., and Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R-Mich.).

Compulsory military service takes millions of our best young men out of productive jobs or away from advanced technical or industrial or scientific training, or out of colleges—forcing them to waste their time and the taxpayers' money acquiring a little smattering of military training which is totally useless in defending the nation.¹⁶

NOT THE DEFENSE NEEDED

In short, no kind of compulsory military service can give us the defense we need. Any kind, on the other hand, wastes so much of our manpower and money that we cannot afford adequate defenses of the type that could protect us.¹⁶

Finally, when these military reserves reach such numbers that they and their families constitute the largest voting bloc in the nation, will Congress resist their pressures for more and bigger veterans' benefits—free hospitalization, free medical care, pensions, bonuses, government-subsidized housing, government-subsidized education?

We are plunging blindly into an era that resembles the twilight period of ancient Rome, when the Roman Legions had become so powerful that they demanded special favors which emptied the public treasury, pauperized the people, and destroyed the nation.

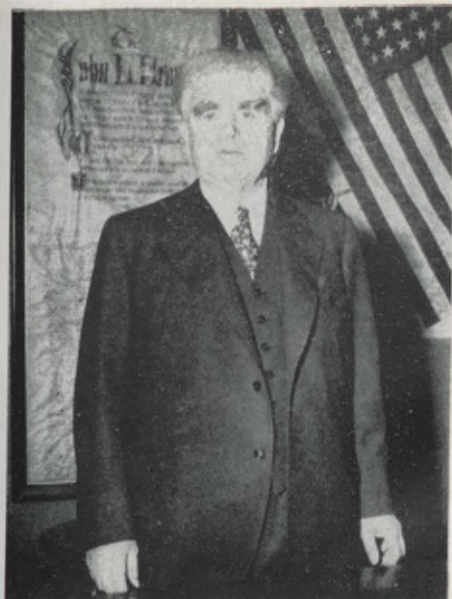
"National defense"—the cry with which the Soviets justify their slave labor camps—is the one which we are using to justify the destruction of everything that America stands for.

(Continued on Page 23)



—Wide World Photos

Army, Marines and Navy were represented in 1940 standing guard over the draft bowl before the Liberty Bell in Independence Hall. The bowl was used by President Wilson in 1917. The bowl was used again (at right) in the first peacetime draft in history. Staff Sgt. Robert Shackleton of Fort Dix, N. J., picked the first number from the "goldfish bowl" in August, 1941. Assisting Shackleton is Col. Charles Morris, who blindfolded Newton Baker for the first world war lottery in 1917.



—Wide World Photo

JOHN L. LEWIS

With Might and Main

by J. L. Ewing, III

FEBRUARY 12 was celebrated throughout the United States as the birthday of one of the greatest presidents in the history of the nation, Abraham Lincoln. In some sections of the United States it was a dual celebration, for the twelfth of February is also the birthday of John L. Lewis, virtual czar of the coal mines, and head of the United Mine Workers of America.

Seventy-five eventful years — fruitful or destructive years, depending upon whose side one may be in a discussion of Lewis' life.

It is curious indeed to understand who Lewis' real opponents are in these politically confusing times. It would seem that they have changed from the "old days." In fact, some of his closest friends and strongest supporters are now found on the conservative side of the political fence.

Many leaders of large unions consider him "old," a "miserable roadblock" on their path to success. One CIO lawyer in the South stated candidly that all the old reactionary union leaders are gone and only Lewis is left. "Don't worry about him," he added.

Thus, Lewis is placed in the same category as Green, Murray, and other late founders of the late American Union Movement. The implication is clear—because John L. Lewis is not a Marxist, he is a "stone" in the "road" to Utopia.

A mine owner whose enterprises Lewis frequently used to "raid" remarked that it was at least better to deal with American-minded unionists — no matter how terrible — than to deal with the emissary of a foreign ideology and perhaps even a foreign power.

John Llewellyn Lewis' policies earned

him the hate of many Americans in all walks of life who saw his demands on the coal industry disrupt labor peace time and time again. In internal union politics and affairs, he was awarded the hate of union leaders throughout the organized movement. Even some of his miners now see him as one cause of their present situation.

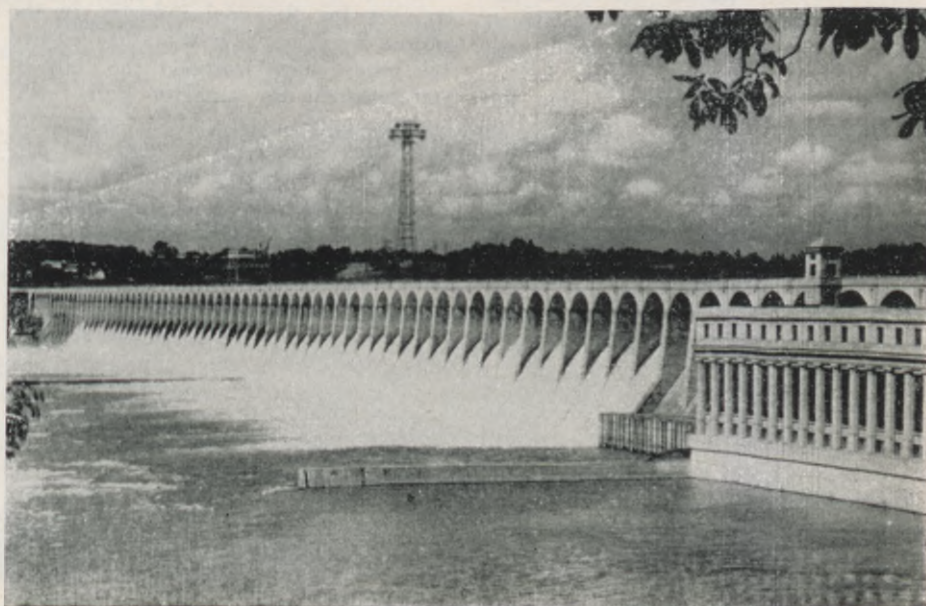
On the other hand, the United Mine Workers is one of the most powerful and wealthy unions in the country. It owns two of the largest banking institutions in the nation's capital, besides large blocs of corporate stock, and still has a most effective voice in union affairs.

Yet the coal industry today is not a healthy industry. It is tragically sick. Many economists through the years have stated that the UMW policies would eventually price coal out of the "energy market."

Consider the present situation. In this era of atomic energy and rocket ships,

the production of coal is not quite up to the figure of the Wright Brothers-Kitty Hawk era at the turn of the century. In 1907, for instance, more bituminous coal was mined than in 1954. Not since 1886 has there been such a bad year in the anthracite industry. There is now a total unemployment of nearly 150,000 workers, and those who work average only three days each week. True enough, the pay scale of the workers is far greater than was ever dreamed in the "old days," but could it be that too much of a good thing has resulted in something evil? If no one buys coal, certainly there is no necessity for operation of the mines.

Thus it can be said that the high price of coal has greatly assisted other power industries in converting the American industrial machine away from coal. The railroads, for instance, have converted in great part from coal to either electricity or diesel oil. There is some speculation that even atomic energy may be used to power locomotives.



TVA's Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals, Ala.

—Wide World Photo



—Wide World Photo

Edgar H. Dixon

Homes are being heated all over the nation by oil and natural gas, thanks to the national pipeline system, which in the past ten years has been extended throughout the nation, including coal-burning areas.

The result is that today coal supplies only some 30 per cent of America's "energy" instead of the formerly great figure of 90 per cent at the turn of the century.

Yet it may also be argued that any industry should support first those who work in it, and only those should work in it whom it can support. Lewis' actions can be ably defended by a mere description of the condition of the industry miner-wise during the "heyday." The lot of the average miner is far better than it was fifty years ago. Thanks to Mr. Lewis, safety in the mines, which was at one time almost nonexistent, is now a paramount feature. The UMW, under Mr. Lewis' guidance, has been insistent that the condition of the mines be improved to meet rigid standards set down by the union.

In the old days, in many mining areas, each mountain community was separated to an almost unbelievable extent. In each little mining town, the coal company owned the stores from which the miners procured food and the necessities of living. Wages were fantastically low and the miner was always in debt. He could not leave the mines, nor could he improve his lot. Conditions down inside the mines were appalling and human life seemed to be not highly valued. Since then, thanks to Mr. Lewis, this has changed.

The lot of the average miner today

is good so long as he is working. Through the years, Lewis has changed bad conditions to extremely good ones. Friend and foe acknowledge that his stature is heroic. Unfortunately, many say he has gone too far. Now, he has been forced to make an "agonizing reappraisal" of his own industry. Already he has priced himself, his miners and the mine owners almost out of their jobs in many areas, so Lewis, the hard-bitten independent, the man who hated government interference, has had to turn to that which he used to despise—namely, the government.

Lewis is also, out of necessity, forced into a position of partnership with management. He has recommended that the government set up a "national fuels policy" which would permit coal to participate in the national economy, at least to the extent that existing investments of both the mine owners and the UMW are protected. In short, John Lewis wants the government to set up a definite line whereby the uses of coal would be firm and guaranteed and protected from other "energy products." Moreover, he wants American coal promoted all over the world.

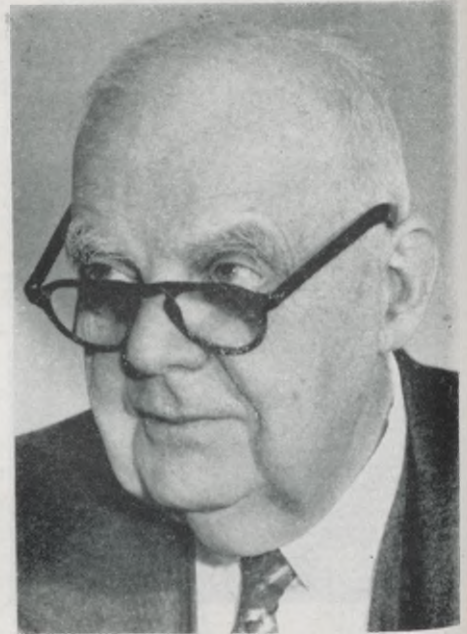
At the same time a committee of state governors has recommended that Congress consider the importance of coal to the security of the nation.

Both Lewis and spokesmen for the mine owners are in agreement that imports of oil in certain areas should be halted. However, the mine owners blame part of their position on government interference, restrictions, and limitations on their operations. Moreover, the government, they claim, supported other "energy products" at the expense of coal.

Lewis has become a foremost protagonist for the coal industry in the nation. He in his later years has learned (as others have learned) the folly of extremism in any capacity. Both Lewis and the mine owners are in agreement that to save themselves, they must prevent further inroads from other sources.

Politically speaking, John Lewis, the gruff demon of the mine owners, the ogre from whom mine owners' children once were taught to flee, has become one of the finest allies of the coal operators. On the other hand, he is also a power behind the mine owners—each is dependent on the other.

As an example of the love pact between the mine owners and Lewis, the able warrior has petitioned the federal government to protect the high wages of the miners through the use of the Walsh-Healy Act. This legislation was designed to protect wages of low-



—Wide World Photo

Eugene A. Yates

paid industrial workers, such as those employed in the tobacco, paint, shoe, and drug industries. Moreover, Lewis has accused the Tennessee Valley Authority of buying coal from nonunion plants at a considerably lower price than would be the case were TVA to buy from the UMW contract mines. In his appeal to the government, and in particular Labor Secretary Mitchell, Lewis is joined by several coal operators.

It is said that Secretary Mitchell is not at all unsympathetic to Lewis' views. Lewis has not only joined forces with the mine owners, he is in apparent agreement with two other gentlemen—namely the Messrs. Dixon and Yates—who also are considered in some quarters to be in opposition to TVA. Perhaps Lewis feels that the UMW would actually be better able to bargain with private industry than with the government. If so, he is not alone in a large and growing field of labor leaders both at home and abroad, who are learning at the expense of their unions and union members that it is far easier to deal with private industry which, after all, is still competitive, rather than with a government enterprise.

Today coal may be in serious trouble. The troubles may continue to multiply but the long-range outlook is good. Looking far into the future of several decades, fuel experts seem to feel that coal production may even double.

In his seventy-fifth year, John L. Lewis' romance with the coal operators, his apparent shift in philosophy to a more conservative view, and the embattled position of the coal industry in general, make Lewis the lion in a new peaceable kingdom.

The Pros and Cons of

TARIFFS

BY DAN SMOOT

One of the most complicated and controversial problems of today is that of tariffs.

The slogan, "trade, not aid," captures an unusual amount of attention all over the world. The slogan means that foreign nations, which for years have been receiving economic help from us, would now rather have trade with us than aid from us.¹

The slogan is an appeal to America to lower or abolish all tariffs so that foreign products can more readily be sold to us here in the United States.

A national high school debate topic for 1954 was the proposition that our federal government should initiate a policy of free trade with nations friendly to the United States.

Let's examine this subject on a fundamental level—that is, to discuss both sides of the bald question:

"Should America abolish all tariffs?"

* * * * *

First, the arguments of those who say "Yes."

* * * * *

SINCE the end of World War II, American exports have exceeded imports by about five billion dollars a year. We have been able to maintain this unbalance by funneling American taxpayers' money into foreign treasuries to enable them to pay for our goods.

Our foreign aid policy is based on

the realization that our friends in Europe bore the brunt of a devastating war and that our help is essential if they are to get on their feet and restore production and a stable economy.

But our foreign aid investments are more than mere charity. As our friends in Europe become more productive and self-sustaining, they become more efficient allies in our system of collective security against possible aggression—and they become better customers for us.²

Prosperous European allies will provide markets which American business and American farmers need now, and may well need even more in the future.²

Now, after having spent billions of dollars and years of effort to build up the economies of our allies, we are jeopardizing our own investment by tariffs and other trade restrictions which prevent our friends from selling us their products. And we scream if they trade with Communist nations.

Obviously, they must trade with someone. If they cannot trade with us, they must either turn their trade elsewhere or permit their newly revived industries to die. We shall thus lose our gigantic investments in European economic recovery and in the economic development of many other areas of the world.³

If we starve our allies, we shall only starve ourselves in the long run—because we are all dependent on each

other. That is the blunt but accurate way to describe the economic condition of the free world today.

At present, Britain and our other allies get American dollars only on condition that they spend on armaments more than they can properly afford. Our dollars are linked to their subservience to our policy in sustaining the cold war. This cold war is ruining European nations by forcing them to spend on armaments vast sums which they need for useful investment and for maintaining their standard of living.³

The industrial areas of Western Europe have developed on the assumption that they will be able to sell and also to buy in a tolerably open world market, mainly by exchanging manufactured goods and consumer goods for foodstuffs and raw materials from the rest of the world. The indefinite continuance of military expenditures will be fatal to Europe unless she can enjoy brisk foreign trade.

If we do not permit such trade, we will make it impossible for Europe to carry her share of the burden of collective defense, and we will find ourselves cut off from vital raw materials, sources without which our own economy and our own defense system cannot survive.

COMMUNISTS SEEK TRADE WARS

The Communists have always looked for trade wars within the free world. They have always viewed the free world as an economic unit which they should attempt at all costs to divide. Economic unification is the best foundation for a political union.

Look at our own history. The United States was first formed as a political union of 13 sovereign states. Initially, it was difficult to establish a firm union which would protect the varied economic interests of 13 different states. Under the Articles of Confederation, each sovereign state imposed its own restrictions and trade barriers; and trade—both domestic and interna-



—Wide World Photos

Left, Foreign Trade Zone in New Orleans, La. Usual custom restrictions are withheld except on goods shipped through the zone to the United States. At right, Brazil nuts being dried in the New Orleans Foreign Trade Zone for future shipment to stores in the U.S.

tional — fell into chaotic confusion.⁴

But in ratifying the Constitution, all states agreed to impose no burden on interstate commerce, and we now have the largest free trade area in the world.

It would admittedly be much more difficult to establish a free trade system with the peoples of Europe who belong to ancient and varied races, histories, and civilizations. But it is worth a try. The alternative is more American aid, or reduced exports and unemployment, or both.⁴

By abolishing tariffs we would demonstrate to the world that we mean what we say about "free enterprise." While screaming about unfair competition from abroad, socialistic industries, and international cartels, American advocates of the "protectionist" tariff are, in effect, trying to preserve their own brand of government protection and non-competition. We simply aren't practicing what we preach. If we would abandon our tariffs, we would greatly strengthen our own position in urging Europe to abandon restrictive practices and trade policies.³

ECONOMY WOULD GAIN

Our economy, too, would gain from the specialization and comparative advantage in production to be found all over the world.

If Australia can produce wool more efficiently than we can, fine. American wool producers can either increase their efficiency or turn their energies to

something they can do better than the Australians — producing dishwashers, for example. Then the consumers — not just the producers, but all the people, in America as well as in Australia — can enjoy a greater abundance and lower prices of both wool and dishwashers.

Protective tariffs are an essential feature of the economics of scarcity. They represent the same economic thinking of the New Dealers who slaughtered pigs in order to protect the pig market. Under a tariff system, production rather than consumption becomes the objective of industry and commerce; and the interest of the consumer is sacrificed to that of the producer.

In effect, tariffs are an expensive form of price control. You cannot logically defend tariffs and oppose government controls of prices and wages and other violations of the free-market principle.⁵

One of the worst evils of tariffs is that they furnish a rationale — a justification — for a government-controlled economy.

They are, in fact, the original springboard for the arguments of governmental controllers and planners.

Free trade is a feature of the economics of abundance, in which goods are produced to be used. Free trade serves the interest of the consumers rather than the interest of special economic groups.⁵

Free trade promotes prosperity in the

only way possible — abundant production of goods.⁵

High prices and high wages do not spell out prosperity. A man, or a family, or a nation is prosperous materially when it has all the material goods it needs.

Free trade promotes the highest possible production by permitting each region of the earth to specialize in producing those things best suited to its climate, its soil, its resources, or the special skills of its people.

The infant-industry theory always crops up in arguments for tariffs — the theory that new industries cannot compete, while in their infancy, with established foreign industries.

If this theory had any validity, it should be applied domestically as well as internationally. This, of course, would require the government to subsidize every new business venture until someone decides that it is old enough and strong enough to stand on its own feet and meet competition.

Tariff advocates fear that competition with "cheap" foreign labor will drive down American living standards. The fact is, however, that foreign labor is expensive, rather than "cheap," because it is much less productive than American labor.⁶

The United States, with the highest wage scales, has the world's lowest production costs. It is absurd to fear that our great industries would be put out of business by competition with foreign industries which are far behind ours in equipment, efficiency, and capacity for volume output.

EASY ACCESS TO MARKETS

The American producer has the additional advantage of easy access to his markets, while foreign-produced goods must include the cost of transportation half-way around the world.

The competition with foreign goods, instead of destroying our own industries, should spur them to cost-cutting and increased efficiency, which means lower prices to the consumer, which means more consumer purchasing, which means greater profits to the producer.

American tariffs are as outmoded as isolationism.⁷

During the depression of the 1930's, many governments tried to find shelter behind various kinds of protective trade barriers — setting up quotas and trade restrictions in vain efforts to protect their own industries and achieve national self-sufficiency. Their efforts failed, and the free world today is in difficulty due in part to these distortions of the normal flow of trade.

Close ties can be maintained with other countries only if the economic ties are strong and mutually beneficial.⁷

If we would abolish tariffs, we would benefit as individual consumers from cheaper prices on things we buy.



—Wide World Photos

At top left, stevedores sort bales of sheet rubber which arrived in New York from Malaya under exchange arrangements of the Marshall Plan. At right, thousands and thousands of tons of coal are shipped annually from the United States to Europe, the Far East, and South America. Lower, warehouseman checks a shipment of a million pounds of potatoes imported from Canada.

By purchasing foreign products, we would create prosperous dollar markets abroad for the things we produce.

We cannot forever continue to sell, if we refuse to buy; nor can we continue giving away the products of this nation while refusing to accept payment in kind from abroad. This will serve only to impoverish our people, lower our living standards, and deplete our natural resources.

According to Henry Ford, the American market could easily absorb another five or six billion dollars worth of foreign goods each year — which would mean more goods for the American people. Business would benefit, labor would benefit, agriculture would benefit, and the general consumer — that means all of us — would benefit.²

If we permitted free trade, we could abandon our foreign aid, which is not only a heavy burden for us but is also demoralizing to nations which want to be self-supporting.

HIGHER LIVING STANDARD

Lower taxes at home, together with a greater abundance of tariff-free consumer goods, would mean a higher standard of living.

Free trade offers us a simple solution to many of the world's ills. It doesn't require endless hours of debate in the United Nations. It isn't even necessary for all nations to agree jointly and simultaneously to remove restrictions.

A great nation such as the United States could safely do it and thereby set an example for others to follow. It would not be meddling in the affairs of other nations; it would be merely looking after the best interests of our own citizens. And instead of being re-



British cars reach U.S. market.

—Wide World Photo

sentful, other nations would be grateful.

* * * * *

That was one side of the question. Here, on the other hand, are arguments of some who do not think that America should abolish all tariffs.

* * * * *

WE cannot intelligently discuss the "trade, not aid" subject without some meaningful comprehension of our aid programs.

In round figures, we have given away to foreign governments approximately one hundred billion dollars since 1940.⁸

That sum of money would have built ten million \$10,000-homes in the United States — a home for one out of every four American families. Or it would have bought a new car for every family in America. Or it could have built fine churches, school buildings, and recreational-educational facilities in every city, every town, every village (every community) in the nation — if it had been left in the hands of the Americans who earned it, to use as they saw fit.

INEXHAUSTIBLE SOURCE?

This is the reality of our foreign aid programs. Since the beginning of the New Deal, many Americans have come to look upon the federal government as an inexhaustible source of money.

Actually, of course, every dollar which our government has, spends, wastes, or gives away represents so much production (labor and effort) on the part of the American people.⁹

Americans — by working, saving, inventing, investing — produce wealth. Our government seizes that wealth — takes it away from them by force of law; takes it out of their pay checks before they get a chance to see it — and then gives it away to foreign governments.

The excuse for all of this is that it

somehow, in a roundabout way, helps America.⁹

One of the by-products of this strange activity is the so-called unbalanced trade situation.

This situation, in turn, has created a new hue and cry for America to abolish her tariffs so that foreign products can be sold here more easily.

For years the volume of American goods going abroad has been much greater than the volume of foreign goods coming into America. The unbalance has been caused, however, not by our tariffs but by our foreign aid.⁸

In one typical year — 1951 — on which some official United States government figures are easily available, we sent abroad American products totaling \$2.5 billion more than the total value of all foreign goods brought into the United States. The value of the American goods that we gave away abroad that year, however, was \$3.4 billion.⁸

Analyze these figures, and you will discover that in one typical year, the value of all foreign-made goods which we Americans bought was \$820 million greater than the value of all American goods actually sold abroad.

In other words, America is and always has been a better customer for the rest of the world than the rest of the world is for us.¹⁰

Foreign nations like England, which complain that we are hurting them and driving them into the arms of the Communists because we have high tariffs and refuse to buy their manufactured products, are simply not telling the truth. The truth is that they have higher tariffs against our goods than we have against theirs. We actually buy more of their goods than they buy of ours.¹⁰

Our average tariff rate on all imports is only a little over 5 per cent — which makes us the lowest-tariff major trading nation on earth.¹¹



—Wide World Photo

At the first annual New York Import Show, nearly 10,000 items from at least twenty countries were displayed. Above, Erro A. Korpivaara, commercial secretary to the Consulate General of Finland, shows Miss Ann Roberts a lion target rifle made in Finland.



American-made planes in French Naval Air Force.

—Wide World Photo

The British (who coined the "trade, not aid" slogan) have an average tariff wall twice as high as ours — in addition to outright embargoes and quotas on foreign goods which we don't have at all.¹¹

The French — who also claim they would rather have trade with us than aid from us — have even higher tariffs than the British.

In fact, the French for many years levied high import duties on the goods that we were giving them.

SLOGAN OF SWINDLE

"Trade, not aid" has become the slogan of a proposed gigantic international swindle against the American people.

All over the continent of Europe, American tax money has built great factories. We have supplied them with American equipment and power machinery. We have taught them American production techniques. In our offshore procurement program, we have even given them profitable, guaranteed long-term orders to get them started.¹²

For example, let us say that one of our foreign allies does not have an air force strong enough for its own defense. Mr. Acheson or Mr. Dulles or Mr. Stassen or somebody flies over there to talk to them about it. They have innumerable closed-door, high-level conferences.¹²

When the American representative finally comes home, our government proudly announces another great American diplomatic triumph: our foreign ally has consented to strengthen its own air force for its own protection, at our expense.

To get the thing started, we build a great aircraft plant in their country — give it to them. We equip it with the latest and best American machinery, and teach them the best American production methods. We then place orders with that plant for the type and quantity of military aircraft which our foreign ally has consented to accept as a gift. When the planes are produced, they are delivered to our ally, and the bill is sent to us.¹²

That is our offshore procurement pro-

gram.

But the story does not end there.

The Soviets begin to complain. They say they are a peace-loving people, and it hurts their feelings to see our foreign allies building up their air forces. Now our allies, for the most part, would far rather please Russia than cooperate with us. Consequently, they begin to cut back on the production of military aircraft and, with the plant we have given them, start producing civilian aircraft. But when they produce civilian aircraft they must sell it to someone. And America, of course, is the richest market in the world.

What the American businessman is being asked to do is fantastic. He is being asked to continue to pay the highest wages in the world — because neither the law nor the unions will permit him to lower wages to meet foreign competition; he must carry a crushing federal tax load, approximately one-third of which is drained off to subsidize foreign industries; and then he is expected to compete in a free market with his foreign competitor whom he is compelled to subsidize.¹³

Many of America's giant mass production firms — like the Ford Motor Company — are, of course, in favor of abol-

ishing American tariffs. The reason is simple: they are big enough to go abroad and build plants in the low-wage areas of the world. Our foreign aid programs have helped to subsidize their foreign markets. They now want to reap a double harvest in the American market by bringing in, tariff free, their own foreign-made products.¹²

The smaller industries, the little businessman, the laborer, and the farmer in America are the ones who will suffer by the abolition of tariffs.

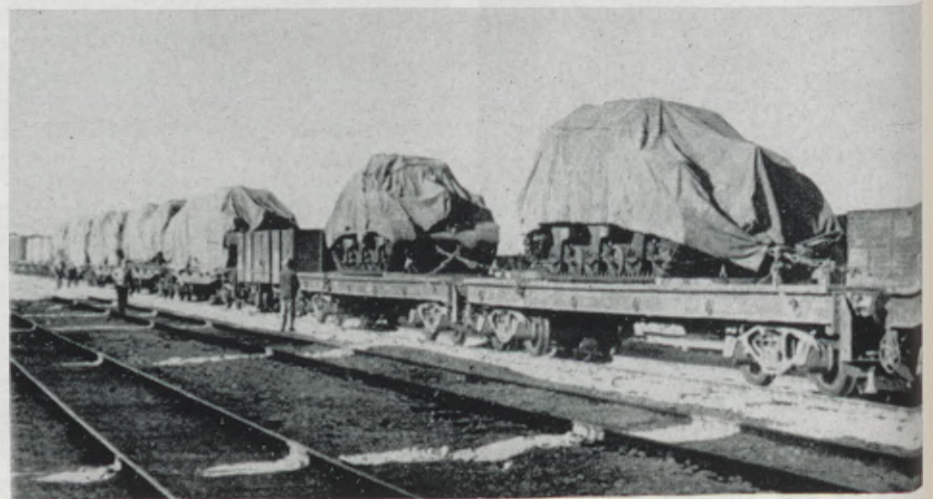
Consider a European manufacturer who has a plant built for him with American funds and equipped with American machinery. He pays his employees twenty-five cents an hour. His American competitor, who has the same kind of plant and equipment, pays his employees two dollars an hour, in addition to paying taxes which go to subsidize the European manufacturer. If we let the products of that European factory come into the United States tariff-free, the American plant is obviously going to be so undersold in its own market that it will go out of business and all of those Americans will be unemployed.¹⁴

USED AS POLITICAL WEAPON

The ideal of world-wide free trade is beautiful — a Utopian ideal for a Utopian world. But as long as the national economy of every nation on earth is under political control, international trade simply cannot be free. It is used, by governments, as a political weapon without regard to economic law.

Consider a recent, well-publicized case: President Eisenhower's increasing the tariff on foreign watches by some 50 per cent in 1954.

The American watchmaking industry was being destroyed, not by fair competition from foreign producers, but by an international cartel, under the control of foreign governments, with home offices in Switzerland — where watchmaking, the principal national industry, is under political control, enjoying legal



—Wide World Photo

This photo taken in 1944 shows train loaded with weapons, tanks—all made in American war plants—enroute to the Russians under lend-lease.



—Wide World Photo

Women watchmakers at Elgin, Ill.

and political favoritism. This cartel was out to corner for itself the watchmaking business. In order to achieve this end, it was selling Swiss watches in the American market at prices below those of American producers.¹⁵

By 1953, 69.8 per cent of all wrist watches being sold here were foreign made.¹⁵

CONSUMER BENEFIT TEMPORARY

The American consumer was temporarily benefiting from a relatively low price on watches. The payoff to the international cartel was to come when it had a monopoly. Then the American consumer would have suffered from high watch prices far more than he has ever benefited from low prices.¹⁵

The highly skilled and specialized workers in American watchmaking factories would have been thrown out of work and the factory owners driven to bankruptcy.

But this damage to our economy would have been infinitely less serious than the damage to our national defense.

In time of war — or of urgent preparation for war — American watchmakers are the only people with the skills, the tools, the facilities, for providing the delicate timing mechanisms and controlling devices necessary in most of the modern instruments and missiles of war.¹⁵

Without a healthy, productive, American watchmaking industry, America in time of war would be at the mercy of foreign workmen and factories, under the control of foreign governments.

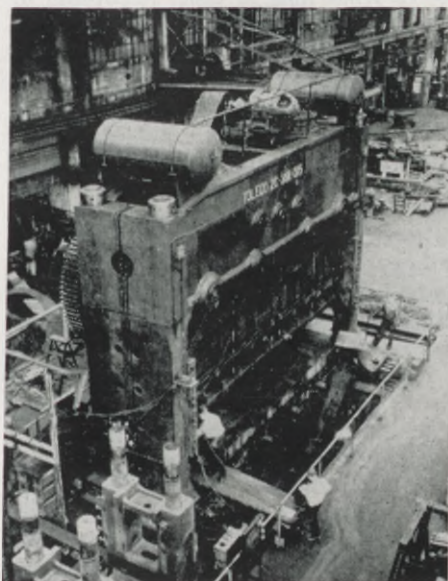
In raising our tariff on foreign watches in 1954, President Eisenhower saved this nation from that disastrous condition; and for that action, he deserves unstinting praise.¹⁵

The American laborer is many times more productive than a laborer anywhere else, because private industry has

made a bigger capital investment to give him better tools.

American industry could therefore compete in any free market in the world. The catch is that eliminating our tariffs would not create a free market. It would drive the wage level of American workers down to the sweatshop levels which prevail in every nation on earth except ours. It would throw millions of Americans out of work, and it would put the American farmer and manufacturer in competition with international cartels subsidized and controlled by foreign governments which could use them to destroy vital American industries and place the American consumer at the mercy of a foreign monopoly.

Europe has a population — which means a consumer market — almost twice as large as ours. If Europeans really want free trade, let them eliminate



—Wide World Photo

Giant U.S. rail press, largest ever built, being dismantled for shipment to the USSR in 1945.

their own tariffs and trade barriers, which are far higher and more destructive of free trade than ours ever were.¹⁰

CURE FOR ECONOMIC ILLS

If European politicians and American internationalists would spend less time milking the American taxpayer and converting the American market into a dumping ground for the products of foreign government-controlled monopolies — and would spend more time trying to create in Europe the same kind of free market we have in America — Europe could cure her own economic ills.¹⁰

It isn't dollars that Europeans need. They need freedom — freedom from the socialistic, stateistic systems which they launched and which we have been keeping afloat with our foreign aid.

The answer to the world's economic ills is not to eliminate American tariffs. Nearly 60 per cent of the goods we import already come in free of all duty.

If we were to drop all tariffs before freeing our own economy of strangulation taxes and controls (and before other sections of the world establish free trade areas and raise their own standards of living), we would merely drag the American farmers, laborers, white collar workers, and business and professional men down to the level of their foreign competitors.

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—Wide World Photo

Organizations like the Kromhout Manufacturing Company of Amsterdam have received tens of thousands of dollars in Marshall Plan aid. With these funds, American machine tools were imported and production stepped up.



How Strong is Asia's "Tight Little Island"?



For a firsthand picture of the Formosan stronghold, Facts Forum's Hardy Burt (left) went directly to the history-making island which lies only a hundred miles from the coast of Communist China. The STATE OF THE NATION interview with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was conducted at the Republic of China President's Taipei office.

Q. Mr. President, the Communist Chinese leaders have repeatedly stated that they will invade and conquer Taiwan, or Formosa as we know it in the United States. Do you believe that the Communists will actually try to put this constantly repeated and publicized threat into action?

A. They have confirmed by action that they mean to carry out their threats. There can be no doubt as to their intentions. However, when they know how determined are China and the United States to stand together against communism and exactly what a consequence would follow their actions, they would certainly think twice before they acted.

Q. Do you believe that Soviet Russia would openly and actively cooperate with the Chinese Communist dictators—if an attempt were made to overthrow Formosa?

A. Imperialist Russia is 100 per cent behind the Chinese Communist scheme of invading Taiwan, but she will not fight by the side of her Communist stooges in the open.

Q. As you well know, President Eisenhower has been given the mandate of the American people to take all necessary measures to defend and to protect the Republic of China from Communist aggression. What measures do you believe are essential?

A. President Eisenhower has taken an essential step in declaring to both friends and foes that the United States is determined to help in the defense of the Republic of China. On our part, we have transferred our garrison troops from the Tachens and redeployed them to strengthen our defenses in the area covered by the Sino-American mutual defense arrangement.

ARMY OF OLD MEN?

Q. Your Army was evacuated from the mainland in 1949. It is now 1955. It is consequently concluded by some Americans that you'll soon be commanding an army of old men. Would you like to comment on this?

A. Our armed forces, just as those of

any other country in the world, do not always consist of the same men. There are enlistments and retirements in the forces from time to time. According to our law of national service now in force, every Chinese male citizen between 18 and 45 years of age is liable to military service. Young men are streaming into the training camps all the time, and when their training is completed they join the ranks to replace over-aged soldiers who then retire. Every year trained officers from military academies are filling vacancies in the forces left by promoted and retired officers. There is and will be no army of old men in Free China.

Q. Only three Senators voted not to give President Eisenhower absolute authority to help defend Formosa and the islands essential to the defense of the present stronghold of Free China. One was Senator Morse, who has said that such a defense would involve the strong and definite possibility of having to invade the mainland of China with American soldiers after the pattern of Korea. Would American soldiers be required to fight Communist forces on the mainland in the defense of Free China?

A. President Eisenhower has already made it clear that there is no need to commit United States land forces to the defense of Free China.

"BLOW FOR BLOW"

Q. Is a cease-fire agreement with the Communists possible?

A. The present hostilities were resumed last September 3 when the Communists shelled Quemoy. What we have been doing since then is only returning blow for blow. To talk with the Communists on a cease-fire would not only be fruitless; worse than that, it would encourage their aggression.

Q. It is known that the dedicated purpose or crusade of the Republic of China is to return to the mainland and liberate the people from the tyranny of Communist domination. The mainland is reported to be under rigid Communist control. Do you have any evidence that there is dissension among Chinese Communist

leaders?

A. Dissension is in the nature of all Communist parties, the training of their leaders being what it is. But dissension in the Chinese Communist regime is of no importance or consequence unless and until we can counterattack the mainland.

Q. The armed forces of Nationalist China are comparatively small as compared with the immense manpower resources available to the Chinese Communist dictators. How can you hope to overthrow the Communists when your forces are so greatly outnumbered?

A. The outcome of war is decided neither by the size of armies nor the supply of manpower alone. The most important factor that makes all the difference is the spiritual factor, particularly the psychological factor.

Ninety-five per cent of the Chinese Communist prisoners of war in Korea refused to return to the mainland where their parents, wives, and children were waiting for them. They chose to come to Free China. This happened when there was not a single Free Chinese soldier on the Korean fighting front.

Also during the evacuation of the Tachens, the whole of the local population, some 17,000 men, women, and children, chose to come to Taiwan with the troops.

This proves very clearly that the vast population on the Chinese mainland can supply the Communist army with but very few reliable soldiers. But on the contrary, it is the main reservoir from which Free China will draw its strength to defeat the Communists. The people's support is a gigantic though invincible force. It will decide the outcome of war and gives us absolute guarantees for victory.

Q. Communist agents directed from the Kremlin in Moscow have been highly successful in infiltrating virtually every country in the world. Is there evidence of a Communist fifth column operating in Formosa?

A. Where there is weakness, there is Communist infiltration. But there is little Communist activity in Taiwan be-

cause the people here are firmly anti-Communist and are constantly watchful for such activities.

Q. It's generally acknowledged in America that Soviet Communist domination of Asia would greatly imperil American security. In what ways could the American people through their government cooperate to assist you in your great crusade?

A. What we ask of the American people is their continuance to uphold justice and to give us moral support and encouragement. We also hope that they will provide us with the material and logistical aids. Then we will be able to finish our job of national recovery.

Madame Chiang Interviewed

First Lady of the Republic of China, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, was interviewed at the headquarters of the Chinese Women's Anti-Communist Resist Russia League in Taipeh by STATE OF THE NATION'S Hardy Burt.

Q. I'm very interested in this organization, the Chinese Women's Anti-Communist Resist Russia League, and understand it's more or less your pet project in Taipeh. Would you tell us something about it?

A. This organization was founded to help keep up the morale of both the people and the army and to help the government in a civilian capacity to do the work that we think ought to be done.

Q. In the Tachen evacuation, thousands of refugees came here. Were you active in helping these refugees?

A. We had to send representatives to Tachen to help the women and gather up all of the orphans which we could find. We found several hundred orphans.

Q. Madame Chiang, are the women of Free China here in Taiwan, or Formosa, strong in their determination that the mainland should be taken back from the Communists who, because of their help from the Soviet, drove the Free Chinese from the mainland?

A. I think I can say that every single woman here in Free China wants to do her best, not only because the fate of China itself is at stake but because the state of the free world is at stake. I think there is decidedly a deepening interest and understanding of the situation. For example, the Women's Forum on National Security held in Washington—I think they took a very decided interest and a very firm stand on what is right.

Q. In other words, you see more American determination to draw a firm line against further Communist aggression, expansion, and imperialism?

A. I think there is that determination, but I think that just having the determination itself isn't going to accomplish the task. The point is how to implement that determination.



—Wide World Photo

Madame Chiang Kai-shek chats with war orphans newly arrived in Taipeh.

Q. What can your friends in America do to help the Free Chinese?

A. I think that the best way they can help is to recognize that what China is fighting for is not for China itself. It is a fight for certain fundamental principles, the principles of human freedom.

Q. What do you think the United Nations, as an organization which was founded to preserve peace in the world, should do about the Communist threats of aggression against the Republic of China?

A. I think we often forget that the Republic of China was one of the founding nations of the United Nations and that the United Nations was founded for the purpose of preserving peace amongst nations and of condemning aggression.



—Wide World Photo

President Chiang Kai-shek of Nationalist China (at right) pays homage during memorial services for 720 guerrillas who died in the battle for Yikiangshan.

Q. When will you visit us again in the United States?

A. That is something which I cannot answer because I'm needed here at home, and I think that wherever I can work most effectively I should be in that place.

IKE'S MILITARY SERVICE PLAN

(Continued from Page 14)

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How would you define:

"LIBERAL"

and

"CONSERVATIVE"?

These convenient labels—two of the most-used terms in the political vernacular—may not always mean the same thing to speaker and listener. Compare your definitions with those offered by four well-informed Americans in an unrehearsed panel debate on **ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS**:

Introducing the panel

Miss Vivien Kellems, Independent gubernatorial candidate in Connecticut and authority on taxation, featured guest, in discussion with regular panelists:

George Hamilton Combs, network news commentator and former congressman,

William Buckley, Jr., author and magazine editor,

Professor Charles Hodges of New York University, former foreign correspondent.



MISS KELLEMS:

A Liberal is not a twentieth-century creation.



MR. COMBS:

A Conservative is a romantic seeking to recapture the past.



MR. BUCKLEY:

A Liberal is infatuated with the state.



PROF. HODGES:

A Conservative's had enough and wants to keep it.

MR. BURT: What is your definition of the difference between a liberal and a conservative?

MISS KELLEMS: Mr. Burt, I think it depends entirely upon the period of time in which you're speaking because, unfortunately, the terms have been completely switched. In the early days of our country I think a liberal was a man like George Washington, for example; and today he is ultraconservative.

MR. COMBS: It never occurred to me

that George Washington was exactly a flaming liberal. If Miss Kellems had said Thomas Jefferson or Tom Paine, perhaps I could have gone along with it.

However, it seems to me that a liberal is a realist who is seeking solutions of today's and tomorrow's problems in the realm of ideas, and that a conservative is a romantic who is seeking to recapture the past. Going a little further than that, I would say that a liberal is primarily interested in human freedom

and in people—that a conservative is primarily interested in property and in government.

MR. BUCKLEY: In modern-day terms a liberal is primarily a man who is infatuated with the state. He turns to the state to settle all of the problems that libertarians or conservatives would prefer for man to settle for himself.

The best definition of a liberal, though it's a facetious one, I heard from someone at Yale University who said that liberals are basically shower adjusters—the people who want to reach their great big brawny hand in when you're taking a shower and say, "No, just a little bit colder," or "a little bit hotter." They can't leave human beings alone.

Basically the conservative also looks

for liberty above security, whereas the liberal, who has totalitarian tendencies unfortunately, looks above all for security. And when one or the other must go, he will seize security.

PROF. HODGES: Well, I would say that a conservative is one who's had enough and wants to keep it. I would emphasize the idea of stability. He is a custodian of institutions, and I believe that the principles upon which progress depends require a certain stability.

I'd also define a liberal as a man sitting in the draft of his open mind. As a possible working definition—a rationalizing idealist, a man who thinks that utopia is around the corner. And I do think that he's been trapped and sucked in the direction of statism. Possibly it's a necessity—but the essential distinction seems to be to clear the reactionaries out on the right, put them in their corner, and don't confuse them with conservatives.

And I also want to be fair with the liberals and say that they have their hothead connections with the left and that the liberal fringe of radicalism isn't essential to a liberal position.

MR. COMBS: As a liberal—and I regard myself as a liberal—I repudiate the extremism of the left just as I abhor the (to my mind) intolerance of the right, and I believe that a liberal is essentially a man who has adapted himself to the twentieth century, has managed to climb out of Mark Hanna's buggy, no longer regards laissez faire as an ap-

MARCH POLL RESULTS

(Closed March 10)

% YES

- 86 Should we let the Chinese fight the Reds?
- 65 Do U.S. servicemen lose U.S. protection when fighting under the UN?
- 61 Is a raise in pay for our congressmen justifiable?
- 75 Will our decision to defend Formosa be tempered by coexistence policies?
- 29 Are our Supreme Court Justices keeping faith with our Constitution?
- 75 Is every increase in government authority a step towards socialism?
- 19 Should Congress establish a medical insurance plan?
- 7 If China was represented in the UN would it promote peace in Asia?
- 76 Can petitions to our government help in the deciding of important issues?
- 15 Is reciprocal trade really reciprocal?
- 59 With today's missiles, do you favor construction of "Super" air-carriers?
- 90 Should American History be a compulsory course in all of our colleges?
- 57 Will U.S. lose Japan to Communists in economic trade war?
- 46 Would a nationwide curfew curb juvenile delinquency?

appropriate or as a functioning economic doctrine, but regards human freedom as the most indispensable spiritual experience of life.

MISS KELLEMS: May I say to Mr. Combs that this idea of the liberal being of the twentieth century is so wrong, because I was reading the Bible the other day and I find that so many of the beautiful plans and utopian schemes of the liberals today have just been nothing but throwbacks to centuries ago.

I was reading about how Joseph got all the grain in Egypt and gave the people of Egypt security because they were starving during the famine. They came to Joseph, and he first took their herds in exchange for the food and then he took their land in exchange for food. The things that Joseph did were so similar to the things that are being done today with our so-called subsidies.

MR. COMBS: I would suggest that instead of casting any impeachment on the twentieth century, it is evidence of the tenacity of the Christian dogma.

MR. BURT: Are liberals and conservatives equally opposed to communism?

PROF. HODGES: I would say that if you accept my taking the hard core of both parties and getting rid of the extreme factions, that they are both anti-Communist. But on the other hand, you've got to remember that the conservatives have the hysteria of reaction in their crowd. The liberals have the fellow-traveling do-gooder, the bootleg Communist—if I may put him particularly in their crowd—and ride right along in exactly the same way.

MR. COMBS: I'm sure liberals and conservatives are equally opposed to communism. I don't believe that we will ever augment or preserve the strength of our country unless we acknowledge as bonafide the good faith of both sides.

I will say this, that conservatives do far less about fighting communism than the liberals do. And the conservatives have as their cross to carry a reputation for obstruction of those efforts to contain communism—and also their bitter

opposition to every effort made to improve those social conditions which engender communism.

MR. BUCKLEY: This is like blaming the Lutherans in Germany for the rise of Hitlerism. The conservatives in this country haven't been in power during precisely that period when your liberals were keeping communism down in the world.

The average liberal finds it much more difficult to fight communism effectively because of this infatuation with what the state can do and the fascination of change for change's sake in a social architecture. They're still pointing to communism as a heresy, as basically a fine movement that just happened to go a little bit astray.

MISS KELLEMS: I think theoretically that liberals think they are opposed to communism, but unfortunately all of the policies that they advocate are communistic in nature. They mean well—and, believe me, I believe in difference of opinion—but the liberals advocate all of these measures that have been tried before and always lead into the subjugation of the people.

MR. BURT: Is it true that liberals favor centralization of governmental power while conservatives want decentralization?

MR. COMBS: Now, I shall have to take a leaf from Miss Kellems' book. It depends upon what historic era you're talking about. Initially of course the Democrats, who were then the liberals, favored a decentralization of power, a very loose and weak federal government.

And the Republicans at that time, because they wanted to redeem the bonds which had been issued by the Constitutional Congress, were for a strong central government. Therefore, initially, the Hamiltonian idea—that of the Tories—was for the concentration or focusing of power in Washington to bail out the commercial and industrial elements of our country.

There has been a change since that time. I believe that it is only fair and honest to say that the Democrats would

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Last night I listened in as usual to Mr. Smoot's FACTS FORUM and would be pleased to receive a copy of his "bi-focal" treatment. . . I enjoy these lectures both for the excellent diction in which they are dressed and likewise the mental elasticity of the pro and con presentation of the subjects discussed. . .

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I have watched your program [ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS] for some time now, and I think it is very interesting and informative. I have learned more from this program than any other on radio or TV. . .

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I am sure that we could use the films with a great deal of profit in our many courses.

Dr. Jerzy Hauptmann
Chairman, Dept. of Political Science
Park College
Parkville, Mo.

I want to tell you again how grand I think this [Facts Forum Poll] idea is, to give us all a chance to voice our sentiments. I think I'll put the President's name in so he will get the voice of the people from your reports. The rank and file of Americans are pretty level-headed.

Mrs. Jennie V. Corley
759 Dakota Ave. S., Huron, S. D.

Just recently one of the visitors to our friary happened to leave with us a copy of *Facts Forum News*. . . For many of us, it was the first time we ever saw the magazine. Since we belong to one of the stricter groups of the religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church and since we are doing postgraduate work preparing for the priesthood, we do not have much extra time to read secular magazines; but since it is very important to keep up on current affairs, you can imagine our surprise and satisfaction at seeing such a composite picture of current affairs presented in one magazine—*Facts Forum News*. . . As we are not allowed TV and have a limited use of the radio, we usually read current magazines, such as yours, with more thoroughness than would the average reader; so when we send congratulations, you may be sure it is well-founded. . .

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	KXLR†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
	KXLR‡	1150	Thurs	8:30 p
	KARK-TV*	4	Sun	1:30 p
Magnolia	KSSC*		To be announced	
	KVMA**	630	Sun	3:30 p
Mena	KENA*	1450	Sun	9:15 p
	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KENA‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
	KENA**	1450	Sun	8:00 p
Mountain Home	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KTLO‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Pine Bluff	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
Russellville	KXRJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KXRJ‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
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	KHJ†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Sun	7:30 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	

or the liberals would place a greater emphasis upon the social utility of a centralized government than do the Republicans.

MR. BUCKLEY: Let's also remember that if Hamilton, this great centralist of 1800, were alive today and sitting here, he would be called a reactionary anarchist by liberals.

MR. COMBS: The chances are he'd be sitting right where I am.

MR. BUCKLEY: First of all, there's an obvious answer: yes, the conservatives do favor decentralization while the liberals favor centralization. I think that this ties in with Mr. Combs' former statement, and that is this concern for freedom.

Freedom was originally defined by the social philosophers of the past three hundred years as that situation which exists when the individual citizen is in a position to stipulate the kind of life he will lead. Now this is only possible when you have local government. I don't mean even state government—I mean community, county and local government—whereas, the centralist power tends to make government more and more aloof by robbing the states and the counties and towns of power and depositing it in the hands of an aloof government.

MR. COMBS: You've stated the basic dilemma of our times.

MISS KELLEMS: Regarding Mr. Hamilton, may I say that while Mr. Hamilton may have believed in a strong central government, Mr. Combs, we owe to the fact that Alexander Hamilton was opposed to an income tax the fact that we had 125 years of freedom in this country. And had we followed the very basic and sound financial policies of Mr. Hamilton, we wouldn't be in the mess we're in today. The income tax is one of the fetishes of the so-called liberals. Well, it's one of the major tenets of the *Communist Manifesto*.

MR. BUCKLEY: Certainly the real historical reactionaries are the liberals—that is to say those people who are tired of freedom and insist that people other than the individual himself look after that freedom. In effect it becomes some sort of a totalitarian subsidized security.

PROF. HODGES: I feel very definitely that the conservative has a role in our society which has not been properly exercised by him. I believe that everybody is a liberal, basically speaking, without thinking about it in American politics.

Now, here we're going to see a change in this country just as sure as I'm sitting here. We're going to have these things defined and worked out in the context of the party system.

I think it's been a great tragedy that you have bootleg Republicans and bootleg Democratic conservatives in their respective parties.

CALIFORNIA—Continued

Oroville	KMOR**	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KAFP*	1490	Sun	4:45 p
	KAFP*	1490	Mon	7:30 p
San Bernardino	KFXM†	590	Sun	8:30 p
San Diego	KGB†	1360	Sun	8:30 p
	KFMB-TV**	8	Sun	4:30 p
San Francisco	KGO*	810	Sun	9:45 p
	KFRC†	610	Sun	8:30 p
	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	9:30 a
San Luis Obispo	KVEC†	920	Sun	8:30 p
	KVEC-TV*	6	Sun	7:00 p
	KVEC-TV**	6	Sat	
Santa Cruz	KSCC**	1080	Thurs	7:30 p
Stockton	KTVU-TV*	36	Tues	8:30 p
	KTVU-TV**	36	Sun	6:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE*	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	To be announced	

COLORADO

Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon	7:30 p
	KGIW†	1450	Thurs	7:30 p
Colorado Springs	KRDO*	1240	Sun	3:45 p
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:15 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	7:30 p
	KFXJ-TV**	5	Sun	9:00 p
La Junta	KBNZ†	1400	Mon	7:30 p
	KBNZ†	1400	Thurs	7:30 p
	KBNZ*	1400	Sun	5:30 p

CONNECTICUT

Waterbury	WATR-TV**	53	Wed	8:30 p
Stockton	WATR-TV*	53	Sun	5:30 p

DELAWARE

Dover	WDOV**	1410	Sun	4:00 p
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WMAL*	630	Sun	6:15 p
	WEAM**	1390	To be announced	
	WEAM†	1390	Sun	8:30 p
	WTTG-TV*	5	Sun	6:30 p

FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	To be announced
Daytona Beach	WMPJ*	1450	Sun 8:15 p
Fort Lauderdale	WFTL-TV**	23	Wed 9:30 p
	WFTL-TV*	23	Tues 8:00 p
Fort Myers	WINK-TV*	11	Sun 9:30 p
Gainesville	WRUF†	850	Mon 9:30 p
	WRUF**	850	Sun 8:00 p
Hollywood	WTVT*	17	Fri 10:30 p
Jacksonville	WJHP†	1320	Thurs 9:30 p
Key West	WKWF†	1600	Mon 9:30 p
	WKWF†	1600	Thurs 9:30 p
Kissimmee	WRWB**	1220	Sun 3:00 p
Lakeland	WLAK*	1430	Sun 4:15 p
Live Oak	WNER*	1450	Wed 6:30 p
	WNER*	1450	Fri 7:30 p
Marianna	WTYS†	1340	Mon 9:30 p
Miami	WIOD*	610	Thurs 6:15 p
	WKAT†	1360	Mon 9:30 p
	WKAT†	1360	Thurs 9:30 p
Panama City	WPCF†	1400	Sat 5:45 p
	WPCF†	1400	Mon 9:30 p
	WDLP*	590	Sun 2:00 p
West Palm Beach	WIRK-TV*	21	Sun 7:00 p

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GEORGIA

Atlanta	WSB*	750	Thurs	7:15 P
	WQXI†	790	Thurs	9:30 P
Cordele	WMJM†	1490	Mon	9:30 P
	WMJM†	1490	Thurs	9:30 P
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	1:15 P
	WGFS**	1430	To be announced	
Dalton	WBLJ*	1230	Sat	6:45 P
Dublin	WMLT†	1340	Mon	9:30 P
Gainesville	WGGA†	550	Mon	9:30 P
	WGGA†	550	Thurs	9:30 P
Griffin	WKEU†	1450	Mon	9:30 P
	WKEU†	1450	Thurs	9:30 P
La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon	9:30 P
	WLAG†	1240	Thurs	9:30 P
Macon	WNEX-TV*	47	Sun	6:30 P
	WNEX-TV**	47	To be announced	
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	9:30 P
	WMVG†	1450	Thurs	9:30 P
Monroe	WMRE**	1490	Sun	8:15 P
Statesboro	WWNS†	1490	Mon	9:30 P
Swainsboro	WJAT**	800	Sun	5:15 P
Toccoa	WLET†	1420	Mon	9:30 P
	WLET†	1420	Thurs	9:30 P
Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon	9:30 P
	WGOV†	950	Thurs	9:30 P
Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon	9:30 P
	WAYX†	1230	Thurs	9:30 P

HAWAII

Hilo	KILA*	850	Sun	8:45 p
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IDAHO

Blackfoot	KBLI*	1490	Sun	9:00 a
Boise	KIDO-TV*	7	Sun	11:00 p
Moscow	KRPL**	1400	To be announced	
Weiser	KWEI**	1240	Sun	5:30 p

(Continued on Page 38)

*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters' Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

BOOK REVIEWS

Reflections on the Failure of Socialism

By Max Eastman, The Devin-Adair Company, 23 E. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y., 1955, 127 pp., \$2.75.

In this little book of essays Max Eastman, long-time stormy petrel of the Socialist movement, tells how a long series of disillusionments convinced him that socialism—of any and every hue—was a failure. He never was one of those doctrinaire zombies who could blindly follow a “party line.” His was an ever-questioning intellect which constantly alienated his Socialist and “liberal” friends. His constructive criticism of errors in Socialist policy was never welcome. Here is penetrating thought and brilliant style brought to bear upon the whole thesis and practice of socialism.

Gradually the author became convinced that socialism itself was a failure—a failure because it was basically mistaken in premise, because it destroyed the very values that it proposed to strengthen. Simply stated, socialism didn't work—because it couldn't work. Its unrealistic premises condemned it to failure from the outset.

USSR PERVERTED MARXISM?

Mr. Eastman has little patience for those who still try to apologize for socialism by saying that the Soviet Union perverted Marxism. He confesses that he was “more surprised and saddened by the reaction to that tyranny of liberal minds in free countries than by the tyranny itself.... I never dreamed... that they could sink to the depths of maudlin self-deception and perfectly abject treason to truth, freedom, justice, and mercy that many of them have reached in regard to the Russian debacle.”

Of the world's most complete experiment in socialism—the Soviet state—the author has this to say: “It survived long enough to show what was in it: tyranny, namely, and that new perfection of tyranny, the totalitarian state. That new bloody thing wears, on all the maps of the world, the name of ‘Socialist.’ Such is the main road traveled... by the word *socialism*. It wandered down a branch road during the nineteenth century, and arrived on the emblems of another bloody police state—National Socialist Germany. It seems to know better than its creators and gentle-minded proprietors where it belongs.”

The thing that led Max Eastman out of socialism was the same thing that led him into it—a genuine humanitarian concern for the difficulties of mankind and a desire to find practical answers. But his was the intellectual honesty to

recognize the wrong course he was following and to turn from it completely.

MARXIAN FAIRY TALE IMPLAUSIBLE

Mr. Eastman has a warning for Americans: “It is not the copper-riveted old-time believers in Marxian theory that we in America have to fear.... Their fairy tale is not plausible enough to be dangerous. It is the bureaucratic socializers—if I may devise that label for the champions of a lawyer-manager-politician-intellectual revolution—who constitute a real and subtle threat to America's democracy. It is their dream that is moving into focus as that of Lenin grows dim.”

It is the author's belief that the impersonal mechanism of the free market, rather than the personal authority exercised by a controlling state, represents the only system which will preserve freedom. He holds that the free market is not only the most truly democratic system, but the only system which avoids the road to despotism.

“There is something vitally democratic, as well as impersonal, in the control exercised by the market. When a man buys something on a free market, he is casting his vote as a citizen of the national economy. He is making a choice which, by influencing prices, will enter into the decision as to how, and toward what ends, the economy shall be conducted. His choice may be outweighed by others who buy more; that is inevitably true. But in placing the major economic decisions in the hands of the whole people as consumers, recording these decisions automatically through the mechanism of price, the market makes freedom possible in a complex industrial society. It is the only thing that makes it possible.”

Here is a book, basic and convincing, that our crypto-Socialists are going to have to ignore. In contesting it there would be too much danger of giving themselves away.

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

* * *

Day of Reckoning

By Ralph de Toledano, Henry Holt and Company, 179 pp. \$3.00.

Ralph de Toledano, author with Victor Lasky of best-seller *Seeds of Treason*, has written another expert book on communism. Called *Day of Reckoning*, it is in the form of a short, tense novel—realistic in detail, compelling in tempo.

The pocket book from the drug store

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employs commonplace actions in bulk to make a few highly improbable events seem plausible. “I went to the phone and dialed Midway 5-7260. I lit a cigarette while the phone rang three times. It was one of those days. I looked up at a blonde walking across the lobby. She stopped 8 feet from the phone booth and dropped dead.” That sort of thing. The author's credibility having been established, the reader suspends disbelief and is rewarded by a shock or tremor.

Day of Reckoning reads with a difference. The ordinary fast-action-in-the-big-town story is escapist. Its technical realism has no other purpose than to convince you that you are involved in some adventure which you are really not. *Day of Reckoning* uses the same techniques. But it uses them better and it is about something that is not fiction. You keep wondering which parts are in code. You think the end is not in the book, nor—as with *The Lady or the Tiger*—in your imagination, but in events outside the book.

FASCINATING CHARACTERS

Henry Fielding said a novelist must take characters from real life and invent a plot for them. Toledano's characters are in three classes: (1) those recognizably out of real life, (2) those recognizably fictitious, (3) doubtful cases. All are fascinating.

“Paul Castelar” is a reporter on *Slant, The Magazine with Direction*. His boss is “Rob McCarten.” “Gino Rosselli” is an anarchist who gets murdered by Communists. He has been a friend of Castelar's. Castelar figured “Colonel Juan Talavera, political commissar of the Fifth Brigade, murderer-in-chief of the International Brigades” did it. Castelar told the D.A., Simon Lazarus, his suspicion and named former victims—“Annabelle Sherman” and “Bruna Sirena.” The latter had modeled for Diego Rivera. The former is a transparent pseudonym for Juliet Stuart Poyntz, the latter for Tina Modotti. Castelar also mentions “Jim Forrestal.” Not all the names in the book are fictitious.

The scenery is scarcely fictitious at all. New York and Washington are impressionistically vivid and cartographically precise. When Paul Castelar, leaving his hotel in Washington “emerged at the F Street side, crossed Fourteenth almost at a run, and then dawdled along, peering into store windows and making certain that he was not followed,” you wonder why de Toledano bothers to call it the “Edward” instead of the Willard.

Many readers will feel still more at home with a passage like the following:

McCarten looked worried when Paul walked into his office, but his face and voice were friendly. It was a look Paul knew—McCarten's way of detaching himself from

(Continued on Page 30)

Answers For Americans

asks Fulton Lewis, Jr.



How Accurate Is America's News?

Debating this challenging question along with topflight Commentator Lewis are New York University Professor Charles Hodges, Author William Buckley, Jr., and George Hamilton Combs, noted commentator. Moderator, Hardy Burt.

BURT: Does personal editorial opinion often influence the supposedly objective stories of newspaper and radio reporters?

LEWIS: The answer to that is what you call "editorial opinion." If you mean editorial opinion on the part of the editor, in some cases that is true. The editorial policy of the newspaper, for example, very frequently influences the manner in which a story is written. If you mean editorial opinion on the part of the writer—yes, that enters in all the time.

We might as well, as far as I'm concerned, get this off to a straight start. Objective reporting is nonexistent. The nearest thing to objective reporting, let's face it, is the *Congressional Record*, and that isn't even objective because it's within the power of the reporter to interject applause here and there.

COMBS: I think personal editorial opinion often does influence supposedly objective news and radio stories as we Democrats have sadly learned inasmuch as we face a preponderately, in fact almost an exclusively, Republican press.

LEWIS: Oh, that breaks my heart!

COMBS: I see a great many cases of it, and I should suggest, however, that the distortion, if there be such, lies not so much in the subjectivity of the reporting as it does in the selection of subject matter and in the decision to run certain stories and play down or ignore others.

Now I do believe that the average reporter, at least on a responsible newspaper, makes every effort—as do, I'm

sure, responsible news commentators—to chronicle the facts with complete and scrupulous accuracy.

LEWIS: I question that—

COMBS: He seeks to get away from, let us say, subjectivity of utterance or from distortion or bias coming from his own prejudice.

BUCKLEY: I conclude that very often personal editorial opinion influences the supposedly objective stories of newspaper and radio reporters, particularly in New York. I say "particularly in New York" because I read the New York press, and I don't see the other press very often.

I think unfortunately it is a trademark primarily of the left. That is to say, I believe that there is consistently more distortion in the papers of the left than there is in papers of the right.

Let me give you an example in New York. Take the *New York Post* against the *New York Daily News*—the *New York Daily News* is as pronouncedly on the right as the *New York Post* is on the left, but the *New York Daily News* does not tamper with the news—it goes in

for tendentious reporting. It doesn't try to persuade you that the enemy is exclusively communistic in anything except the editorial page itself. That is to say, all of the news stories are straight.

In the *New York Post*, on the other hand, it's a bit of nonobjective and distorted reporting from cover to cover. Even in the sports stories sometimes they manage to get in a crack at McCarthy, for example.

COMBS: That's a laudable purpose.

BUCKLEY: Yes, that excuses it!

HODGES: I think we just have to accept the fact that news is stuff about human beings, reported by human beings, and read by human beings. And you have to be selective, there's no question about it. You can be honest in the way in which you try to give a rounded story.

I'd like to say one word, however, about the wire services because I think they're tremendously important in the whole picture. I do believe they try to give us a basis of objective reporting because of the nature of their clientele which jumps on them.

LEWIS: I think the Professor is very, very trusting when it comes to the wire services. I watch them day in and day out, and I can tell him otherwise.

BURT: The nut of this is not whether the reporting is objective from the standpoint of the reporter trying to be objective, but does he often deliberately slant the news to fit his viewpoint?

COMBS: I think only on some newspapers. I believe that by generality the

For submitting this ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS question—"How Accurate Is the News in America?"—Mr. Curtis O. Robertson of Roanoke, Virginia, won a \$100 U.S. Savings Bond. If you have a question you would like to hear discussed on this program, send it to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. In cases of duplication, the letter bearing the earliest postmark will be used. Each week, a question deemed most provocative of discussion by the ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS panel will be selected.

reporter actually writes a straight story. I think there have been instances in which this does not occur.

Mr. Buckley posed an interesting question a moment ago. He said that he confined his reading largely to the newspapers in New York. There happens to be only one Democratic newspaper in New York. The others—the *Herald-Tribune*, which is of course the organ of the financial community of Wall Street, is solidly Republican; the *New York Times*, which is a citadel of conservative respectability—and just the *New York Post*, which manages to flaunt its own banner rather gallantly, I would say, against the concert of these others.

BURT: Let's take a case from last year that was more widely reported than probably anything else—the case of the McCarthy hearings; the issue of McCarthy himself. Mr. Lewis, do you think that the reporting was objective?

LEWIS: I think it was about as bad as anything I have ever seen. I attended those hearings; I covered them personally. Then I read the press association reports; I read the *Washington Post* the next morning, and you'd be surprised but I wasn't there at all! The thing that was reported the next morning had no resemblance whatsoever to what went on—

BUCKLEY: I'd like to comment upon George Hamilton Combs running to the rescue of the *New York Times*—

COMBS: I don't really believe it really needs my support.

BUCKLEY: Oh, but it's going to after I'm through!

COMBS: Oh, I doubt that!

BUCKLEY: The notion that the *New York Times* is a citadel of triumphant conservatism in this country is one of the great illusions of our time. The *New York Times* is composed—that is to say, those columns of the *New York Times* that are written by people who touch on controversial issues—by a pack of haters. These are people who turn like cornered madmen on anybody who has a good word to say for McCarthy—on anybody who insists that we are not in fact living in a reign of terror. These are the people who are responsible for the intellectual sellout of Chiang Kai-shek of China through the book review section. These are the people who are amongst the most savage in journalistic circles in the world, and the fact that they have an antique, rather decorative format is no reason whatever why we should absolve them from these—

COMBS: That's one of the funniest things I've heard of in my life—really!

BURT: Professor Hodges, do you agree with Mr. Buckley?

HODGES: No, because Mr. Buckley's forensics are always on the extreme right, and I don't think we're getting an objective judgment here at all. I do

believe, in deference to Mr. Lewis, that I'd rather have three wire services reporting a story, saying the thing their way. Obviously there is color. I think that you were talking about something which is unrealistic because everybody is reporting from the little sector of what they see, including you, Mr. Lewis, and that is one of the reasons I listen to you, and I know what you represent—

LEWIS: And if the Professor wants to talk in degrees—yes, I would agree with him that I would prefer to take the three press associations, boil them together, and get the answer out of them.

We have dissected the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*. Let me contribute, if you please, the *Washington Post*, which is perhaps the most important of them all because this, insofar as government is concerned, is the newspaper that all of the people who make decisions and opinions in government read for the information that they have during their workday. This is all they have now that the *Post* has bought out the *Times-Herald*.

After that consolidation took place I made it my business to make a scientific study of the front page, the main stories, on the *Washington Post*, and six and a half out of the eight top heads on that newspaper over a period of the first six months were written by trained seals, not by press associations. This tends to build your point that the press associations—

COMBS: You mean these reporters are staff men on the paper?

LEWIS: I mean trained seals!

BURT: Mr. Lewis and Mr. Buckley have said that stories written last year on the McCarthy issue were highly distorted. Mr. Combs, is it your opinion that they were not distorted?

COMBS: I would like to say this: In complete honesty I think some of the stories were badly out of balance; I agree with that. But I also suggest that each person who followed that on television saw what he wanted to see, and each person emerged with an entirely different conclusion except for the independents who unanimously decided against Joe.

LEWIS: Unfortunately, however, it's impossible for you to see a sentence with "no" left out of it. It's impossible to completely distort and to reverse the meaning of a sentence and say, "this is a point of view. Now, George Combs, hear this."

COMBS: Oh, no, no, I don't for one moment, and I saw some biased reporting. I also saw some extraordinarily biased reporting on the pro-McCarthy side.

BUCKLEY: Where?

LEWIS: I would like to know where.

COMBS: I am not picking fights with newspapers. I did not get this old this fast as the result of fighting newspapers.

BUCKLEY: Or Communists.

BURT: Are news stories deliberately slanted to fit a newspaper's editorial policy?

LEWIS: In the case of the *Washington Post*, which I have just mentioned, there isn't the slightest question in the world about that fact. And they are slanted not by orders from the editorial department alone, they are slanted by the mental atmosphere, the mental climate of the individual who is hired on to the staff in the beginning.

BUCKLEY: I'd like to pay Mr. Combs a compliment very sincerely. Mr. Combs doesn't realize the extent to which he and people of his thinking run this country. The victory that has been won by Mr. Combs and by the liberals in this country has been so complete that people who want a genuine difference of opinion between the Republican party and the Democratic party are simply laughed off as extreme right-wingers.

HODGES: Mr. Lewis, I think it's very important that you emphasized that when there was no news competition in Washington you got one point of view. We don't care what the point of view is for the moment, but that's important.

LEWIS: With that I agree. It would be just as bad if it were monopolized the other way.

HODGES: Yes, and there's another factor which I think we ought to emphasize—radio and TV introduce a greater variety. They do break down this "one town and one paper" situation which is rather typical now of the United States.

COMBS: And very dangerous.

HODGES: And I think we should see that as a possible corrective. Now you disagree with me, as I understand it, because I still think that human beings are always going to slant. My formula is that the more news that moves across the desk the better off we are—if the editorial setup is on its feet.

LEWIS: I think that's fine, but from a practical standpoint there are bugs in it. Number one, the man on the editorial desk is dependent upon the information that come across that desk. If a majority of the working press at the level of the press table and the committee hearing is by and large prejudiced, then the total information from which the editor can draw is in itself biased and slanted.

COMBS: That is unrealistic because he has several sources of information.

LEWIS: Unrealistic? I've been in this business for thirty years.

COMBS: Well, Fulton, so have I.

LEWIS: Did you ever sit on an editorial desk? I have.

COMBS: I've not sat on an editorial desk, but I've written a lot of copy for that editorial desk, Mr. Lewis.

LEWIS: So have I.

COMBS: The average editor is not a dunce. He isn't blindfolded. He has a number of sources of information, not only his own representatives. Therefore,

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BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from Page 27)

a job he had to do, a warning of trouble ahead and a promise of sympathy and support. "Maybe it's none of my business, Paul," he said, "but the front office is in a tizzy. Some advertiser called up this morning and raised hell about you."

"What have I done now?" Paul asked.

McCarten tossed a clipping from that day's *New York Times* across the desk. It was a story about the Rosselli case and two names had been underlined in blue pencil—Castelar's and Annabelle Sherman's. The *Times* story went into considerable detail on what Paul had told Simon Lazarus. There were several unattributed and interpretive quotes making very pointed reference to what certain people in the city government thought of busybody newspapermen who smeared innocent people. There was an Associated Press insert from Washington quoting a Supreme Court Justice who deplored the murder of Rosselli because it would feed hysterical fears and strengthen the hand of witch-hunting legislators.

Paul read the story carefully and then laid the clipping down on McCarten's desk. "Is the Old Man mad at me?" he asked.

"No," said McCarten, "he's not mad, he's just puzzled. The advertiser told him that if *Slant* staffers had no better way to occupy their time than by destroying the reputation of a woman as fine as Annabelle Sherman, well, he'd take his advertising elsewhere. The Old Man wants to know what it's all about. I told him you were on your own time, but he's still worried."

"There's no point in asking who the advertiser is."

"There's no point," McCarten answered, "mostly because I don't know myself."

It was the old squeeze play—the respectable and powerful doing the work of the disreputable and dangerous. Someone was lighting fires under him, trying to pull him off the Rosselli case. Obviously he had touched a nerve. The advertiser would tell the story at dinner tonight and he would be complimented for his liberal principles. And someone in a corner would smirk.

That scene represents perfectly what necessitated the movement to ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS.

The line between fact and fiction can get pretty obscure in any case. There is a lot of stuff in history books which is not true, and a lot of stuff in novels which is true.

The plot of *Day of Reckoning* is, in classical terms, one of revenge. Paul Castelar tracks the Communist murderer Juan Talavera and at the end finds him. The denouement is death.

No, not quite.

That is, the death is not quite the denouement. It is less a question of who dies than of what dies. And lives. For the end is the beginning. The way and the truth and the life begin at the end.

Day of Reckoning is an amalgam of adventure and mysticism. It deals with current events and the life eternal. The raw anti-communism is cut with enough fizz water to go down, but in essence the book says: *You are responsible to God. The party, the syndicate, the law, the servants of God other than you—they don't get you off the hook. And when it comes down to it you don't obey them. You love them. Love does not compete.*

The Get-Us-All Address

AUTHOR UNKNOWN

Titled by Mrs. Bea von Boeselager

ONE score and twenty years ago our fathers brought forth upon this nation a new tax, conceived in desperation and dedicated to the proposition that all men are fair game. Now we are engaged in a great mass of calculations, testing whether this taxpayer or any taxpayer so confused and so impoverished can long endure.

We are met on Form 1040. We have come to dedicate a large portion of our income to a final resting place with those men who here spend their lives that they may spend our money. It is altogether anguish and torture that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot evade, we cannot cheat, we cannot underestimate the tax. The collectors, clever and sly, who computed here have gone far beyond our poor power to add and subtract.

Our creditors will little note, nor long remember, what we pay here, but the Bureau of Internal Revenue can never forget what we report here.

It is not for us the taxpayers, to question the tax, which the government has thus far so nobly spent. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these vanishing dollars we take increased devotion to the few remaining; that we here highly resolve that next year will not find us in a higher income bracket; that this taxpayer, underpaid, shall figure out more deductions; and that this tax of the people, by the Congress, for the government, shall not cause solvency to perish.

You love them and you love God. You love them because you love God.

But obedience is jealous. You have got to make up your mind. And you do not obey the party, nor the syndicate, nor the law, nor the servants of God. You obey Him.

There is death by decision and death by default. The latter may not be the more compassionate.

THROUGH THE LOOKING-GLASS

Why does anyone become a Communist? Why does anyone go to a fortune teller? Communism promises to read the future. *History* to the unheated mind means the past; to the Communist it means the future.

It is, of course, all right to have an eye to the future. Hope is a virtue, prophecy a gift. The sources of rational prediction are revelation and reasoning. Normally our understanding of the former and our mastery of the latter are admittedly imperfect. Our confidence in our predictions is accordingly limited.

The Communists acknowledge neither divine revelation nor deductive reasoning. They employ what they call the dialectic in order to make assertions about the future. In practice the dialectic is a means of appropriating a vocabulary of reason to an intention of appetite. As appetite yields to satiety, the dialectic may fall silent. But it is never self-critical. Communism is a kind of

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amnesia resulting from a refusal to repent.

Thus a Day of Reckoning is foreign to Communist thought, though a Day of Victory is assumed in its mythology. Reckoning implies justice and justice implies a judge.

People become Communists to escape judgment. They even, apparently, confess to crimes and get themselves executed to escape judgment. In contrast, they turn from communism and face judgment in order to find the Judge, who is also the Savior. The day of reckoning is the day of recognition.

Ralph de Toledano has here written an important book. One is tempted to say that it ought to be longer. But then, among other things, *Day of Reckoning* is a poem. And the critics have agreed that a poem must not be too long.

—MEDFORD EVANS

* * *

The Twenty-Year Revolution

By Chesly Manly, Henry Regnery Company, 20 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Illinois, 1954. 272 pp., \$4.00.

The basic change in the American system implied by the title, *The Twenty-Year Revolution*, is an accomplished fact—and the change is still going on. One may approve or disapprove of what has taken place and is taking place. This book presents one side of the issue—a hearty disapproval. The *Chicago Tribune's* UN correspondent has written a gloves-off polemic on the events, personalities, and general trend of the last two decades. This is no book for those who find strong debate distasteful—who like to be told that some mistakes have been made, but that they are being cor-

rected and the situation is well in hand. This is a book for those who like straight-from-the-shoulder writing by an author who is willing to lay his contentions and interpretations on the line. Chesly Manly does not shrink from stating his case, even though many may consider it overstated.

It is the author's contention that the events that have transpired, and the policies followed, have not been mistakes from the standpoint of those instrumental in bringing these things about. They have been well-planned—and correctly so—to achieve the goal of a Socialist America in a Socialist world. *The Twenty-Year Revolution* is not an account of failure—far from it. It is an account of a highly successful program to remake the American system into the opposite of its original character.

TRACES COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

Mr. Manly traces Communist influence in our national government during the last twenty-two years. He shows how, time and again, national policy has been shaped in the direction of greatest assistance to international communism. The style is pungent and concise, indignant without being heavy. The author has an impishness of expression—delightful to those who agree and undoubtedly irritating to those who do not—which serves to lighten his unmistakable seriousness. That Mr. Manly is seriously concerned for the preservation of the United States as a sovereign republic of free men is obvious.

Chesly Manly brings up a point which, to this reviewer, at least, is the most important and most often obscured item in the whole controversy over the Communist conspiracy. Quoted is a sentence from the 1953 report (unanimous) of the Jenner subcommittee: "Policies and programs laid down by members of this Soviet conspiracy are still in effect within our government and constitute a continuing hazard to our national security." This crucial point was snowed under by the welter of shrill debate over personalities, most of whom were no longer holding government positions.

Now, it is a very necessary thing that Communist agents be exposed and removed from positions where they can do great damage. Most Americans loathe communism, but the most foolish thing they could do would be to allow themselves to be manipulated into spending all their time hating Communists (or anti-Communists) and being blinded by personalities. Who they were is of secondary importance, however important it may be as a starting-point for undoing the damage done. The important thing is, what policies did they formulate, what laws did they write, what programs did they institute? It is the height of folly—and hypocrisy—to throw an Alger Hiss in jail and continue to

embrace, without re-examination, the policies he laid out. Either the policies initiated by identified Communist agents were in accordance with the wishes of the Kremlin, or they were not. But most important, they are destructive of American sovereignty and individual freedom, or they are not. This is the point which needs to be determined and which should govern each case.

HALF-SEATED POSITION UNCOMFORTABLE

If Americans are willing to accept and continue the policies initiated by Communist agents, they have no very logical complaint against the agents themselves. It is the blindest sort of prejudice—or else clever deception—to repudiate a man because he is a "Communist" and at the same time approve of, continue, and frantically defend the most important things he did. The illogical posture must be resolved one way or the other. The half-seated position is as uncomfortable as it is ridiculous. Either America stands up and says, "No!" and rejects communism, Communists, and all their works—or else it sinks back into an easy chair of domestic coexistence with communism and accords Communists the same honor it accords their works.

Here is the issue central to Chesly Manly's concern. America today is in the position of congratulating itself on blowing out the match—while the house burns down. What is needed is more positive affirmation of what America is to be and more clear perception of what it is not to be allowed to become. To this reviewer, there is nothing that can obscure the crucial issues so much as the present-day intemperate emphasis upon personalities. If Americans can be kept busy choosing up sides to hate Communist and anti-Communist personalities, Communist-inspired programs will have every chance for continuing, without effective challenge, toward the eventual establishment of a Socialist America as a subdivision of a Socialist world.

We would do better to acknowledge a man's right to be a Communist, if he wishes (subject to the statutes defining criminal acts)—and then establish and practice our right to refuse to follow him. We are going to have to stop letting ourselves be distracted and mesmerized by the incessant personalization of issues. And we are going to have to stop spending our time blaming other people for making the same mistakes we ourselves make. Clear thinking, based

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on ethical and moral absolutes, is what is required—and each of us has plenty to work on before he starts blaming others. As our study serves to seek out erroneous concepts and policies to be rejected and corrected, our work is constructive. As it seeks out personalities to blame for the very things we have condoned or embraced, it is destructive and makes the solution even more difficult.

Although *The Twenty-Year Revolution* is strong, this reviewer feels that the author does try to concern himself with the issues primarily and with the personalities only as they must necessarily move across the stage. It is a useful book for the reader who will take the same approach.

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

* * *

Who Speaks For Man?

By Norman Cousins, The MacMillan Company, 60 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y., 1953, 318 pp., \$4.00.

Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature* and prominent World Federalist, has written an impassioned plea for strengthening the United Nations into a world government on the federal principle. He believes this to be the only escape for the people of the atomic age, and he takes his position frankly and honestly. Of course, there is always the risk that people may just yawn if the A-bomb is brandished in their faces often enough. But the gadget still seems to be a pretty good sort of "prop" for the fear-psychology type of salesmanship.

There is much more to the book than Mr. Cousins' proposals and arguments for world government. The author possesses a topnotch reportorial style, and he shares with his reader the rich experiences of extensive travel. Even those who may disagree with his advocacy of world government—as this reviewer does—will, nevertheless, find much of the book to be highly entertaining. But if the author's narrative merits reading, so does his proposal command a hearing—so earnestly and urgently is it presented.

Mr. Cousins, in his zeal, presents one of those "either-or" propositions: either you accept world government or you get nuclear annihilation. He reasons that, since conflicting national governments cause wars, the solution must be the vesting of all war-making power (and quite a bit of other authority as well) in one world sovereignty—the United Nations. Apparently, Mr. Cousins does not consider another alternative, which points away from centralization of power rather than toward more of it. This alternative would be in line with an observation made by the late Albert Jay Nock that if everybody would transfer the dis-

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INTERNATIONALS

Peace in Our Time?

by FREDA UTLEY

DISCUSSION of U.S. policy today is rendered singularly difficult by the impossibility of discovering what it is. One is hard put to decide whether we have a foreign policy at all, or are simply standing in the middle of the road, unable to decide which way to go, and in grave danger of being hit by the traffic moving rapidly in both directions.

Not only do the pronouncements of the President and Secretary of State vary from week to week, or even from day to day—and often fail to synchronize—they also tend to be as ambiguous as the sayings of the Delphic oracle which were wont to mislead the Greeks who consulted it and interpreted its mysterious messages according to their hopes and fears or prejudices. President Eisenhower's answers to questions at his press conferences, together with his own and Secretary Dulles' speeches, not to mention the remarks occasionally contributed by sundry Cabinet members, generals and admirals, serve only to leave the world guessing. Either their statements contradict one another or they can be interpreted in such diverse fashion by the pundits who "explain"

them in the press and on the radio that the public might just as well continue enjoying itself watching TV dramas, comedies, or cheesecake, as seek information in the newspapers or anywhere else concerning the mystery of United States policy.

Insofar as America's Atlantic policy is concerned there is some clarity. True that our promises to France and Germany concerning the Saar contradict one another and may yet wreck the West European Union and prevent NATO from acquiring a backbone in the shape of a West German army. Nor is there any guarantee that our British and French allies will not tear down the painfully-built structure of West European Union at the forthcoming conference with Moscow, which is to precede the implementation (as distinct from ratification) of the Paris pacts.

But at least the world knows that the U.S. Air Force is on the alert, night and day, at its many bases around the periphery of the Soviet empire, and that if the Communists attack anywhere in the European or Middle Eastern area, we shall hit them with all that we have. It is in the Pacific, where the danger of war is far more imminent, that our intentions are so vague that neither friend nor foe knows whether America can be counted upon to help the Chinese Nationalists to retain the offshore islands which the Communists have already started to attack, following the evacuation of the Tachens at our insistence.

Certainly we cannot know what is our intention from Mr. Dulles' statements. In his February 16 speech to the Foreign Policy Association in New York, he said that "the United States has no commitment and no purpose to defend the coastal positions as such." His subsequent remarks on this and other occasions that by "as such" he meant that we shall defend them only if their conquest by the Communists seems to presage an attack on Formosa, served only to make confusion worse confounded.

Since Peiping is proclaiming night and day that it intends to "liberate" Formosa, there can be no doubt that these islands would be steppingstones

to their objective, just as in Nationalist hands they constitute Free China's last best hope of liberating the mainland from the Communists. But Mr. Dulles' phrase "as such" leaves it open to us to pretend to ourselves that Communist China will cease and desist from aggression if we let her take the Quemoy and Matsu in exchange for a cease-fire in the Formosa Straits.

Since everyone must know after our Korean experience that Peiping, like Moscow, cannot be counted upon to honor even its treaty obligations—much less any behind-the-scenes "deal"—the effect of the "as such" statement is to leave the way open for a graceful re-

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Freda Utley, one of America's foremost authorities on the Communist conspiracy, learned her ABC's of communism the hard way. Formerly a British Laborite, she openly espoused the Communist cause in 1928, and married a citizen of the USSR. In 1930, she moved to Moscow with her husband where "it took only a few months of life in the Soviet Union to make me realize how mistaken I had been." Her husband was arrested in 1936, and she and her young son escaped Russia only because she had retained her British citizenship. Needless to say, Freda Utley was no longer a Communist after "that hard winter of 1930-31."

An outstanding authority on communism in general, she has written several books on the subject. In *The Dream We Lost*, she described her life in Russia, and in a book better known to Americans, *The China Story*, she carefully and accurately describes the disastrous China policy which has successfully reduced a great American ally to the indescribable slavery of Communist despotism.

In this article, she describes the present foreign policy of the United States, its future, and its probable consequences. Miss Utley's revelations to the American people through her books, articles and lectures perform a remarkable public service.



Freda Utley

SITUATION

Building a Socialist Society

by NIKOLAI A. BULGANIN, Premier of USSR

Delivered before a joint session of the Supreme Soviet, Moscow, February 9, 1955

Contrast is here presented, not only in the views of two experts on world affairs in general and Soviet affairs in particular, but also in the freedom with which Freda Utley, a naturalized U.S. private citizen, may criticize the policy, or lack of policy, of the U.S. administration, while N. A. Bulganin, though supposedly top minister of the Soviet Union, is confined to the Communist party line expressed in characteristically cold-storage style.

COMRADE Deputies, you have accorded me a great honor and trust by appointing me chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I thank you, comrades, for the honor and I assure you that I shall devote all my strength to justify your confidence.

First of all, I must assure the Supreme Soviet that in all its activities the Council of Ministers will continue to carry out consistently the policy worked out by the Communist party; the policy of building a Communist society, of further consolidating the might of the Soviet state, of strengthening the alliance between the working class and the collective farm peasantry—a policy of strengthening peace and security.

The implementation of such a policy guarantees the further flourishing of our Socialist state and the raising of the people's well-being.

The whole activity of the Communist party and of the Soviet state is subordinated to the lofty task of constantly improving the life of the workers.

HEAVY INDUSTRY OUTPUT

Heavy industry has always been and remains the foundation for the further upsurge of our national economy. Its present output is nearly three and a half times greater than in the pre-war year of 1940. Our highly developed heavy industry is the great, historical achievement of the Communist party and of the Soviet people.

As [is] well known, heavy industry has rendered a wonderful service to the cause of the constitution of socialism and the consolidation of the independence of our homeland.

Heavy industry is the basis of the indestructible defensiveness of the country and of the might of our valiant armed forces.

Recall, comrades, the fearful years of the great fatherland war.

If, at that time, there had been in our country no mighty economic basis, no

—Reprinted from VITAL SPEECHES, March 1, 1955.

heavy industry, we would not have triumphed over the enemy armed to his teeth.

Heavy industry insured for us the freedom and independence of our homeland.

Heavy industry insures the development of all branches of our national economy, agriculture, light and food industry, and therefore is the source of a constant rise in the prosperity of the Soviet people.

In order to advance agriculture, which gives raw material to the light industries, it is necessary to supply it with a sufficient number of tractors, harvester combines and other farming machines. Only heavy industry is able to give us all this.

In developing heavy industry, we have always followed and we shall follow the directives of the great Lenin and of the faithful continuator of his work, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

The policy of the preferential development of heavy industry, which the

party has defended in a fierce struggle against class enemies and their agencies, is justified by the entire course of building socialism in our country. That policy corresponds to the vital interests of the Soviet state and our people.

AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT

A very important task of the Government will be to carry out measures worked out by the Central Committee of the Communist party in regard to the development of Socialist agriculture in order to safeguard the ever-growing requirements of the population in food products and of industry in raw materials.

In this connection, an enormous importance should be attached to the resolution passed recently by the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, in which the task of increasing grain production during the next five or six years up to ten billion poods [a pood is about thirty-six pounds] and to raise the production of basic products of



—Wide World Photo

In 1938, top Russian leaders watched proceedings at a joint conference of the two branches of Russia's Red Parliament, the Supreme Soviet, at the Kremlin in Moscow. The parliament met Jan. 15 and adjourned Jan. 19 without accomplishing any legislative work. Shown, left to right, N. Bulganin (then a deputy), A. Zhdanov, Stalin, K. Voroshilov, and N. Khrushchev.

animal breeding by two or two-and-a-half times.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the party has indicated the ways and means by which it is possible to reach the solution of that nation-wide problem.

Among these means, beside the increase of agricultural yields and the reduction of the losses at harvests, the most accessible and rapid means is the putting under cultivation of virgin fallow lands. Already in 1956 the sowings of these lands will extend to no less than 28,000,000 to 30,000,000 hectares.

A most important reserve in the production of grain is also the increase of the area under corn in the country, from 3,500,000 to 28,000,000 hectares.

The increase of grain production, and particularly of so fertile a cultivated plant as corn, will allow resolving in a radical manner the problem of creating basic fodder production for animal husbandry.

The solution in five or six years of such colossal problems in agriculture is absolutely realistic and within the means of the country. But to achieve that it is necessary to mobilize all forces of the collective farm peasantry, of the working class and of the entire Soviet people in order to bring agricultural production to a new higher level on the basis of most modern technology and of advanced and highly productive working methods, which are completely mastered by the advanced workers of our agriculture.

Information reaching us from all the provinces of the country tells us that the toilers of the cities and villages warmly approve the resolution of the plenary session of the Central Committee and are ready to carry it out.

Party and government organizations must put themselves at the head of the fight to do everything necessary to carry out the task envisaged by the Central Committee.

On the basis of the further development of heavy industries and of agriculture, the production of consumer goods—clothing, footwear, food products, utensils and goods to meet the cultural needs of the population—will be increased.

Special attention should be paid to further development of Soviet science, to bring science even closer to the task of solving urgent problems of the building of communism, to raise its role in technical progress and in the advance of Socialist culture.

Comrades, Deputies, our most immediate task in the field of management of national economy is fulfillment of the state plan for this year—the decisive year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

According to the state plan for the development of the national economy in 1955, the total gross production of industry is planned to increase, in com-

parison with 1954, by some 9 per cent.

Industrial output this year will be 80 per cent higher than in 1950.

This means that we shall fulfill the industrial five-year plan as scheduled.

Production in heavy industry will rise even more. It will increase, over the five years, by 84 per cent.

In comparison with last year, the conveyance by road-motor, river and sea transport was increased considerably.

In agriculture serious work on the fulfillment of the decision of the January plenum of the Central Committee of the party will have to be carried out this year. The plan provides for a considerable increase in the production of grain, industrial crops, potatoes, vegetables, meat, milk, eggs and wool. Increased resources of agricultural raw materials provided for by the 1955 plan will insure a further expansion of the production of mass consumer goods which, as compared with 1950, will increase by 71 per cent.

The year 1955 will be a year of a further upsurge in the material prosperity and in the cultural standard of the life of the people.

Compared with last year, national income will rise by 10 per cent. The remuneration of workers and employees will increase, the incomes of peasants in kind and money will rise, and there will be more housing.

Fulfillment of the national economic plan for the present year will demand maximum mobilization and better use of existing economic resources and hard work of our whole people.

A further rise in labor productivity is of the greatest importance in the solution of tasks set by the plan. The growth of labor productivity is a most important factor in achieving more production, lower costs and greater savings. However, it must be admitted quite frankly that we have serious shortcomings in this important task. The growth of labor productivity lags behind the tasks set in the Five-Year Plan.

Comrades, we must not forget the instructions of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin on the decisive importance of labor productivity in the building of a new society. We must bear in mind the fact that only as far as the productivity of all public labor is increased shall we be able to increase public consumption. Much has been done in our country for the technical equipment of labor and making it easier, and raising the qualifications of working people. This work must continue.

We must improve the organization of labor and secure the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the schedules of productivity of labor fixed for 1955, bearing in mind that these schedules are far from being excessive.

The solution of economic tasks facing us depends to a considerable extent on the application in all branches of na-

tional economy of advanced technical methods. Our technical successes are indisputable.

By commissioning the first industrial power station operating on atomic energy, projected and built through the efforts of Soviet scientists and engineers, our country made a realistic step in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

As already stated, we are engaged now in devising a more powerful electrical station working on atomic energy. But however great are our achievements in the domain of technical progress, there are still many serious shortcomings in many branches of the national economy.

Some of our scientific and research institutions are lagging behind in devising machines and production methods corresponding to the present level of world technical achievements. The same can be said about industrial undertakings, which are slow in the practical application of modern industrial methods.

It is necessary to correct all this. It is necessary to improve the work of ministries, scientific institutions and technical workers engaged on such matters so that technical progress in our country is speeded up all the time. Ministers and managers of government departments must be held responsible for carrying it out, because it is an important state task.

One of the conditions for the successful development of national economy is the state's material reserves. Reserves mean our might and strengthening of the country's defense capacity. Therefore, it would be an unforgivable mistake to relax attention from this most important task or to yield to the temptation of solving private, present problems at the expense of the state's reserves.

To increase the state's stock of raw materials, manufactured materials, fuel, industrial goods and foodstuffs is our most important task.

The party is constantly pursuing a policy of all-round and steady economic and cultural development of all the republics and regions belonging to the great Soviet Union.

Recently some ministries have been turned from all-Union into Union-republic ministries. In this connection a substantial proportion of enterprises has been turned over from all-Union control to Union-republic control. Making use of new and more elaborate means, the state and economic organs of the Union republics must improve their leadership in economic and cultural development.

The fulfillment of the 1955 state budget, which has been approved by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., demands that all ministries, enterprises, construction establishments and eco-

economic organizations apply strictest economics, give daily attention to the problem of lowering costs and insure making the prescribed saving.

We are obliged to strive to achieve a more perfect and cheaper state apparatus and to improve its works, eradicating bureaucratic methods of management, improving the standard of organizational work and the responsibility for the tasks entrusted in all sections of the administration.

Cultivation of the sense of what is new, advanced and progressive in all leaders, both great and small; wide use of the initiative of the working masses and constant development of criticism and self-criticism are a decisive condition for the further perfection of the work of the apparatus.

There are still many shortcomings in all fields of our state work in economic and cultural building, the removal of which will call for considerable effort on our part.

The Deputies who have been debating the state budget here have made a number of correct and critical remarks addressed to ministries and departments. The government will study the declarations of the Deputies and will take the necessary measures to remove the shortcomings noticed by them.

FOREIGN POLICY

Comrades, Deputies, yesterday you listened to the speech made by Comrade Molotov, the Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. His speech contained a correct analysis of the present international situation and he fully explained the policy of the Soviet government.

Unanimous approval of the foreign policy of the Soviet government by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. once again confirms that this policy corresponds to the essential interests of our people. At the same time the policy corresponds to the aspirations and hopes, not only of our people, but also of the peoples of other countries.

Peoples have no stronger desire than the desire for peace. The Soviet government, by all its actions, has proved and is proving that it stands for peace and defends the cause of peace, that it contributes continuously to the easing of international tension and the establishment of normal relations with all the peoples.

We build our relations with other states guided by the desire to assist the cause of strengthening peace, strictly observing the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries.

We stand for such negotiations and aim at such agreements with foreign countries as would lead to a relaxation of tension in international relations. It is self-evident that any negotiations can be successful only if the other side, too, strives to the same goal. We think that

under modern conditions this is the only real road which could produce positive results.

The Soviet government will consistently continue to pursue the policy of peace and general security which has been justified and proven by practice—a policy of friendly relations with all nations.

The normalization of the international situation and the improvement of relations between countries would promote the establishment of mutually advantageous economic relations between the interested states based on equality.

Every country must be able to sell freely all that it can and to buy all it needs from other countries, without any discrimination.

As regards our country, we stand for extensive trade with all countries, irrespective of their state or social structure.

It is clear to all that without trade that would take respective interests into account there can be no normal relations between countries. The expansion of international trade relations and the removal of barriers obstructing businesslike economic cooperation could greatly assist the improvement of relations between states.

We believe that in the capitalist countries there are sound forces that will find means to improve relations between countries in the interests of maintaining peace and the security of the peoples.

The Soviet Union is a peaceful country. She does not threaten anyone and does not prepare to attack anybody. We strive to develop political, economic and cultural relations with all countries that want to have such relations with the Soviet Union.

During the years of war against Fascist Germany there existed a close cooperation between the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain, later joined by France. That cooperation gave, as it is known, positive results. It could also continue now, in peacetime.

It is not our fault that the situation has changed. At present the government of the United States tried to build its relations with us not on a basis of mutual understanding, but on the basis of a policy from a position of power. Such a policy is a dangerous policy. It leads not to cooperation but to the worsening of relations. It does not lead to a restriction of the armaments race and is fraught with the threat of unleashing a new war.

The aggressive policy of the United States and her preparation for the unleashing of a new war should not be underestimated by us.

The reactionary circles of the United States and of the countries depending on it endeavor to revive German militarism and to include a remilitarized

Western Germany in the aggressive military groupings of the Western powers.

In Asia, too, they are setting up military blocs, organizing military provocation against the Chinese People's Republic and intervening in her internal affairs.

The American government has embarked on the dangerous road of aggravating the situation in the area of Taiwan (Formosa).

It increases there its armed forces, navy and air forces, and continues to conduct a policy of provoking war.

Not taking account of the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic and trampling upon international agreements, the United States seized an ancient and inalienable part of the territory of China—the island of Taiwan—and transformed it into a hotbed of military provocations in the Far East.

One cannot help but wonder at the attitude assumed by the United Nations in connection with this problem. Until now, it has not condemned the aggressive action of the United States against China and has not demanded from the United States the immediate withdrawal of her armed forces from Taiwan and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic.

CHINESE UPHELD

The policy of the Chinese government concerning that problem has called forth our complete approval and support.

The Chinese People's Republic attracts the sympathy of the Soviet people and of all of progressive mankind precisely because she is leading a struggle for a just cause, for the honor and independence of her country. In that noble cause, the Chinese people can reckon with the help of their faithful friend, the great Soviet people.

The United States continues to expand the network of its military bases around peaceful countries and to conduct an intense armaments race. In this, a special stress is laid on the development of the air force and of atomic weapons.

For a long time an atmosphere of war hysteria has reigned in the United States. Political and military leaders frequently make warlike statements and threats. Some of them went so far as to appeal openly for the use of atomic weapons in a war against peace-loving states.

One must call to order those madmen who are rattling the atom bomb. This is demanded by the peoples, and no government, of whatever country, can disregard it.

The policy of the aggressive forces of the capitalist camp shall not catch our peoples unawares.

Aggressors, it seems, seriously think that the more they threaten the more we get frightened. We have heard many

threats, but the Soviet people is not easily frightened and nobody could succeed in frightening it.

In the present circumstances the Soviet Union will continue to stand as a sentinel of peace and increase its military defense.

The government of the Soviet Union will strengthen collaboration and brotherly friendship with the Chinese People's Republic and with all other People's Democracies, will work to restore German unity on a peaceful and democratic basis, to broaden and augment cultural and business relations and cultural exchange with all the countries that maintain normal relations with the Soviet Union.

What can one say of those shortsighted politicians who regard our peaceful disposition as a kind of manifestation of our weakness? They must remember, first of all, the recent lessons of history, the fate of the Hitlerite aggressors. It is known that there have been other adventurers who conspired against our motherland.

They all have met with a shameful defeat.

Our people have always been able

to stand up for themselves and have given a crushing rebuff to all who have made an attempt against their freedom and independence. So it will be in the future.

As before, it must be our task to put unhesitatingly into effect the teachings of Lenin, to be constantly vigilant and guard like the apple of our eye our armed forces and the defensive capacity of our country.

During the great patriotic war the Soviet Army showed its superiority over the opponent's army, and our armament surpassed the armaments of the German army, at that time regarded as the best among the capitalist countries.

INCREASED MILITARY STRENGTH

To maintain in future the superiority achieved by Soviet arms over the capitalist armies the Central Committee and the government carried out a great task during the postwar period and achieved great success in supplying our armed forces with new, most modern arms and military technique.

At present we have a first-class, well-armed and militarily fit army, air force and navy, ready to accomplish any task

set by the Communist party and the Soviet government to insure the firm security of our country.

The strengthening of the defensive power of the state and the maintenance of the military fitness of the gallant armed forces on the level dictated by the interests of our country, the international situation and the developments in military science will continue to remain one of the main cares of our party and government.

Comrades, Deputies, the unbreakable union of the people, the government and the Communist party, the moral and political unity of the Soviet society, the friendship of our peoples and the readiness of the Soviet people to work heroically for the good of the Socialist fatherland have always been the mighty source of the strength of the Soviet state.

There can be no doubt that in the future, too, the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia of our country will spare no effort to raise still further the might of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to achieve new success in the building of communism.

Physician Diagnoses Communism

Dr. Fred Schwarz is a surgeon and psychiatrist who left his medical practice in Australia to wage a one-man war against communism. His Christian Anti-Communism Crusade has offices at Waterloo, Iowa. He is much in demand as a speaker and his anti-Communist pamphlets have sold widely.

The following selections are excerpts from *The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism*; *The Christian Answer to Communism*, and *The Communist Interpretation of Peace*.

THE mass-murder program of communism is a logical and inescapable consequence of their basic beliefs. It is science in action....

Recently I conversed with two very well-known men, each of whom had been a member of the American Communist party for many years. Of both I asked the same question, "What are the plans of the American Communist party with regard to liquidation in this country?" Both replied in this vein: I often heard it discussed in party circles. The argument went like this: The character disease is derived from the capitalistic system. Capitalism in America is more developed than in any other country. Therefore its imprint in personality is deeper. The percentage to be liquidated here will be correspondingly higher. As a tentative figure shall we say about one-third of the American people will be marked for liquidation....

It is amazing how the delusion lingers in academic, religious and labor circles that communism is merely the revolt of workers against tyranny. In spite of the utterly irrefutable evidence to the con-

trary this belief lingers on. It ignores utterly the clear truth that the only countries that have fallen under Communist domination are those with a common border with another Communist country. Since the Bolshevik conquest of Russia no country has spontaneously turned Communist. Surely the meanest intelligence should be able to answer these questions: "Is East Germany Communist and West Germany non-Communist because of economic conditions or because of the presence of the Red Army and proximity to Russia?" "Is North Korea Communist and South Korea non-Communist because of economic conditions or because of the proximity of Russia and Red China to North Korea?" If the economic conditions of the whole world vastly improved, the Communist party would merely intensify its efforts to come to power. In 1949 the country of Australia was at the very peak of prosperity but the Communist conspiracy came within an inch of the conquest of the entire country. Communism is the scientific exploitation of communal force of any nature in the effort to bring a minority

to absolute power. The early Communist leaders were middle class intellectuals and not children of labor. These fanatical religionists, for such the Communists really are, will certainly exploit economic hardship for their own purposes but that is by no means the only force they will exploit. They will endeavor to utilize any situation for their purposes. To this end they will lie, cheat, and betray and to do so actually become virtuous in their system of morality. They exploit nationalism, religion, color, creed, in fact, any and every force to which human nature is prone. To believe that communism is primarily a revolt against poverty is to fall victim to the Marxist snare, and to teach that communism can be stopped by the simple improvement in economic conditions is to fall to the level of contemptible political quackery....

Stalin defines the term "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as "The rule, based on force and unrestricted by law, of the Proletariat over the Bourgeoisie." Put simply this means the rule, based on force and unrestricted by law, of the

Communist party over everyone else. . . . Having established the dictatorship of the Communist party it now becomes their duty to scientifically implement a program directed to the elimination of the residual Capitalist disease and the building of a new and redeemed race of Socialist men and women so that communism may ultimately come to pass. . . .

TRANSFERRING THE HERDS

The problem has entered the familiar and well-trodden pathway of animal husbandry. The problem may be presented thus: The husbandman, the Communist party, has transferred his herds from the diseased environment of capitalism to the disease-free environment of socialism. Unfortunately, the animals bring with them the disease contracted in their old environment. The dominant motive of the husbandman is to breed a new stock, entirely free from this disease.

This cannot be done in a day. Obviously he will have to concentrate on the new generation for his finished product and utilize his present stock in the best possible manner to accomplish the necessary work of the new environment, without permitting them to transmit the disease to the young. The virility and infectiousness of the disease varies according to that portion of the old environment the animals inhabited. Certain environmental areas, i.e. certain classes of society, produce a more virulent and infectious disease. Obviously these animals must be eliminated for the well-being of the whole program.

There is absolutely no element of reprisal or punishment in this liquidation; it is simply a necessary scientific procedure. The husbandman may presumably be very fond of certain diseased animals, but sentiment has no place in a scientific program; the animal must go. This is entirely logical within the framework of the Communist beliefs. Remember there is no God; man is pure animal; there is no question of soul or spirit, of heaven or hell, to be considered. This is simply scientific human betterment on a mass scale.

There is in general a complete misunderstanding as to the Communist attitude toward killing in a Socialist society. I have been a known opponent of communism for many years, having challenged Communists to debate on any platform in the world. How often friends have said to me, "If the Communists come to power you will be one of the first to be killed."

I always pretend innocence and reply, "Is that so? Why?"

I am then informed that the Communists will punish me because I have opposed them. I hasten to reply that this reveals a complete failure to understand the very mind of communism. They do not punish or reward. These are Bourgeois ideas that have no place within a redeemed Communist mind. No enlight-

ened Communist blames me for my opposition to communism. I am merely the unfortunate victim of my economic environment. Unfortunately I am diseased, and thus a danger to the whole program of human betterment. So I must be liquidated, but no more so than all other members of my social class.

Since all personality is derived from our social class, all members of a given class have actually or potentially the dangerous disease of character, and they must all be eliminated. The treatment you are to receive should the Communists come to power is entirely unrelated to the attitude you have adopted to them in the past. Opposition begets no penalty, and support begets no reward. A Bourgeois class of origin begets liquidation.

• • •

Should the Communist menace conquer this country, it may comfort you to know that the hand that condemns you and your family to death is driven not by malicious vindictive hatred, but by scientific necessity.

Not all those diseased are immediately liquidated by bullet or bayonet. Others go by the slower pathway of overwork and starvation. Let us return to our animal husbandry analogy. The herd has been transferred to the new environment of socialism. In this environment a great deal of work cries out to be done, and there is a totally inadequate supply of clean stock for the purpose. It is therefore reasonable to select diseased animals in whom the disease is not overwhelmingly contagious, segregate them, and put them to work until they die. They are not allowed to breed, and thus contaminate the future race, but they can be useful in segregation. This is done under arduous conditions of climatic extremes, overcrowding, malnutrition, and frequent death. Nevertheless, much work useful to socialism is thus accomplished. Canals and railways are built, salt, coal, gold, and uranium are mined, lumber is felled for export, and cities are built in the frozen Arctic wastes. In these conditions of labor the average time to die takes approximately three years, and much work is accomplished in that time.

• • •

In a democratic form of government it is not adequate that understanding be confined to one strata of society. The people are the final source of power and authority for action. The knowledge of the basic issues and principles involved must penetrate to the very core of the people; to the grass-roots. A people elects a government in its own image. If the people are ignorant they will be the victims of slogans and duplicity and elect ignorant representatives; an immoral people will elect rulers of a low moral caliber; democracy like water tends to find its own level. The education must be taken to the people and

received by the people. This is no easy task, nevertheless it must be achieved.

There are so many competing voices for the attention of the people. Every scientific mechanism is utilized to distract the citizen from consistent analytical thought. Sensation is a substitute for perception and a slogan for understanding. We are in danger of developing a comic strip mentality. The variety and attractiveness of entertainment is such that no time for serious study and contemplation remains. Nevertheless the people must be reached with the message or we are lost. The Communists claim that this very fact, the unwillingness of our sensation-crazed people for consistent thought, is the guarantee of their victory. The problem is to batter through the entertainment curtain that envelops the American people and to awaken them with the message.

COMMUNISM "DEDICATED GODLESSNESS"

Every modern means must be utilized to this end. The message must deluge the American home from the radio, from television, from school and pulpit, from magazine and book. This will need considerable finance but no sounder investment of money could be made than in such a task. The wealthy corporations of America have set aside money for the maintenance and improvement of the American way of life, but it has in many instances fallen into the hands of clever yet sinister men to be used to destroy the very foundations on which American freedom is built. Christian money, American money should be invested in a vast education program to preserve business, labor, the family, religion and America. . . .

Education is vitally necessary, but by itself it is inadequate. It must be accompanied by evangelism. *Communism is dedicated godlessness*. It originates in rejection of God. It is the *reductio ad absurdum* of humanism. It is the logical end point of the atheistic, materialistic evolution and economic determinism of secular education. If the premises on which communism is built are accepted there is an insoluble logical dilemma in rejecting its conclusions.

• • •

I cannot go fully into the dialectic, but I would like to tell you some of the basic communistic concepts. The first one, which they get from the dialectic, is, that they are ordained to rule the world; this conquest is fixed in the eternal nature of things. They believe that the same force that determines that the sun shall rise in the morning has ordained that they shall rule the world. World conquest is as essential to the being of communism as water is to fish life. The moment any Communist ceases to believe in its certainty, he ceases to be a Communist. Communists are utterly con-

(Continued on Page 40)

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ILLINOIS

Bloomington	WBLN-TV**	15	Fri	9:00 p
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WKRO†	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Chicago	WGN*	720	Sun	9:15 p
	WGN*	720	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WDAN-TV**	24	To be announced	
Harrisburg	WEBQ-AM**	1240	Wed	2:00 p
	WEBQ-FM**	99.9	Wed	8:00 p
Kewanee	WKEL*	1450	Sun	12:15 p
	WKEL*	1450	Sun	1:00 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:30 p
Litchfield	WSMI*	1540	Sun	
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Rock Island	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
Rockford	WREX-TV**	13	Sat	4:00 p

INDIANA

Bedford	WBIW*	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Fort Wayne	WKJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Jasper	WITZ*	990	Sun	1:00 p
Lafayette	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WASK†	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Lafayette	WFAM-TV*	59	Sun	8:00 p
Portland	WPGW*	1440	To be announced	
	WPGW*	1440	To be announced	
Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Tues	5:00 p
	WJCD*	1390	Sun	5:30 p

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	KCRG†	1600	Mon	8:30 p
	KCRG†	1600	Thurs	8:30 p
Clinton	KROS†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KROS†	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Decorah	KDEC†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KDEC†	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Des Moines	WHO*	1040	Mon	9:15 p
	WHO*	17	Fri	7:00 p
Marshalltown	KFJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	KFJB†	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KRIB†	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Oelwein	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:30 p
Ottumwa	KBIH†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KBIH†	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Spencer	KICD†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Storm Lake	KAYL*	990	Sun	9:35 a
Waterloo	KWWL†	1330	Mon	8:30 p
	KWWL†	1330	Thurs	8:30 p
	KWWL-TV**	7	Sun	1:00 p

Make a list of Facts Forum stations which reach you and hand or mail it to friends.

KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced	
	KCRB*	1460	Sat	5:15 p
Dodge City	KGNO†	1370	Mon	8:30 p
	KGNO†	1370	Thurs	8:30 p
Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Hutchinson	KWHK*	1260	Sun	
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
	KIND†	1010	Thurs	8:30 p
Lawrence	KLWN*	1320	Sun	6:00 p
McPherson	KNEK*	1540	To be announced	
	KNEK*	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Pittsburg	KSEK*	1150	Mon	8:30 p
Salina	KSAL†	1150	Thurs	8:30 p

KENTUCKY

Campbellsville	WTCO*	1150	To be announced	
Cumberland	WCPM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1280	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL*	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	WKIC†	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Henderson	WSON†	860	Mon	8:30 p
	WSON†	860	Thurs	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX*	1300	Sun	5:30 p
Louisville	WAVE*	970	Sun	1:30 p
	WAVE*	970	Sun	8:30 p
Madisonville	WPMW*	730	Sun	1:30 p
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WPKE†	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	To be announced	

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge	WJBO*	1150	Fri	9:45 p
	WJBO*	1150	Sun	8:15 a
Crowley	KSIG*	1450	To be announced	
	KSIG*	1450	Sun	4:00 p
Lake Charles	KPLC*	1470	Sun	9:15 p
	KTAG-TV**	25	Thurs	7:30 p
	KTAG-TV**	25	Thurs	7:00 p
Mansfield	KDBC*	1360	Sun	4:30 p
Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun	1:30 p
Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat	6:05 p
	KNOE-TV*	8	Sat	5:30 p
New Orleans	WNOE*	1060	To be announced	
	WNOE*	1060	Thurs	8:30 p
	WJMR-TV**	61	Sun	2:00 p
	WJMR-TV**	61	Sun	9:00 p
	WJMR-TV**	61	Sun	9:30 p
Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	8:30 p
	KSLO*	1230	Tues	8:00 p
Ruston	KRUS*	1490	Sun	6:15 p
Shreveport	KTHS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KENT†	1550	Thurs	8:30 p

MAINE

Orono	WORO*	To be announced		
Portland	WCSH*	970	Sun	1:15 p
Annapolis	WASL*	810		

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I am gratified and relieved that at last we have a program that is giving to the people of this country an unbiased account of the important issues of the day... Means must be devised to counteract the efforts of traitorous politicians... and all the rest who put selfish ambition before the best interests of all. Russia is waiting for these scoundrels to succeed....

George E. Blandford
Ivy Towers, McLean, Va.

I am an observer and admirer of your television series, FACTS FORUM, with Mr. Dan Smoot. The program is one of the most beneficial, educational, and proficient I have had the pleasure to see and hear....

Roy R. Yoakum, Sec.-Treas.
North Texas-New Mexico Division
Standlind Employee's Bargaining Agency
P. O. Box 899, Roswell, N. M.

Your... program has been a source of much information and enjoyment to our family....

Margaret G. Unkel
1270 Jerusalem Ave., East Meadow, N. Y.

Yours is the best program I have seen over television. It certainly gives one food for thought....

I would greatly appreciate having a copy of the discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of labor unions ["Right-to-Work Laws"] which we have just heard. [Dan Smoot] presents each side of a question fairly and most convincingly.

Vivian Cook
270 E. Georgetown St.,
Crystal Springs, Miss.

...The magazine definitely "dispels apathy" and provides material that provokes many spirited discussions in various classes.

Sister Joan Marie, Ph.D.
Chairman of Social Sciences
College of Notre Dame, Belmont, Calif.

I am in hearty agreement with the idea advanced in an article published in the March issue of the *Facts Forum News*, that business men should add patriotic touches to their advertising.

I hope that this will be followed through by you and by others who will set up specific steps for implementing advertising programs with the most effective plugs for patriotism. This appears to be a great safeguard for free economy.

I shall be glad to cooperate to the extent of my ability and shall look forward to assisting in this program. I am asking our advertising agency to provide us with concrete plans, examples, suggestions, including effective slogans, etc., for use in ADDING PATRIOTISM TO ADS.

It is my purpose and intent to expand and to enlarge on ADDING PATRIOTISM TO (our) ADS, as we go along.

Edw. R. Maher, President
Ed Maher, Inc., "The" Dallas Ford Dealer
420 N. Harwood, Dallas, Texas

MARYLAND

Baltimore	WBAL*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
Cambridge	WCEM*	1240	Sun	7:00 p
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p
	WBOC-TV*	16	Tues	9:30 p

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WBZ*	1030	Mon	8:15 p
	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
	WNAC†	680	Thurs	9:30 p
Holyoke	WREB*	930	Sun	2:30 p
Pittsfield	WMGT-TV*	74	Fri	7:30 p
West Yarmouth	WOCH*	1240	Fri	9:30 p
Worcester	WWOR-TV**	14	Sun	3:00 p

MICHIGAN

Alpena	WATZ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WATZ†	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV*	20	Fri	8:00 p
	WPAG-TV**	20	Mon	8:00 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon	9:30 p
	WBCK†	930	Thurs	9:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WATT†	1240	Thurs	9:30 p
	WTVW-TV**	13	Thurs	7:30 p
Detroit	WJR*	760	Sun	10:30 p
	WJBK*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
	WJBK-TV*	2	Sun	10:30 a
Escanaba	WDBC†	680	Mon	8:30 p
	WDBC†	680	Thurs	9:30 p
Flint	WBB†	1330	Mon	9:30 p
Grand Rapids	WFUR*	1570	Sat	12:30 p
Iron River	WIKB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	WIKB†	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon	8:30 p
	WJMS†	630	Thurs	8:30 p
Lansing	WILS-TV**	54	Wed	7:30 p
	WILS-TV*	54	Thurs	7:30 p
Petoskey	WMBN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WMBN†	1340	Thurs	9:30 p
Saginaw	WKNX-TV*	57	Sat	9:30 p
Saginaw-Bay City	WSGW†	790	Mon	9:30 p
	WSGW†	790	Thurs	9:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR*	1230	Sun	

MINNESOTA

Austin	KAUS†	1480	Mon	8:30 p
	KAUS†	1480	Thurs	8:30 p
Bemidji	KMMT-TV**	6	Fri	8:00 p
	KBUN†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KBUN†	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KBMW*	1450	To be announced	
Grand Rapids	KBZY†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	10:15 p
Wadena	KWAD†	920	Thurs	8:30 p

To subscribe, see Page 45

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	8:30 p
Brookhaven	WJMB†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	WJMB†	1340	Thurs	8:30 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	8:30 p
	WSLI-TV**	12	To be announced	
	WJTV-TV*	25	Tues	6:00 p
McComb	WAPF*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPF*	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO*	1230	Fri	6:30 p
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
	KFVS†	960	Thurs	8:30 p
Charleston	KCHR*	To be announced		
Clinton	KDKD*	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
	KHMO†	1070	Thurs	8:30 p
Jefferson City	KLIK*	950	Sun	1:45 p
	KWOS†		Mon	8:30 p
	KWOS†		Thurs	8:30 p
Joplin	KFSB†	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues	
Kansas City	KMBC*	980	Sun	12:15 p
	KMBC-TV*	9	Fri	2:30 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	8:30 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. Joseph	KFEQ-TV*	2	Sun	1:00 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
	KSTS*	1050	To be announced	
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

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*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters' Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from Page 31)

trust he holds for foreign governments to his own we would have peace.

Actually, Mr. Cousins' own example may well furnish more of a clue to the way of peace than his advocacy of world government. He is a genuinely friendly humanitarian, possessing very sincere friendship for and interest in the people of all lands. Herein he practices a high type of "world citizenship" which can never be inspired by political organization.

"CART BEFORE THE HORSE"

It would seem that a universal sense of friendship would need to be a very clearly demonstrated foundation stone of such an organization of the world as Mr. Cousins proposes. But that is a goal in itself; it would seem to be the best that could be claimed for the world organization. So, to this reviewer, there seems to be that ever-recurring "cart before the horse" taste to the whole thing. It just seems that this age is indulging in such an inordinate emphasis upon and worship of human planning and organization that basic moral and ethical precepts are being reduced to mere argumentative trappings—promises rather than premises. The emphasis upon organization derives, in part, from a basic tenet of collectivist faith, and ultimates in a desire to herd people into movements, programs, and all manner of "group" undertakings.

In a chapter entitled, "Two Guesses About Tomorrow," Mr. Cousins undertakes to paint in future perspective the contrasting world pictures resulting from rejection or acceptance of world government. The picture derived from rejection—"The Repudiation of Man"—is far from complimentary to that course. The other picture—"The Age of Valor"—is quite rosy.

In commenting upon the reasons for "The Repudiation of Man," Mr. Cousins writes (p. 280), "And a group conscience never materialized—perhaps for want of stature in leadership that could mold it and release it, perhaps because men never learned to comprehend that they were interrelated parts of a single organism—the human organism."

ROOT IDEA OF COLLECTIVISM

There it is—the root idea, the basic premise, of collectivism. This is the concept upon which the twentieth century collectivist tyrannies—communism, nazism, fascism—have been founded: the theory of dynamic social organism. Mr. Cousins would cry out against the conclusions which could be, and have been, derived from this pernicious theory.

Mussolini wrote, "The nation is not merely the sum total of living individuals, still less the instrument of parties

for their own ends, but an organism comprising the unlimited series of generations of which individuals are merely transient elements...."

Goebbels translated it into a form which we all find revolting: "There is no freedom of the individual; there is only freedom of peoples, nations or races, for these are the only material and historical realities through which the life of the individual exists." This reminds the reviewer of a radio commentator's paraphrase of Scripture: "Government under which we move and have our being."

Mr. Cousins, as he goes around the world exhibiting the capacity for understanding and friendship resident in the individual, is doing his part toward building a peaceful world. But when he adopts the theory of social organism as a premise for his proposals, he lays a shaky foundation and does disservice to what might someday be a worthy proposal. It seems inescapable that a basic collectivist tenet held as a premise would lead to a collectivist world government in Mr. Cousins' conclusion. It would seem imperative that we start with the key thought of our Declaration of Independence—that man is endowed by his Creator with certain unalienable rights—and stop declaring man to be a part of or dependent upon some hypothetical "social organism." Then, perhaps, whatever human associations are needed and useful would appear spontaneously, without the need of agitation and organization of pressure groups.

We are hearing much these days about "world community." Yet its prospects seem to be less promising, if anything. Could it not be that the thing which is retarding the growth of true world community is the present-day insistence upon its definition and imposition in the organic, ecological sense? Perhaps William Henry Chamberlin pointed to the thing that is wrong when he wrote, "I believe that individual man's instinct is to create, while collective man's instinct is to destroy.... It is on human beings forcibly organized into permanent mobs that the contemporary Fascist-Communist technique of government depends."

CAN'T HAVE IT BOTH WAYS

It is no wish of the reviewer to belabor the point at the expense of Mr. Cousins' presentation. But it is a central point upon which the ideological conflict of this century turns. If we are going to accept the theory of social organism we are going to have to face the logical conclusions which derive from it. We can't have it both ways. *Who Speaks For Man?* is a sincere presentation and it should be read by those who wish to study contemporary issues. Mr. Cousins says that man must speak for himself. But man does not speak collectively; he speaks individually.

When individual man speaks for himself and no longer permits organized groups of men to speak for him, we will be much closer to the goal of universal peace.

Someday, somehow, men will perceive that Isaiah pointed out the way of (not to) peace: "O hadst thou harkened unto my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea." Human organizations cannot ordain this; they can only partake to the degree that these qualities are individually maintained. The precaution today is that we do not let ourselves be distracted from the humble individual responsibilities by the world's fascination with grandiose organization as the panacea for organized political evil.

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

TO AID FACTS FORUM

SEE if Patriotic air programs are properly scheduled in your paper.

LET your station and sponsor know that you are listening to Patriotic programs they are presenting.

PERSUADE advertisers to ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS.

SUGGEST to your merchant that his newspaper advertising will be more widely read if he will include a schedule showing time and stations carrying Patriotic programs on radio and TV. These ads will be clipped, saved and observed frequently in finding if and when programs which are desired will be on the air.

SEE that your newsdealer or favorite newsstand carries *Facts Forum News*.

ASK your local library to carry the *Facts Forum News*.

WRITE letters to editors defending those who are being smeared because they are fighting communism.

ACQUAINT the Program Chairmen of your educational or civic groups with materials furnished by *Facts Forum*.

WRITE us to send a sample copy of the *Facts Forum News* to friends who will be interested.

MONTANA			
Anaconda	KANA*	1230	To be announced
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs 7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLQ*	1230	Sat 9:00 p
Butte	KXLQ*	1230	Sat
	KXLQ*	1370	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLQ*	1370	To be announced
	KXLQ-TV**	6	Sun 9:45 p
	KXLQ-TV**	6	Wed 7:00 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun 6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLK*	1400	To be announced
Havre	KOJM†	610	Mon 7:30 p
	KOJM†	610	Thurs 7:30 p
Helena	KXLJ†	1240	Sat 9:00 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon 7:30 p
	KCAP†	1340	Thurs 7:30 p
	KXLJ*	1240	To be announced
Livingston	KPRK†	1340	Mon 7:30 p
	KPRK†	1340	Thurs 7:30 p
Miles City	KATL†	1340	Mon 7:30 p
	KATL†	1340	Thurs 7:30 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLL*	1450	To be announced
	KGVO-TV**	13	Fri 9:30 p
	KGVO-TV**	13	Sun 8:00 p
Shelby	KIYI†	1230	Mon 7:30 p
	KIYI†	1230	Thurs 7:30 p
Sidney	KGCX†	1480	Mon 7:30 p
	KGCX†	1480	Thurs 7:30 p

NEBRASKA			
Chadron	KCSR**		To be announced
Hastings	KHAS†	1230	Mon 8:30 p
	KHAS†	1230	Thurs 8:30 p
Lincoln	KLMS*	1480	Sun 6:15 p
McCook	KBRL†	1450	Mon 8:30 p
	KBRL†	1450	Thurs 8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG**	780	Sat 10:15 a
Omaha	KFAB*	1110	Sun 12:15 p
Scottsbluff	KNEB†	960	Mon 7:30 p

NEVADA			
Reno	KZTV-TV*	8	To be announced

NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Manchester	WMUR-TV**	9	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 7:30 p
Portales	KENM*	1450	Wed 7:15 p
	KENM*	1450	Fri 6:30 p
Roswell	KSWN-TV*	8	Sun 2:30 p

NEW YORK			
Albany	WPTR†	1540	Mon 9:30 p
	WPTR†	1540	Thurs 9:30 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490	
Auburn	WMBO†	1340	Mon 9:30 p
	WMBO†	1340	Thurs 9:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360	Mon 9:30 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Wed 10:15 a
Buffalo	WXR*	1080	Sun 9:30 a
Elmira	WTVF-TV**	24	Sun 6:30 p
Hornell	WLEA**	1480	Sun 3:00 p
Kingston	WKNY-TV*	66	Fri 7:30 p
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon 9:30 p
	WICY†	1490	Thurs 9:30 p
New York	WOR†	710	Sat 6:15 p
	WOR†	710	Sun 9:00 p
	WOR†	710	Mon 9:30 p
North Albany	WROW-TV*	41	Thurs 7:30 p
	WROW-TV**	41	Fri 9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon 9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLC**	1490	Wed 7:00 p
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon 9:30 p
	WATN†	1240	Thurs 9:30 p

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NORTH CAROLINA			
Asheboro	WGWR*	1260	Tues 6:45 p
Asheville	WWNC*	570	Sat 6:30 p
Burlington	WBBS*	920	Sun 1:00 p
Charlotte	WBT*	1110	Sun 5:30 p
	WIST†	930	Thurs 9:30 p
Concord	WGO*	1410	Wed 10:00 a
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240	Mon 9:30 p
	WCNC†	1240	Thurs 9:30 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	
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 9:30 p
Lenoir	WJRI†	1340	Mon 9:30 p
	WJRI†	1340	Thurs 9:30 p
Lexington	WBUT**	1450	Thurs 7:30 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun 1:15 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon 9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV*	28	Tues 10:00 p
	WPTF*	680	Sun 1:30 p
	WRAL†	1240	Mon 9:30 p
Roxboro	WRXO*	1490	
Salisbury	WSAT*	1280	Wed 8:00 p
	WSTP†	1490	Mon 9:30 p

DR. SCHWARZ

(Continued from Page 37)

vinced that they are ordained to rule the world...

Peace, to the Communist, is total victory. This it is by definition. By definition the Communist or Proletariat class is the peaceful class. There is no action that they can do which is not a peaceful action. If they shoot you it is with a peaceful gun; they put a peaceful bullet into your warlike brain; they give you a peaceful death and they bury you in a peaceful grave.

When the forces of Communist China advance with tanks and guns, bombs and bayonets, littering the field with death, what is it? The advance of the forces of peace.

The Communists are utterly dedicated to peace. When they say they stand for peace they can say it with the utmost sincerity, because peace, according to their system of thought and definition, is total Communist victory.

* * * * *

The Communist threat is very real. Its danger cannot be exaggerated. In the last few years it has put to death millions of Christians. It is highly probable that millions more will be called upon to seal their testimony with their blood in the very near future. If we are to face the firing squads of the enemy or to receive the special gift of a soft-nosed bullet through the back of our necks spattering our brains and faces against a bloody wall it does not mean that communism has triumphed and that the Christians have no answer to it. When the early Christian martyrs were fed to the lions and put to the sword of the gladiators that did not mean that the Christians had no answer to the pagan excesses of Rome. We have an answer, rich in comfort, glorious in assurance and that is the certainty of the Resurrection to life of all who die in the faith of Christ. The Apostle Paul could say, "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." Phil. 1:21. "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" ... Thanks be unto God who causes us to triumph through our Lord Jesus Christ." I Cor. 15:55, 57.

"If we be dead with Christ we shall also live with Him." II Timothy 2:11.

Christians! to arms. The enemy is at the gate. Buckle on the armor of the Christian and forth to the battle. With education, evangelism and dedication let us smite the Communist foe and if necessary give our lives in this noble cause. With courageous yet humble hearts, intelligent yet prayerful minds and dedicated indomitable wills we cry, "We shall not yield! Lift high the blood-stained banner of the Cross and on to victory."

NORTH CAROLINA—Continued			
Statesville	WSIC†	1400	Mon 9:30 p
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon 9:30 p
Washington	WHED**	1340	Wed 9:30 p
Wilmington	WCNI†	1340	Mon 9:30 p
	WMFD-TV**	6	Sun 8:00 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV*	26	Sun 9:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA			
Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240	Mon 8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX**	1230	
Fargo	WDAY-TV*	6	Sun 4:00 p
			alternating Sun 4:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun 4:30 p
Minot	KLPM†	1390	Thurs 8:30 p
Valley City	KOVC†	1490	Mon 8:30 p

OHIO			
Ashtabula	WICA**	970	Sat 8:00 p
	WICA-TV**	15	Wed 8:00 p
Canton	WCWM*	1060	Sun 12:15 p
Cincinnati	WLW*	700	Sun 12:30 p
	WLW*	700	Sun 6:30 p
Cleveland	WHK†	1420	Mon 9:30 p
	WHK†	1420	Thurs 9:30 p
Columbus	WTVN†	610	Mon 9:30 p
	WTVN†	610	Thurs 9:30 p
Dayton	WHIO†	1290	Tues 7:15 p
Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun 9:45 a
	WEOL**	930	Wed 7:30 p
Gallipolis	WJRH*	990	
Lima	WLOR-TV*	73	Tues 8:30 p
Hamilton	WMOH**	1450	Sun 12:30 p
Marietta	WMOA†	1490	Mon 9:30 p
	WMOA†	1490	Thurs 9:30 p
Newark	WCLT**	1430	Sun 6:30 p
Portsmouth	WNXT*	1260	Mon 8:15 p
Steubenville	WSTV-TV*	9	Sun 6:30 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Sun 10:00 p
Warren			
Youngstown	WHHH†	1440	Mon 9:30 p
	WHHH†	1440	Thurs 9:30 p
Youngstown	WFMJ†	1390	Sat 6:45 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV**	50	Wed 7:00 p
	WHIZ-TV**	50	alternat'g Thurs 7:00 p

OKLAHOMA			
Altus	KWHW†	1450	Mon 8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL**	1580	Wed 10:30 a
Cushing	KWHP*	1600	Sun 12:45 p
Duncan	KRHD†	1350	Mon 8:30 p
	KRHD†	1350	Thurs 8:30 p
Elk City	KASA†	1240	Mon 8:30 p
Enid	KCRC*	1390	Sun 10:15 p
Lawton	KSWO-TV*	7	Thurs 7:30 p
Oklahoma City	KOMA*	1520	Sat 5:45 p
	KOCY†	1340	Thurs 8:30 p
	KMP†	19	Wed 9:00 p
	KTVQ-TV**	25	Sun 9:30 p
Okmulgee	KHBG†	1240	Mon 8:30 p
	KHBG†	1240	Thurs 8:30 p
Ponca City	WBZ†	1230	Mon 8:30 p
	WBZ†	1230	Thurs 8:30 p
Poteau	KLCO**	1280	
	KLCO*	1280	
Shawnee	KGFF†	1450	Mon 8:30 p
	KGFF†	1450	Thurs 8:30 p
Tulsa	KTLU*	1430	Tues 9:45 p
	KVOO*	1170	Thurs 9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW†	1450	Mon 8:30 p
	KSIW†	1450	Thurs 8:30 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 7:45 p
McMinnville	KMCM*	1260	Sun 7:45 p
	KMCM*	1260	Wed 8:45 p
Portland	KXL†	750	Sat 4:15 p
Roseburg	KRLX†	1240	Sun 8:30 p
Salem	KGAE*	1430	

* * * * *

Vote the April poll questions, Page 65

PENNSYLVANIA			
Bradford	WESB†	1490	Mon 9:30 p
	WESB†	1490	Thurs 9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	1050	Sun 12:45 p
	WBUT*	1050	Sun 4:30 p
Carbondale	WCDF*	1230	Thurs 6:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960	Sat 8:15 a
Coudersport	WFRM*	600	Sat 5:30 p
	WFRM*	600	Sun 1:30 p
Easton	WGLV-TV**	57	Sun 7:30 p
	WGLV-TV**	57	Thurs 9:00 p
Gettysburg	WGET*	1450	Sun 7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV**	56	Tues 10:30 p
	WARD-TV**	56	Sun 3:00 p
Lock Haven	WBPZ†	1230	Mon 9:30 p
	WBPZ†	1230	Thurs 9:30 p
New Castle	WKST†	1280	Mon 8:30 p
	WKST-TV**	45	Wed 8:30 p
Oil City	WKRZ†	1340	Mon 9:30 p
Philadelphia	KYV*	1060	Sun 6:15 p
Pittsburgh	KDKA*	1020	Sun 10:15 p
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon 9:30 p
Reading	WEEU-TV**	33	Tues 7:15 p
Seranton	WUSV-FM*	89.9	Thurs 7:30 p
	WUSV-FM*	89.9	Tues 7:30 p
	WARM-TV*	16	Thurs 10:00 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon 9:30 p
	WISL†	1480	Thurs 9:30 p

(Continued on Page 48)

*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

How Accurate Is America's News?

(Continued from Page 29)

it is his job to evaluate and to define the issues exactly as they may emerge from this conflicting copy which comes to him through the wire services and other sources.

LEWIS: You say you've written a lot of copy for editorial desks, did you ever write any copy out of a congressional hearing? Did you ever cover anything in Washington?

COMBS: No, I have covered a great deal in Washington, but for my own news commentary, which I do not pretend is objective any more than yours is objective—or correct.

BURT: I think we'd better make a point here about the difference between commentators and objective reporters. Mr. Lewis is obviously a conservative commentator and he looks at things from a conservative point of view, and Mr. Combs looks at things from a liberal point of view.

BUCKLEY: Which is all right, but this points to what we need. We need an intellectual Pure Foods and Drugs Act so that Mr. Lewis will classify himself on the conservative side and Mr. Combs on the liberal side. But what is bad is the pretentiousness of the *New York Times*, for example, on the basis of which you do expect that you're getting the full objective story; on the other hand, you are not. This is as bad intellectually as a can of horsemeat which pretends to be hamburger.

LEWIS: This I agree with completely, and I think it's the crux of the whole thing.

BURT: Let's take an example again to clarify matters. There's *TIME* magazine which is accused by conservatives of often or too often following the liberal line. Presuming that the conservatives are correct, is this due to the writers on *TIME* magazine, or is it due to the publisher's policy?

COMBS: I don't follow *Time* closely enough to be able to express an informed opinion about it. I take it, however, that the editor or the publisher, in this case that dangerous radical, Mr. Henry Luce—

BUCKLEY: Here we go again!

COMBS: —has chosen men for editorial responsibility in whom he has confidence and that he lets them run the shop.

However, as an example of precisely this sort of thing—the strange dearth in the press after General MacArthur made a speech which was replete with extreme New Dealisms in many respects. They selected some parts from it, but the press almost uniformly ignored the main burden of his speech, which frankly I couldn't agree with.

Now this was slanted reporting of the worst sort because they wouldn't come out and say, as MacArthur said, that he didn't believe there was any chance that Russia would attack us. He thought that

assumption was wrong. He believed in immediate dismantlement of our military establishment. He didn't want to wait until we got an inspection control in Russia. I didn't see any of these things in the isolationist press.

BURT: Going back to the issue again, do you think *TIME* magazine slants its reporting, as many conservatives say, to the liberal side?

BUCKLEY: Oh, it does constantly and all the time.

BURT: Who would be responsible—the publisher or the writers on the magazine?

BUCKLEY: It's not so much conspiratorial as it is spontaneous. It isn't a matter of Henry Luce hauling somebody in and saying, "Look, unless you peddle my particular line you're going to get fired." It's just an understanding that emerges and that permeates the whole editorial offices of the *New York Times* and of *Time* magazine.

It's also the fact that by and large (you can almost bet on it) that if you go out into the street and stop the nearest passerby, he will be a liberal. This is the result of our educational monolith working full steam for the last twenty to thirty years.

So in the case of *Time* magazine I don't think people run around wondering what Mr. Luce thinks about this issue or that. I think they know instinctively his attitudes, his responses, his reflexes—they know that he doesn't like McCarthy and they know he dislikes McCarthy so much that it's safe to distort about him.

HODGES: I think they are basically proprietors, and a new shop gets into a pattern and is built up in that pattern—I don't care whether it's to the right or left. I think we're talking like children when we get excited over the right or the left. It's basic in the news situation.

BUCKLEY: And I say that this is pure hogwash. I say that you or I can write a book today pointing out, say, some of the consistent misstatements that are being made about a given controversy and send it right to the editorial writer of the *New York Times*, and we won't see any correction of this distortion for the next thirty or forty issues. This happened in the case of McCarthy, for example.

LEWIS: I can't talk about *Time* because I don't even know who the present editor of *Time* magazine is. I can talk about *Time* as opposed to *Newsweek*—as opposed to *U.S. News & World Report*—

COMBS: That's splendidly objective. (Laughs.)

LEWIS: And as far as I am concerned, there isn't any comparison as to the

fairness and objectivity of them. *U.S. News & World Report*—

COMBS: You don't actually mean you regard *U.S. News & World Report* as an objective magazine, do you?

LEWIS: I do. I consider it far more objective than either of the other two.

BURT: What should be done to assure more accurate news reporting?

COMBS: I have a suggestion to make which probably is not entirely feasible but which would help. I would suggest that the reporter seek to confine himself to the bare skeleton of the facts and that if there be interpretive material to insert that it be done in brackets marked "Editorial Insert." I would also suggest that we get some papers upholding the liberal side [here Buckley and Lewis chuckle] and let them at least in this country give us a double organ of opinion. We fought with our bare hands against every newspaper and against every entrenchment of wealth on the radio, television, and every place else.

BUCKLEY: I can see your scars; they are symbolized by your boutonniere!

The answer to more accurate news reporting is, I think, the same as the answer to so many problems we face. We've got to wait until such time as the public becomes indignant. The American people have become apathetic, supine, bored—with the result that outrage can be committed by the press or by the radio or by the intellectuals. They just don't care.

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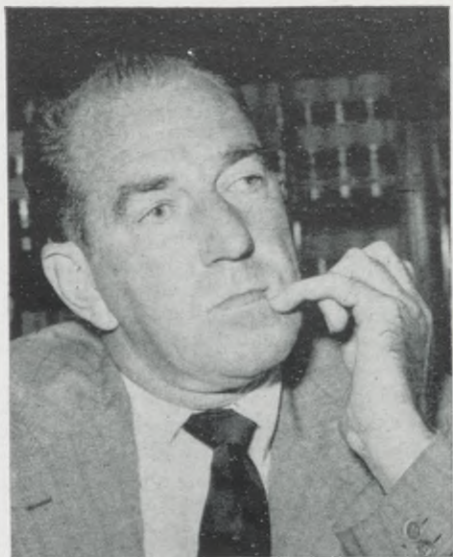
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Ray Rowland, Librarian
Armstrong College of Savannah
Savannah, Ga.



—Wide World Photo

Howard Rushmore, editor of *CONFIDENTIAL*, formerly with the *NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN*, was once a member of the Communist party. In 1953 he served on the staff of the McCarthy Committee. Here he debates with Panelists William Buckley, Jr., author and magazine editor; George Hamilton Combs, network news commentator and former U.S. Congressman; and Professor Charles Hodges of New York University, former foreign correspondent.

ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS

HOW FREE is our FREE PRESS?

Burt: Do newspapers and magazines deliberately slant the news to fit the views of their publishers?

Rushmore: I'd like to answer that question with a no, but I'm afraid I can't. I've been in this business as a working newspaperman for 26 years, and I'm sure Professor Hodges and myself can remember the day when there was very little prejudice. But in the past few years there's been a great deal, unfortunately.

I'm not referring to prejudice and bias on the editorial page—that's where every publisher has a right to express it. I'm talking about the news columns—and the news columns of the magazines, too. And particularly during the past four years over one topic—Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. I think there's been more bias and more prejudice surrounding this man than any figure of political life that I've ever covered or seen during my career.

Combs: In reply to Mr. Rushmore—for whose opinion I have great respect—the theory that there's been an organization, a conspiracy of misrepresentation about Senator McCarthy is, of course, nonsense. My point about Senator McCarthy is that he is entirely a creation of the uncritical reporters of the press. The newspapermen did not realize that when he made a statement he was not speaking literally, he was always speaking metaphorically, figuratively, and that there might be a small grain of truth in the vast mountain of allegations which he made.

We Democrats, however, indicate that there is and has been a bias on the part of the newspapers and news magazines, because they are 90 per cent Republican. And we've always had difficulty in presenting our Democratic point of view, our philosophy of life.

Also, I would like to say that I don't believe that any one of these editors, or very few of them at least, are consciously distorting or deforming the

news. It seems to be natural that the news coverage, the accent, the placing, the handling, the selection of news will more or less conform to the economic and political views of the publisher and the editor. As to that we can have no complaint. After all, it is a free press, and so long as we have access to the public through radio and television, we're perfectly willing to let the newspaper owners and publishers subscribe to whatever little whimsies of interpretation and choice of material they elect. (Naturally, we couldn't do anything about it anyway.)

Buckley: My answer to the question is yes; but I think Mr. Combs is wrong in implying that we're talking about a conspiracy. In part it is conspiratorial, but largely it's just spontaneous. That is to say, I think Mr. Rushmore is right in maintaining that in the last ten or fifteen years a profound change has taken place in the attitude of newsmen. As evidence of this, I cite the fact that Mr. Sulzberger of the *New York Times*, in an address he gave two or three years ago, said that the news has become so complex as a result of our hectic civilization, that it now becomes the duty of the reporter not only to relate the facts but to interpret them, too.

A reporter more or less knows that he's out to color a story a particular way these days because he is expected to do it.

To cite a specific instance, about two months ago I heard a perfectly straight TV reporting of the news. The commentator reported a charge that Senator McCarthy had made out in Milwaukee, and he looked up from his notes and

said, "Senator McCarthy must be convinced that he has only to utter a lie often enough to make a truth," and went back to the news.

I would say in answer to your question, succinctly yes; there is systematic, deliberate interpretation and distortion of news to fit the views—not exclusively of the publishers—but of the writers themselves. Sometimes there is a great bridge between the publisher's personal views and those of his reporters, but he is not in a position always to detect the distortion or interpretation of the news.

Combs: The trouble is you are lamenting the passing of that highly partisan Republican press which went out with the passing of the celluloid collar and the detachable cuff. You are objecting to there being a certain amount of three-dimensional reporting. This, after all, is a way of discovering the truth.

Burt: Professor Hodges, as a veteran newspaperman as well as a professor, what is your analysis in answer to this question?

Hodges: I have felt that it is of the utmost importance to America to get news. And I think that we must recognize the truth of Mr. Rushmore's observation that we're living in changing times and the heat is on. I think that that's the important thing rather than any vast interpretations of conspiracy and so on.

Certainly you cannot play down and suppress news, even in a one-newspaper town. We must remember that for a lot of America you've got the radio and—in more and more instances—TV, right on the job. Now I submit the slogan, "The conflict in the headlines is the truth in the news." This is the real defense of democracy. It's the difference between the free press of the free world—with all of its qualifications—and the totalitarian press.

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IN BEHALF OF OPPENHEIMER

(Continued from Page 9)

fore, we had very close relations because I was the leader of one of the divisions, one I believe of seven divisions. We met almost daily, certainly at least once a week.

In Los Alamos again I want to say how difficult a job it was and it seems to me that no enterprise quite as hard as this had ever been attempted before. I believe that Oppenheimer had absolutely unique qualifications for this job and that the success is due mostly to him and mostly to his leadership in the project.

Q. What were some of the factors that made it so difficult?

A. There were many. One was in the technical work itself.

Q. I simply wanted to indicate the nature of the difficulty.

A. It was that all the time new difficulties came up in different connections, new technical difficulties which had to be solved.

Q. Apart from technical difficulties.

A. Apart from that, one great difficulty was that scientists are great individualists, and many of the scientists there had very different ideas how to proceed. We needed a unifying force and this unification could only be done by a man who really understood everything and was recognized by everybody as superior in judgment and superior in knowledge to all of us. This was our director. It was also a matter of character, of devotion to the job, of the will to succeed. It was a matter of judgment of selecting the right one among many different approaches. It was a matter of keeping people satisfied that they had a part in the laboratory, and we all had the feeling that we had a part in the running of the laboratory, and that at the same time at the head of the laboratory somebody who understood more than we did.

Q. Turning to another subject, Dr. Bethe, what was the attitude of Dr. Oppenheimer with respect to the requirements of security at Los Alamos?

A. He was very security-minded compared to practically all the scientists. He occupied a position very much intermediate between the Army and the scientists. The scientists generally were used to free discussion, and free discussion of course was allowed in the laboratory completely, and this was one of the reasons for putting it at the remote place. However, many of us did not see sometimes the need for the strictness of the requirements; and Dr. Oppenheimer was, I think, considerably more ready to see this need and to enforce security rules.

Q. Let me ask you, Dr. Bethe, if you

can speak of it, what views did the scientists have about the moral or humane problems that many people have discerned in the atomic bomb program at Los Alamos?

A. I am unhappy to admit that during the war at least, I did not pay much attention to this. We had a job to do and a very hard one. The first thing we wanted to do was to get the job done. It seemed to us most important to contribute to victory in the way we could. Only when our labors were finally completed—when the bomb dropped on Japan—only then or a little bit before then maybe did we start thinking about the moral implications.

Q. What did you think about that or what did the scientists generally think about it?

A. There was a general belief that this was a tremendous weapon that we had brought into the world and that we might have been responsible for incredible destruction in the future, that we had to do whatever we could to tell people, especially the people of the United States, what an atomic bomb meant, and that we should try as much as possible to urge an international agreement on atomic weapons in order to eliminate them as weapons from war if this could be agreed to by all the major nations.

Q. I would like to come back to that subject, Dr. Bethe, but first let me ask you whether you were familiar at the time—that is, at the close of the war—with the problems that were posed by the so-called May-Johnson bill for domestic control of atomic energy?

A. I was; yes.

Q. Was that bill a subject of interest and discussion at Los Alamos, and if so, in what terms?

A. It was to a considerable extent, although not as much as some other laboratories of the Manhattan District. Most of the scientists at Los Alamos were opposed to the May-Johnson bill.

Q. Why?

A. It perpetuated Army control, which we had felt was rather irksome, and work was perhaps not conducive to the best results in research during peacetime. It included a lot of very severe and unprecedented stipulations as to punishments for almost any move a scientist might make. Finally, it seemed to us that it made it very much harder than necessary to achieve international control, which seemed to us the most important aim.

Q. Do you know what position Dr. Oppenheimer took on this subject?

A. Yes, Dr. Oppenheimer supported



—Wide World Photo

Dr. Hans Bethe

the May-Johnson bill, and he was very much attacked for this by some of his colleagues. I personally did not feel very strongly, by the way. He supported the May-Johnson bill because he thought that this was the only way to preserve the laboratories as running units to continue the work for the time being, rather than to have an interim during which the laboratories might disintegrate.

Q. Dr. Bethe, I would like to return now to this subject of international control of atomic energy which you mentioned. Did you observe as time went on—that is, from the close of the war during the next couple of years, any change in attitudes on the part of scientists and on the part of Dr. Oppenheimer on this subject?

A. Yes, definitely so.

Q. Would you speak of that?

A. Dr. Oppenheimer was one of the members of the Lilienthal board which worked out the American plan for international control.

Q. What date was that?

A. That was in the spring of 1946—I can't put it very much closer—in the early spring of 1946. Then he was an advisor to Mr. Baruch who was the American representative to the United Nations. At all these times he put a great effort into working out a plan which would give this country some measure of security from future atomic war.

However, the actual negotiations started in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, and it was soon evident—

Q. That would still be in 1946?

A. That was still in 1946. It started in June, 1946, I think. It was soon evident, at least to Dr. Oppenheimer, that the Russian attitude was very inflexible.

Q. How do you know that, Dr. Bethe? It was soon evident, you say?

What they're saying . . .



about **FACTS FORUM**

I heard your radio broadcast...and thought it very informative and thought-provoking. As a teacher, I should like to subscribe to your published copies of these talks....

Charles L. Stuart
Clay County Community High School
Clay Center, Kan.

Since December I have noticed a remarkable change in your publication; you have at last come out openly against communism. I have had faith in your organization since the beginning, and now it has been confirmed. You don't know how wonderful it is to pick up a publication and read the truth. ...I only hope I can help hasten the weekly publication of *Facts Forum News*.

Roy M. Culver
1454 E. Wilson Ave., Glendale 6, Calif.

...Participation in *Facts Forum* [contests] is of immense importance to me because such participation does encourage me to write further letters, does stimulate thought; and I like the all-too-rare pro and con, fair-minded setup of *Facts Forum*.

Edmond C. Perry
220 Rockdale Ave., New Bedford, Mass.

Your program **ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS** is one that catches the interest of a great majority of thinking people. Time has come where people are wanting the truth regarding the major problems confronting their security as a nation and for their government....

Dr. C. W. Butterfield
713 N. Washington St., Beeville, Texas

...We are much impressed with the value and importance of what is being attempted under this...magazine....

Carl L. Brattin, President
Sidney National Bank, Sidney, Mont.

...I appreciated your quotations from the *Daily Worker*. It's good to know what the other side is saying. From being out of touch with them, I am losing my ability to recognize Communists and fellow travelers. Your publication should help to keep me up to date.

M/Sgt. Edward M. Horan
43 E. Parkview Dr., Northlake, Ill.

...Your *Facts Forum* is splendid, and I am sorry to say there is nothing like it here ...it is so much needed....

Andrew Glen
Glenbrook Farm
Locust Hill, Ontario, Canada

...Your informing and interesting broadcasts are no doubt doing much good for America.

Geraldine Berryhill
914 Concordia Lane, Clayton, Mo.

A. I have known it as a fact only as of January, 1947.

Q. What happened then?

A. In January, 1947, I made a visit to Berkeley to give some lectures, and Dr. Oppenheimer and I had some conversations—quite long conversations—about the fate of the atomic energy control plan. He told me then that he had given up all hope that the Russians would agree to a plan which would give security and in particular—

Q. Security to whom?

A. To all of us. To us, I suppose, as well as to them. Particularly, he pointed out how much the Russian plan was designed to serve the Russian interests and no other interests, namely, to deprive us immediately of the one weapon which would stop the Russians from going into Western Europe if they so chose—and not give us any guarantee on the other hand that there would really be a control of atomic energy, not give us any guarantee that we would be safe from Russian atomic attack at some later time.

I have heard him talk about this subject quite often, the first time in January of 1947.

Q. What were your own views at that time?

A. I had not seen things very clearly. I still had considerable hope that international agreement could be achieved, and I know now that I was quite wrong. In fact, I saw right then that I was quite wrong. I was quite pessimistic at that time, but I thought this was such an important subject that the Russians would finally have to see that it was in their interest, as well as ours, to have a real control plan with some teeth in it.

Q. Did your own views change?

A. My own views changed, and I think perhaps partly influenced by the discussion I had with Dr. Oppenheimer. I certainly thought that there was not much hope, and I certainly agreed that the Russian plan was all that Dr. Oppenheimer had represented it to be.

Q. Dr. Bethe, let me go back for a moment. I think you said that you had been told in the late thirties that Dr. Oppenheimer's—I think you used the phrase "extreme" left-wing political views—that was between the time when you first met him in 1929 and your later closeness to him?

A. Yes.

Q. When you again met Dr. Oppenheimer, after this brief meeting that you described in 1929, what were your own observations about his political orientation?

A. They were very surprising to me.

Q. When would this have been?

A. That was in 1940. At the Physical Society meeting in Seattle, Wash., we had a long evening in which political matters were discussed. This was in late

June, I believe, of 1940. It was just after the fall of France, and I felt very deeply that a great catastrophe had happened to the world. At this conversation, Dr. Oppenheimer talked for quite a long time in this same sense. He told all of us how much France meant to the Western world and how the fall of France meant an end of many things that he had considered precious and that now the Western civilization was really in a critical situation, and that it was very necessary to do something to save the values of Western civilization.

Q. One final question, Dr. Bethe. I should have asked you this. I have referred you to the press statements and the article that you published in the late winter and spring of 1950, expressing critical views of the H-bomb program. Did you ever discuss those moves—that is, to make such statements and write such articles—with Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. I never did. In fact, after the President's decision, he would never discuss any matters of policy with me. There had been in fact a directive from President Truman to the GAC not to discuss the reasons of the GAC or any of the procedures; and Dr. Oppenheimer held to this directive very strictly.

Q. Did you consult him about the article?

A. I don't think I consulted him at all about the article. I consulted him about the statement that we made. As far as I remember, he gave no opinion.

Q. On the basis of your association with him, your knowledge of him over these many years, would you care to express an opinion about Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty to the United States, about his character, about his discretion in regard to matters of security?

A. I am certainly happy to do this. I have absolute faith in Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty. I have always found that he had the best interests of the United States at heart. I have always found that if he differed from other people in his judgment, that it was because of a deeper thinking about the possible consequences of our action than the other people had. I believe that it is an expression of loyalty—of particular loyalty—if a person tries to go beyond the obvious and tries to make available his deeper insight, even in making unpopular suggestions, even in making suggestions which are not the obvious ones to make—are not those which a normal intellect might be led to make.

I have absolutely no question that he has served his country very long and very well. I think everybody agrees that his service in Los Alamos was one of the greatest services that were given to this country. I believe he has served equally well in the GAC in re-establishing the strength of our atomic weapons program in 1947. I have faith in him quite generally.

(Continued on Page 48)

You May Aid FACTS FORUM by Ordering Any of These Facilities or Supplies for Education to Assist in Preserving Freedom.

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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:

Do you have questions regarding subjects of national interest which you feel would be suitable for use in our monthly Poll? Facts Forum offers a prize of \$10.00 for each question selected by our judges for such use. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces, so as not to exceed one line on the Poll Card. EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN THE CONTEST. Questions will be judged for their current interest, fairness and conciseness. Keep questions "unloaded." Questions must be worded so that they can be answered Yes or No.

SUBJECT FOR PROGRAM:

Send questions to be 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

STATUS OF FORCES TREATY PROTESTED

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

Engraved in the marble overhead in the amphitheater behind the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington, are these words—"When we assumed the soldier we did not lay aside the citizen."

What a mockery our government made of these words when they ratified the NATO Status of Forces Treaty which places our servicemen overseas under the jurisdiction of foreign courts even though the Army manual they carry states they are subject to American law and the protection of our Constitution.

This unconstitutional treaty and the others yet to be presented for ratification can deprive the American people of all freedoms given them in the Bill of Rights. This fact and the past detrimental executive agreements demonstrate the necessity for the Bricker Amendment.

Mrs. M. K. Alston, Sr.
112 Hathaway, Houston Texas

* * * * *

2nd Award PAPER TIGER

To the *Binghamton (N.Y.) Press*:

Those who fear war with Chinese Reds should be realistic.

The vaunted Communist army is a paper tiger, absolutely helpless if challenged by a major power. China's industrial potential is inferior to Switzerland's, and the Chi-Red air force lacks facilities to keep it in repair in wartime.

Support by the Russians? What good is the Trans-Sib Railway after the first H-bomb hits Mukden? Will the Russians give Chou's government supplies which he cannot pay for? Chou knows half his army would go home at the first shot, the other half would defect to Chiang when the lawful government returned to the mainland.

Settling accounts with Mao and Chou would settle the account firmly and finally, in the best traditions of the United States.

And Khrushchev, having plenty of troubles at home, would have to sit by and watch it happen.

Alva F. Darling
5 Baltimore Ave., Binghamton, N.Y.

* * * * *

3rd Award

THE STAKES—U.S. TREASURY

To the *Wall Street Journal*:

Your editorial "Foreign Aid Forever" is excellent. Just who is persuaded against communism by American billions for foreign aid?

Why should the foreign poor love America? American billions are not given to the foreign poor. Foreign politicians get the American billions and they sell American food and goods only to those who can well afford to pay.

Congress was loath to vote the St. Lawrence Seaway. Why? Because American taxpayers knew something about the St. Lawrence Seaway. But France got a seaway underwritten by American taxes.

Foreign aid could degenerate into nothing but international political racketeering with the United States Treasury as the stakes.

None of this is helped by a President who rejects with all his might any constitutional curtailment of his power to compel American taxpayers to foot the bill for foreign commitments over which we have no control and about which we know nothing.

Mabel G. Bliss
2920 N. Atlantic Blvd.,
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

* * * * *

4th Award

BRICKER AMENDMENT

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution says very clearly and emphatically that no person shall "be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

And yet, on March 3, 1954, the UN Human Rights Commission voted not to recognize as a fundamental human right the right to own property. Only two of the eighteen nations represented on the UN Human Rights Commission voted to uphold property rights.

A former chairman of the UN Human Rights Commission, Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, has pointed out that amendments to the draft of the human rights covenants "responded for the most part more to Soviet than to Western promptings."

The Bricker Amendment would automatically throw out any treaty or executive agreement authorizing seizure of property without due process of law.

How long are we going to permit one

man to take away our rights by executive agreements?

J. O. Smith

810 Turner, Dallas 8, Texas

* * * * *

5th Award SOLUTION TO FORMOSA CRISIS

To the *Portland (Me.) Press Herald*:

To achieve a cease-fire in the Far East the British offer now all the Nationalist-held islands near the China coast, and, of course, a UN seat to the murderers of American boys.

To appease the Reds they always were willing to sell into slavery other nations and countries, even dividing and making them half slave, half free.

To solve the Formosa crisis I would like to suggest—to follow the British example. Since Formosa and the offshore islands are essential to our defense, could we not offer the Red Chinese Hong Kong, which is on China's mainland, and, if necessary, Singapore too. They are not essential either to our or England's defense, and the Reds will be satisfied for the time being at least.

V. Matuzels

Greenwood Mountain, Maine

* * * * *

6th Award URGES HOUSTONIANS TO STOP N.E.A. MEDDLING

To the *Houston Chronicle*:

Well, after a year of peace, "UNrest" has again come to Houston via the NEA (which could stand for "Not Entirely American").

In association with UN, these intellectuals want to dominate the minds of everyone else, and create a nation of "conformists," conformists to their ideas only. That is what they call "academic freedom." What they mean is freedom to teach and preach only the philosophies they decide are suitable.

Such ideas were unfolded by Marx and Engels, inaugurated by Lenin and Stalin, copied by Hitler and now have a strong grip on the New York and Washington areas, from which they are trying to impose them on the rest of America.

Their chief purpose is to create "UNrest." Unless the people of Houston want their school system operated by outsiders, they will promptly and emphatically halt this continued intrusion in their domestic affairs.

Geo. C. Schnitzer, Sr.

P. O. Box 1347, Houston, Texas

* * * * *

7th Award THIS WEEK'S SCARE

To the *Chicago Tribune*:

It is very noticeable that as soon as the American people become more annoyed than usual at the appeasement policies of the administration, the administration tries to panic us back into line with another release saying that a

single H-bomb will destroy all life on umpteen square miles. All of New Jersey was theoretically destroyed this week. The American people are not too happy about our boys rotting in Chinese jails while the administration depends on the communistic-socialistic UN to get them out.

Can the American people be forced through fear to accept a policy of coexistence, of softness to communism?

Ruth Hodgson

Rt. 4, Box 401, Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

* * * * *

8th Award LOCAL CONTROL

To the *Cincinnati Enquirer*:

The approaching speech by the President on federal aid for education alarms me greatly. Lovers of freedom and states' rights have long fought federal intervention.

The money has to be got from the same old milch cow—the American public. Why should it be sent to Washington and pay the expenses of a federal bureau before it returns? Why should not state and local taxes take care of it in the first place?

Now the Supreme Court has ruled that the states may not make their own decisions regarding segregation in schools. Does the federal government have the right to intervene in state school systems—a right which has been reserved to the states? America has the best school system in the world. Let it be expanded by the same methods that built it—local bond issues and state support. Let's keep our schools under local control!

Mrs. Carl W. Kietzman

815 Center St., Milford, Ohio

* * * * *

9th Award HAND-PICKED VISITORS

To *Everybody's Weekly*

(London, England):

How skillfully the Communists issue the invitations to visit Russia. They pick clergymen who have missed their vocation and were clearly intended for politics; exhibitionists who will do anything for a headline; philosophers who write woolly books; and liberal-minded people who are fair game for a confidence trick.

J. B. Brownlie

Flat F, 29 Abercorn Place,
London N.W. 8, England

* * * * *

10th Award HAMMARSKJOLD'S BEDFELLOWS

To the *Chicago Tribune*:

It was most unfortunate that Dag Hammarskjold found it necessary to give his opinion on the admittance of Red China to the UN on his return from Peiping. He asserted that it would be "useful" to have Red China—"that very great country"—represented in the UN.

Mr. Hammarskjold knows full well

that it would not be the 600 million people of China who would be represented, but the Red Peiping regime which now has control over the peoples of China. These are the men who planned an aggressive war against the Republic of Korea; who ordered American prisoners shot in the back with their hands tied; who have sneeringly admitted that they lied, retaining UN prisoners of war after signing the armistice agreeing to return all prisoners. Just the kind of rulers by force, brutes, and liars we need more of in the UN, according to the Secretary General of UN.

Thelma T. Robinson, M.D.

606 No. Rodeo Drive,
Beverly Hills, California

* * * * *

11th Award "WHAT HAVE AMERICANS TO FEAR?"

To the *Monroe (La.) Morning World*:

A recent letter (see *Facts Forum News* for March, 1955, page 58) ends, "What have Americans to fear?"

Americans have Americans to fear—only Americans.

We have to fear these Americans who succeeded in winning Red Russian recognition, many still in positions of influence, those Americans who insist we maintain diplomatic relations with Soviet countries, who insist we trade with them and subsidize "allies" presently increasing trade with them.

We have to fear those Americans who turned Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam into a whitewash, who sabotaged our Korean war and paved the way for betrayal of another thirteen million people into Soviet slavery.

We have to fear those Americans who years ago turned the old Democratic party into a socialistic party, who in '52 betrayed the Republican party to the same gang of one-worlders, giving us a single party with two labels.

Yes, Americans have Americans to fear—only Americans.

Leslie A. Shaw

122 E. Ave. 45, Los Angeles, Calif.
March 22, 1955

Southwestern Advertising & Marketing, March issue, carries an article suggesting that advertisers in reaching the public, ADD PATRIOTISM TO (their) ADS. Your advertising agency, if located in the Southwest, will have a copy.

The Editor of *Southwestern Advertising & Marketing*, Southland Life Bldg., Dallas, Texas, invites letters of suggestion regarding this idea. If you favor advertisements which carry plugs for patriotism, this is an opportunity for you to make practical suggestions and also let your sentiments be known where it counts.

(Continued from Page 40)

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
St. Marys	WKBI*	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	WKBI†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wellsboro	WNBT*	To be announced		
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	1:00 p
	WLYC*	1050	Sun	5:00 p
York	WNOW**	1250	Sun	5:30 p
	WNOW-TV**	49	Fri	8:30 p
	WNOW-TV**	49	Sun	7:00 p

PHILIPPINES

Manila	DZAQ-TV*	3	Sat	8:00 p
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PUERTO RICO

Mayaguez	WTIL**	1300		
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SOUTH CAROLINA

Aiken	WAKN*	990	Sat	1:00 p
Barnwell	WBAA*	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	WCOS-TV*	25	Sun	2:30 p
	WIS*	560	Sun	1:15 p
Conway	WLAT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WLAT†	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Florence	WJMX*	970	Thurs	8:30 p
	WOLS*	1230	Sun	9:15 p
Georgetown	WGTN†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenville	WFBC*	1330	Wed	10:15 p
	WGVL-TV**	23	Tues	6:30 p
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
	WGSW†	1350	Thurs	9:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280		
	WJAY*	1280		
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	9:30 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	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	2:00 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga	WDEF*	1370	Sun	6:15 p
	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WAGC†	1450	Thurs	8:30 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	8:30 p
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Tues	9:45 p
	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	
	WDXH†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL*	910	Mon	7:30 p
	WJHL-TV**	11	Tues	6:00 p
	WJHL-TV**	11	Sun	3:00 p
Knoxville	WROL*	620	Mon	10:15 p
	WTSK-TV**	26	Thurs	9:00 p
	WTSK-TV**	26	Thurs	8:00 n
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	11:00 a
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WCRK†	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGSN*	1450	Sun	2:30 p
Nashville	WSM*	650	Fri	10:15 p
	WSIX-TV*	8	Sun	5:00 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	8:30 p
Pulaski	WKSU†	1420	Mon	7:15 p
Sparta	WSMT*	1050	Sun	1:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCOT†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOT†	1340	Thurs	8:30 p

Call a few friends who will call others when Facts Forum or any other patriotic programs are coming on the air.

TEXAS

Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KFDA-TV*	10	Thurs	9:00 p
	KGNC*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
Beaumont	KBMT-TV**	31	Sun	8:00 p
	KBMT-TV**	31		
Beeville	KFDM*	560	Mon	9:15 p
	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL*	1490	Mon	7:00 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
	KTXC†	1400	Thurs	8:30 p
Bonham	KFYN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFYN*	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KHUR†	1490	Thurs	8:30 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
	KVDO-TV*	22	Sun	4:00 p

IN BEHALF OF OPPENHEIMER

(Continued from Page 44)

Q. You and he are good friends?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you expect him to place his loyalty to his country even above his loyalty to a friend?

A. I suppose so.

Following is the cross examination of the witness by Personnel Security Board members Gordon Gray, chairman, and Dr. Ward V. Evans:

Q. (Gray) In the light of your intimate personal acquaintanceship with Dr. Oppenheimer and within the framework of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, you have no doubts about him with respect to his loyalty, his character, his discretion, which were the three areas which Mr. Marks put the question to you?

A. Yes.

Q. (Gray) In order to complete the record, because there is another consideration which the act imposes (and that is associations), would you answer also affirmatively to the question including the test of associations?

A. Those associations that I personally know about I certainly heartily approve. The associations which I mentioned—

Q. (Evans) What was that?

A. I said that—

Q. (Gray) The associations he knows about he would heartily approve.

A. The associations in the dim past of the late 1930's and maybe early 1940's I certainly cannot approve, but I think they are superseded by a long record of faithful service and that one has to judge a man according to his actions, recent actions, which are, as far as I know, all in the public domain and all perfectly known and open to scrutiny.

Q. (Evans) Dr. Bethe, for the record—we can look it up, but you can tell us—where did you do your university work?

A. I studied at the Universities of Frankfurt and Munich in Germany and got my Ph.D. in Munich in 1928.

Q. (Evans) Have you taken out any patents on these types of weapons?

A. I believe I have a patent or two on fission weapons. I don't believe I have any on the thermonuclear weapons.

Q. (Evans) What are your political views? You are a citizen of the United States?

A. Yes.

Q. (Evans) Maybe I should not ask this question!

A. I have no objection at all. I have never had any association with a left-wing organization whatsoever. My political views are best described by Adlai Stevenson's views.

TEXAS—Continued

Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY*	1290	Tues	1:00 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV*	4	Wed	10:30 p
	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA*	570	Mon	10:30 p
	WRR†	1310	Thurs	8:30 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		
Freeport	KBRZ*	1460	Sun	1:00 p
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KNAF†	1340	Thurs	8:30 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		
Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	6:00 p
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:15 p
Levelland	KLVT*	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOV**	1490	Sun	1:15 p
Longview	KLTI*	1280	Sun	3:00 p
	KLTI*	1280	Sun	12:30 p
	KTVE-TV*	32	Sun	6:15 p
Lubbock	KDUB-TV*	13	Sat	5:00 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
	KMID-TV*	2	Sat	6:30 p
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960		
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 Angelo	KTXL-TV*	8	Sun	4:00 p
San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
	WOAI-TV*	4	Sun	1:00 p
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
	KRRV*	910	Sun	7:30 p
	KRRV*	910	Thurs	8:30 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	8:30 p
Taylor	KTAZ*	1260	Sun	1:00 p
Texarkana	KTSF*	1400	To be announced	
Tyler	KLTV-TV**	7	Wed	10:00 p
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KVIC†	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Waco	KANG-TV*	34	Sun	2:00 p
	KANG-TV*	34	Sun	3:00 p
Weslaco	KRGV*	1290	Wed	9:45 p
	KRGV-TV*	5	Sun	10:30 p
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV*	6	Tues	9:30 p

UTAH

Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Salt Lake City	KSL*	1160	Sun	2:15 p
	KALL†	910	Thurs	7:30 p
Vernal	KJAM*	1340	Mon	6:00 p
	KJAM*	1340	Sun	3:00 p

VERMONT

Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN*	1340	Sun	9:30 p

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christiansburg	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Croix	WSTA*	1340	To be announced	
St. Thomas				

To subscribe, see Page 45

VIRGINIA

Arlington	WEAM†	1390	Sun	9:30 p
Bedford	WBLL†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WBLL†	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Galax	WBOB†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WBOB†	1400	Thurs	9:30 p
Newport News	WACH-AM**	1270	To be announced	
	WACH-AM*	1270	To be announced	
	WACH-TV*	33	To be announced	
	WACH-TV**	33	To be announced	
Orange	WJMA**	1340	Sun	9:30 p
Richmond	WRVA*	1140	Sun	12:15 p
Roanoke	WSLS-TV*	10	Sat	2:30 p
	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun	2:30 p
Staunton	WAFC*	900	Sun	12:00 n
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p
WASHINGTON				
Everett	KRKO†	1380	Sun	8:30 p
Grand Coulee	KFDR*	1400	Sun	3:30 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	KSEM*	1450	Sat	8:30 p
Olympia	KGY†	1240	Sun	8:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE*	1150	Sun	2:00 p
Seattle	KOMO*	1000	Mon	6:30 p
	KVI†	570	Sun	8:30 p
Spokane	KHQ-TV*	6	Sun	5:30 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p

(Continued on Page 58)

*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters' Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

Roy Cohn

and the

ATOM SPIES

PART II

Julius
and
Ethel
Rosenberg

Testimony in the March FACTS FORUM NEWS revealed how David Greenglass passed along atomic secrets and other vital information—including a list of Los Alamos scientists—to his brother-in-law, Julius Rosenberg. Interrogation by Roy Cohn continues at the point where Greenglass has admitted furnishing Rosenberg with "a list of people who seemed sympathetic with communism and would help furnish information to the Russians."

Q. Will you tell us just when this conversation took place, in relation to the time you turned over the material?

A. It took place in the morning after I had written this information out. Julius came to the house and received this information, and my wife, in passing, remark[ed] that the handwriting would be bad and would need interpretation, and Julius said there was nothing to worry about as Ethel would type it up, retype the information.

Q. Did you have any further conversation with Rosenberg on the occasion when you turned over this material?

A. Not at—he asked me to come to dinner, my wife and myself, for an evening a few days later—I can't remember—a day or two later.

Q. At his home?

A. Yes, at his home.

* * *

Q. Where did Rosenberg live at that time?

A. 10 Monroe Street, in Knickerbocker Village.

* * *

Q. I would like you to tell the court and the jury exactly what happened from the time you entered the apartment on that night, until the time you left. Tell us who was there, what was said and by whom.

A. When I got to the apartment with my wife, there was Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and a woman by the name of Ann Sidorovich.

Q. Had you ever met Ann Sidorovich before?

A. I had never met her before; no.

Q. Did you know any members of her family?

A. I knew her husband.

Q. What was his name?

A. Mike Sidorovich.

Q. How long a period of time did you know him?

A. I knew him for some years.

Q. You have told us who was present. Now, would you tell us exactly what happened on that evening, exactly what was said and by whom?

A. Well, the early part of the evening we just sat around and spoke socially with Ann and the Rosenbergs, and then Ann Sidorovich left. It was at this point that Julius said that this is the woman who he thinks would come out to see us, who will come out to see us at Albuquerque, to receive information from myself.

Q. What kind of information?

A. On the atomic bomb. And she would probably be the one to come out to see us. We then ate supper and after supper there was more conversation, and during supper—and during this conversation, there was a tentative plan brought forth, to the effect that my wife would come out to Albuquerque to stay with me, and when this woman Ann or somebody would come out to see us, they would go to Denver, and in a motion-picture theater they would meet and exchange purses, my wife's purse having this information from Los Alamos, and of course that is the way the information would be transmitted.

Q. Now, was anything said about the reason for Ann Sidorovich being present at the Rosenberg's home on that par-

ticular night when you were there?

A. Yes; they wanted us to meet this Ann Sidorovich, so that we would know what she looked like; and that brought up a point, what if she does not come?

Q. You mean there was a possibility that somebody else would come?

A. That's right. So Julius said to my wife, "Well, I give you something so that you will be able to identify the person that does come."

Well, Rosenberg and my wife and Ethel went into the kitchen and I was in the living room; and then a little while later, after they had been there about five minutes or so, they came out and my wife had in her hand a Jello box side.

* * *

Q. About what size Jello box, the small size?

A. The kind you buy in your home. And it had been cut, and Julius had the other part of it, and when he came in with it, I said, "Oh, that is very clever," because I noticed how it fit, and he said, "The simplest things are the cleverest."

Q. Now, let me see if I understand that. Your wife had one side; is that correct?

A. That's right.

Q. Who kept the other side?

A. Julius had the other side.

Q. Was there any conversation as to what would be done with these two sides?

A. Well, my wife was to keep the side she had, and she was to use it for

identification with the person who would come out to see us. . . .

It was at this point that the plan to meet in Denver was discarded, and I suggested the Safeway store, meeting the person we were to meet at a Safeway store, outside, outside of the Safeway store, in Albuquerque, and this was thought to be a pretty good idea. The exact date was left in abeyance, since my wife would follow me out to Albuquerque later and that could be set in that time, I mean, between when I left to go back to Los Alamos and when she came out.

* * *

Q. Was there any further conversation between you and your wife and the Rosenbergs on that evening?

A. Well, the Rosenbergs told my wife that she wouldn't have to worry about money because it would be taken care of—I mean, she would be able to get out there and live out there, if she wasn't able to work, the money would be forthcoming.

Q. Was that in your presence?

A. In my presence.

Q. Both of them said that?

A. Julius, and Ethel backed it up. Earlier in the evening, during these conversations, my wife had remarked to Ethel that she had looked kind of tired and she said she was tired because she—

Q. Who said this?

A. My wife had remarked to Ethel that she looked tired.

Q. Ethel looked tired?

A. And Ethel remarked that she was tired between the child and staying up late at night, keeping—typing over notes that Julius had brought her—this was on espionage.

Q. Did she say that?

A. She said "in this work." She also stated that she didn't mind it so long as Julius was doing what he wanted to do.

Q. During this evening, was any reference made by either of the Rosenbergs to the material which you had turned over to Julius a couple of days before?

A. Well, we discussed the lenses—we generally talked shop about what I had done at Los Alamos, and we discussed lenses all during this evening and, you know, whatever was going on at Los Alamos, scientists—

Q. Was anything said about—

A. Scientists, of that nature; things of that nature; and he said that he would like to meet somebody who would talk to me more about lenses.

Q. Did he tell you who this person he wanted you to meet was?

A. He said it was a Russian he wanted me to meet.

Q. Did he give you any further identification on that night?

A. No.

* * *

Q. Did anything further come of Ju-



—Wide World Photo

Interrogator Roy Cohn

lius' statement that he wanted you to discuss this lens with the Russian?

A. Yes.

Q. Tell us.

A. A few nights later—well, an appointment was made for me to meet a Russian on First Avenue, between 42nd and 59th Streets—it was in that area.

Q. Who made the appointment?

A. Julius made the appointment.

Q. When was it in relation to the dinner meeting in January?

A. It was a few days after. I took my father-in-law's car and drove up there. It was about eleven-thirty at night. I remember coming up the street. It was quite dark, and there was a lighted window. I passed that in parking—it was a saloon—I parked up the block from it, and in a little while Julius came around the corner, looked into the car, saw who I was; said, "I will be right back"; brought back a man; introduced the man to me by first name, that I don't recall at this time, and the man got into the car with me. Julius stayed right there, and we drove around—

Q. When you say "Julius stayed right there," was Julius in the car or not?

A. He was not in the car.

Q. He merely effected the introduction?



—Wide World Photo

David Greenglass

A. He just introduced me to him.

Q. And remained on the street?

A. And remained on the street.

Q. Where did you drive?

A. Well, we drove all over that area. He just told me to keep driving and he asked questions about lenses.

Q. Did he ask you specifically about this high explosive lens?

A. He did. He asked about high explosive lenses and he wanted to know pertinent information, type of H.E. used.

* * *

Q. Strike out "pertinent." Tell us what he wanted to know.

A. He wanted to know the formula of the curve on the lens; he wanted to know the H.E. used, and means of detonation; and I drove around . . . and being very busy with my driving, I didn't pay too much attention to what he was saying, but the things he wanted to know, I had no direct knowledge of, and I couldn't give a positive answer.

Q. About how long did this drive with the Russian last?

A. About twenty minutes or so.

Q. Where did it terminate?

A. At the same place that it originated.

Q. Did you see Julius any more on that night?

A. Yes; he came back—I mean he was around there, and the Russian got out and they went off together, and I drove back home.

* * *

Q. Did Julius give you any instructions as to where you should go and what you should do after you concluded this drive with the man whom you described as "a Russian"?

A. He said, "Go home now. I will stay with him." He was going to have something to eat with him.

Q. Did you in fact return home?

A. I went home.

Q. Did you tell your wife where you had been?

A. Yes, I told my wife where I had been.

Q. Now, I think you told us you arrived in New York on this furlough January 1, 1945; is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. About when did you leave New York and return to Los Alamos?

A. About the twentieth.

Q. Did your wife go with you?

A. She did not go with me.

Q. Did there come a time when she joined you at Albuquerque?

A. She did.

Q. Will you tell us when that was?

A. That was in the springtime; it was about March or April—early—late March, early April, I think.

Q. Of 1945?

A. Of 1945.

[Greenglass here goes on to describe how his wife stayed at various apartments until finally they got their "own place," an apartment at 209 North High Street, Albuquerque.]

Q. Were you able to go home every night?

A. No, I wasn't.

Q. When did you go to the apartment?

A. Well, usually Saturday night. I would start down and get there sometime Saturday evening.

Q. When would you return to Los Alamos?

A. Sunday — I mean Monday, early in the morning.

* * *

Q. Mr. Greenglass, did Ann Sidorovich ever come out to see you?

A. No, she didn't.

Q. Did somebody else come out to see you?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it a man or woman?

A. It was a man.

Q. And when was this visit?

A. First Sunday in June, 1945.

Q. Did you at that time know the name of this man?

A. I did not.

Q. Do you now know his name?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. What is it?

A. Harry Gold.

* * *

Q. What time of day?

A. It was in the morning.

Q. Who was home?

A. I and my wife were home.

Q. Would you tell us exactly what happened from the first minute you saw Gold?

A. There was a knock on the door, and I opened it. We had just completed eating breakfast, and there was a man standing in the hallway who asked if I were Mr. Greenglass, and I said "Yes." He stepped through the door and he said, "Julius sent me," and I said, "Oh," and I walked to my wife's purse, took out the wallet and took out the matched part of the Jello box.

* * *

Q. After you produced that did Gold do anything?

* * *

A. He had the other part of the box.

Q. And you had last seen that in Rosenberg's apartment that night in January, 1945?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, after mutual identification was effected, did you have any conversation with Harry Gold?

A. Yes. I offered him something to eat, and he said he had already eaten. He just wanted to know if I had any information, and I said, "I have some but I will have to write it up. If you come back in the afternoon, I will give it to you." I started to tell him the



Harry Gold (center), spy ring link

—Acme Photo

story about one of the people I put into the report, and he—

Q. Who was "one of the people" you put into the report?

A. A fellow by the name of Bederson, and he cut me short.

Q. What kind of person was he? Why did you put him into the report?

A. Well, I considered him good material for recruiting into espionage work.

* * *

Q. In which report had you mentioned the name which you discussed with Gold?

A. I mentioned it in that particular report that I gave him that day.

Q. The report you gave Gold later that day?

A. Yes.

Q. You discussed the name before you embodied it in the report?

A. That is right.

Q. When was this? Morning or afternoon? Tell us just what was said by you and Gold.

A. This particular time was the morning. He cut me short on the business with Bederson. He said he didn't want to know about it and he left, and I got to work on the report.

Q. Where did you work on the report?

A. Right in the living room, my combination living room and bedroom there.

Q. Tell us exactly what you did.

A. I got out some 8-by-10 ruled white line paper, and I drew some sketches of a lens mold and how they are set up in an experiment, and I gave descriptive material that gives a description of this experiment.

Q. Was this another step in the same

experiment on atomic energy concerning which you had given a sketch to Rosenberg?

A. That is right, and I also gave him a list of possible recruits for espionage.

* * *

Q. What time of day was it that you gave this material to Harry Gold?

A. It was later in the afternoon. He came back about two-thirty or three o'clock and picked it up.

Q. Did all these sketches and descriptive material concern experimentation on the atomic bomb?

A. That is right.

Q. Tell us exactly what happened when he came back at two-thirty.

A. Well, when he came back to the house he came in and I gave him the report in an envelope, and he gave me an envelope which I felt and realized there was money in it and I put it in my pocket.

Q. Did you examine the money at that point?

A. No, I didn't.

Q. Did you have any discussion with Gold about the money?

A. Yes. I did. He said, "Will it be enough?" And I said, "Well, it will be plenty for the present." And he said, "You need it," and we went into a side discussion about the fact that my wife had a miscarriage earlier in the spring, and he said, "Well, I will see what I can do about getting some more money for you."

Q. Was there any further discussion with Gold?

A. Well, he wanted to leave immediately and I said, "Wait, and we will go down with you," and he waited a little while. We went down, and we went

around by a back road and we dropped him in front of the USO. We went into the USO, and he went on his way. As soon as he had gone down the street, my wife and myself looked around and we came out again and back to the apartment and counted the money.

Q. How much was it?

A. We found it to be five hundred dollars.

Q. What did you do with the money?

A. I gave it to my wife.

Q. Going back to these sketches which you gave to Harry Gold, do you remember just what sketches you gave to Harry Gold concerning a high-explosive lens mold on that occasion?

A. I gave sketches relating to the experiment setup; one showing a flat—the face of the flat-type lens mold.

Q. Face view?

A. Face view of the flat-type lens mold.

A. I showed a high-explosive lens mold. I showed the way it would look with this high explosive in it with the detonators on, and I showed the steel tube in the middle which would be exploded by this lens mold.

Q. Now, did you prepare on that Sunday in June, 1945, and give to Harry Gold on that same day any other sketches concerning this high-explosive lens mold for atomic energy?

A. I showed him a schematic view of the lens-mold setup in an experiment.

Q. By the way, Mr. Greenglass, I think you have already told us you knew at all times that all of these sketches and descriptive material were secret?

A. I did.

Q. Mr. Greenglass, one thing I forgot to ask you about this morning in connection with the meeting up at Rosenberg's apartment, when you and your wife went there for dinner after Ann Sidorovich had left the apartment—did you have a conversation with Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Will you tell us what they said to you at that point?

A. Well, at this point, Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg told me they were very happy to have me come in with them on this espionage work and that now that I was in it there would be no worry about any money they gave to me, it was not a loan, it was money given to me because I was in this work and that it was not a loan.

Q. Did they say anything about the source of that money?

A. They said that it came from the Russians who wanted me to have it.

Q. Now you have told us about the visit of Harry Gold to you in June; about the material that you turned over

to him. When after that was the next occasion when you saw Julius Rosenberg?

A. It was on my furlough in September, 1945.

Q. Where did you go on that furlough?

A. I went home, but I no longer had the apartment at 266 Stanton Street, so we stayed in an apartment where I had been living before I was married, which was in the building that my mother lives in—64 Sheriff Street.

Q. In other words, you came from New Mexico to New York for the furlough?

A. That is right.

Q. Did your wife come with you?

A. She did.

Q. You had not been in New York



—Wide World Photo
Mrs. Ruth Greenglass

from January, 1945, until September, 1945; is that right?

A. I had not; no.

Q. And this meeting with Harry Gold took place out at New Mexico?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, in September, 1945, after you returned to New York, when was it that you first saw Julius Rosenberg?

A. It was the morning after I came to New York.

Q. Would you tell us what happened? Where did you see him?

A. He came up to the apartment and he got me out of bed, and we went into another room so my wife could dress.

Q. Did you have a conversation in that other room?

A. I believe we did.

Q. What did he say to you?

A. He said to me that he wanted to know what I had for him.

Q. Did you tell him what you had for him?

A. Yes, I told him "I think I have a pretty good—a pretty good description of the atom bomb."

Q. The atom bomb itself?

A. That's right.

Q. Now at this point, Mr. Greenglass, I want to take you back to your testimony on Friday afternoon. I am going to take you back to meeting in January, 1945, when you had a conversation with Rosenberg at your apartment. Did I understand your testimony to be that Rosenberg had given you a description of the atom bomb?

A. He did.

Q. Will you tell us the conversation you had with him at the time when he gave you this description of the atom bomb?

A. Well, he said to me he would have to give me an idea of what the bomb was about so that I would be able to know what I am looking for. He then gave me a description of what I later found out to be was the bomb that was dropped at Hiroshima.

Q. Could you tell us, as you remember, in exactly what words Rosenberg described this type atom bomb to you?

A. He said there was fissionable material at one end of a tube and at the other end of the tube there was a sliding member that was also of fissionable material and when they brought these two together under great pressure, that would be—a nuclear reaction would take place. That is the type of bomb that he described.

Q. Was that the first time you had ever heard a description of that type atom bomb?

A. That is right.

Q. Or of any type atom bomb, is that right?

A. That is right.

Q. After he gave you that description, the Hiroshima-type, did you, in ensuing months, gather information concerning the atom bomb?

A. I did.

Q. Will you tell us just how you went about that?

A. I would usually have access to other points in the project and also I was friendly with a number of people in various parts of the project and whenever a conversation would take place on something I didn't know about I would listen very avidly and question the speakers as to clarify what they had said. I would do this so that they wouldn't know.

Q. Now, in addition to that fact, you yourself were working on various things used in connection with the experimentation used on the atom bomb?

A. That is correct.

Q. Such as this high-explosive lens? A. High-explosive lens molds were made in my shop and I got—as a matter of fact, there were molds used on the atom bomb.

Q. Was it on the basis of this knowledge which you had accumulated over those months that you told Rosenberg you thought you had a pretty good description of the atom bomb itself?

A. I did.

Q. Did you at a later time give to Rosenberg a description of the atom bomb itself?

A. I did.

Q. Now, was this atom bomb which you described to him the same type atom bomb he had described to you in January?

A. It was not.

Q. Would you explain that to us?

A. One type of bomb, the one that he described to me, was dropped at Hiroshima, and it was the only type bomb of that nature that was made. The one I got most of my knowledge on, got the knowledge—the information on, was of a different nature. It was a type that worked on an implosion effect.

Q. It was a different type atomic bomb?

A. That is right.

Q. Was this type atom bomb a type which was manufactured at Los Alamos, to your knowledge, after the Hiroshima bomb was no longer in process of manufacture?

A. That is right.

Q. Did you give Rosenberg the description at that time?

A. No, it was later in the afternoon.

Q. All right. Now, I believe we are at the point where you told Rosenberg you had a pretty good description of the atom bomb. What did he say to you at that point?

A. He said he would like to have it immediately, as soon as I possibly could get it written up he would like to get it.

Q. He wanted it written up?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you tell us what you did?

A. Oh, besides that, during this conversation he gave me two hundred dollars and he told me to come over to his house. I then went to see my—well, he then left and I was there alone with my wife.

Q. Did you have any discussion with your wife?

A. My wife didn't want to give the rest of the information to Julius, but I overruled her on that. I told her that "I have gone this far and I will do the rest of it, too."

Q. How about the money—what did you do with the two hundred dollars?

A. I gave that to my wife.

* * *

Q. Tell us what you did after you had this discussion with your wife.

A. Well, we went down—it was late in the morning—we had a combination breakfast and lunch, and I came back up again and I wrote out all the information and drew up some sketches and descriptive material.

Q. Did you draw up a sketch of the atom bomb itself?

A. I did.

Q. Did you prepare descriptive material to explain the sketch of the atom bomb?

A. I did.

Q. Was there any other material that you wrote up on that occasion?

A. I gave some scientists' names, and I also gave some possible recruits for espionage.

Q. About how many pages would you say it took to write down all of these matters?

A. I would say about twelve pages or so.

Q. Tell us what you did after you prepared these twelve pages of written



—Wide World Photo
David Greenglass (left), shown leaving Federal Courthouse after being sentenced to 15 years in prison. With him is U.S. Deputy Marshall Eugene Fitzgerald.

material, including the sketch of the atom bomb and a description of the sketch?

A. My wife and myself got into my father-in-law's car, and we drove around to Julius' house. We went up to the house, and I gave Julius the information which—

Q. Gave him all of this written information?

A. That is right.

Q. Including this sketch?

A. That is right.

* * *

Q. By the way, who was present when you handed the written material including this sketch over to Rosenberg?

A. My wife, my sister, Julius, and myself.

Q. By your sister you mean Mrs. Rosenberg?

A. That is right.

* * *

Q. Now will you tell us just what happened, Mr. Greenglass, after you hand-

ed this sketch and the descriptive material concerning the atomic bomb to Rosenberg? What did he do? What did the others there do?

A. Well, he stepped into another room and he read it and he came out and he said, "This is very good. We ought to have this typed up immediately." And my wife said, "We will probably have to correct the grammar involved," because I was more interested in writing down the technical phases of it than I was in correcting the grammar. So they pulled—they had a bridge table and they brought it into the living room, plus a typewriter.

* * *

Q. Who did the typing, Mr. Greenglass?

A. Ethel did the typing, and Ruth and Julius and Ethel did the correction of the grammar. While this was going on, sometimes there would be stretches where you could do—there wasn't too much changing to be made, and at this time Julius told me that he had [gotten] the proximity fuse when he was working at Emerson Radio.

* * *

Q. Did he tell you what he did with that proximity fuse?

A. He told me that he took it out in his brief case. That is the same brief case he brought his lunch in with, and he gave it to Russia.

* * *

Q. Did you know that Julius had been working at the Emerson Electric Company?

A. Yes, I did know it.

Q. Did you know what type of work he had been doing?

A. Yes, he was an engineer and inspector out there.

Q. Do you know whether or not he had any connection with government work?

A. He worked for the Signal Corps, actually.

Q. He was actually in the employ of the Signal Corps?

A. That's right.

Q. Did you have any conversation with Rosenberg about how long you were going to remain in the United States Army at Los Alamos?

A. Oh, I just stated that as soon as I could possibly get out, I was going to go out of the Army, get a discharge.

Q. What did he say?

A. He said he'd want me to stay up in Los Alamos if I could get a job up there as a civilian, stay there as a civilian.

Q. Did he tell you why he wanted you to stay there?

A. Well, he said that he wanted me to stay there so I could continue to give information.

Q. What did you say?

A. I said I would like to leave the place; I would like to come home.

Q. Now, about how long did this furlough last in September? Was it a long furlough or a short one?

A. It was fairly long. The dates on this occasion — I don't know exactly when I got back to Los Alamos.

Q. By the way, I think you have told us on several occasions that you turned over this sketch and descriptive material to Rosenberg, is that right?

A. I said that before.

Q. And that it was typed by Mrs. Rosenberg?

A. That's right.

Q. Do you know what happened to the original notes after the typing was completed?

A. The original notes were taken and burnt in the frying pan and then flushed down the drain.

Q. Who did that?

A. Julius did that.

Q. Did you return to Los Alamos in September?

A. I did return to Los Alamos in September; yes.

Q. Did there come a time when you obtained a discharge from the Army of the United States?

A. I did.

Q. When was that?

A. In February, 1946, last day in February.

Q. Where were you discharged?

A. El Paso, Texas, Fort Bliss.

Q. Did you go from Los Alamos to El Paso?

A. That's right.

Q. Did you receive an honorable discharge?

A. I did.

[At this point in the testimony Greenglass explains how he returned to New York, residing first at his mother's home at 64 Sheriff St., later at 265 Rivington St. He also tells how he went into business with his brother Bernard, Julius Rosenberg, and a man named Goldstein. For a three-year period they operated two machine shops—G. & R. Engineering and the Pitt Machine Products Corporation.]

Q. Now, during those three years from February or March, 1946, until August of 1949, did you see Rosenberg at the business from time to time?

A. We did—I did.

Q. Did you have any conversations with him?

A. I did.

Q. Am I correct in stating you saw him very frequently in business?

A. Yes, every day almost.

Q. Did any of these conversations relate to espionage activities?

A. They did.

Q. Try to tell us as best you can, if you can remember, when or around when each conversation took place.

A. Well, in '46 or '47 Julius Rosenberg made an offer to me to have the Russians pay for part of my schooling and the GI Bill of Rights to pay for the

other part, and that I should go to college for the purpose of cultivating the friendships of people that I had known at Los Alamos and also to acquire new friendships with people who were in the field of research that are in those colleges, like physics and nuclear energy.

Q. Did he mention any particular institutions which he desired to have you attend?

A. Well, he would have wanted me to go to Chicago, University of Chicago, because there were people there that I had known at Los Alamos and it was a well-known institution and it was doing a lot of good work in the field of nuclear physics.

Q. Did he mention any other institutions?

A. M.I.T., and then later on when

which he had engaged?

A. Well, he had told me that he had people going to school in various places.

Q. Will you fix the time when he told you this.

A. It was during this period of 1946 to 1949. He told me that he had people going to school in various upstate institutions. He never made mention of the institutions, but he said that he was paying students to go to school.

* * *

Q. Did Rosenberg tell you anything about his own dealings with the Russians?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. What did he tell you?

A. He told me that he—if he wanted to get in touch with the Russians he had a means of communicating with



Pitt Engine Products, Inc., New York

—Acme Photo

N.Y.U. had a nuclear engineering course he wanted me to take that.

Q. Did he give you the names of any scientists with whom he desired you to build up friendships?

A. No; he told me that at Chicago University there were some people that I had gone to school with, I mean, I had been at Los Alamos with, and that I should cultivate their friendships.

Q. Did he specify how much of this money would be furnished by the Russians?

A. He specified that the GI Bill of Rights would pay for my schooling and they would give a certain amount of money for living of the student, and he said the Russians would pay additional money so I could live more comfortably.

Q. Now, did you ever agree to go to any of these schools?

A. I said I would try, but I never bothered.

Q. You never, in fact, did go; is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. Now, did Rosenberg tell you anything about activities of this kind in

them in a motion-picture theater, an alcove where he would put microfilm or messages and Russians would pick it up. If he wanted to see them in person, he would put a message in there and by prearrangement they would meet at some lonely spot in Long Island.

Q. Did he mention any other projects, government projects, concerning which he had obtained information?

A. He once stated to me in the presence of a worker of ours that they had solved the problem of atomic energy for airplanes, and later on I asked him if this was true, and he said that he had gotten the mathematics on it, the mathematics was solved on this.

Q. Did he say from where he had gotten this?

A. He said he got it from one of his contacts.

Q. Who was meant by him when he said "they"?

A. "They" meaning scientists in this country.

(To be concluded in the May issue of Facts Forum News.)

THE UNTOLD OPPENHEIMER STORY

(Continued from Page 8)

York was the aforementioned chemist, Marcel Scherer, who had been in the Communist party for years and already was known and highly regarded by top leaders of the Red movement.

In conversation with me one day, Scherer advanced a new and original idea—the establishment of a secret national department of the party for work among scientists and coordination of the activities of Red members who were experts in scientific fields.

There were two central objectives of the daring idea advanced by Scherer. The first would be to obtain and transmit to the Soviet government all scientific knowledge developed in the United States and to make sure that the American government would never have any military or other knowledge in scientific fields that would not be known to the Kremlin.

The second objective was to bring as many scientists as possible into the party or its fronts so that they would sabotage any war against the Soviet Union or other "unjust" war. (Translated from Communist phraseology into everyday English, "unjust war" means in brief any war that does not advance the interests of the Soviet government and hasten the world revolution.)

Scherer presented considerable data to me on the role of science in modern warfare and said that scientists would be more essential to military victory than any other group of the population.

I was completely convinced and agreed the matter should immediately be taken up with the top leaders of the party and with the representatives of the Communist International.

A few days later I was present at conferences in national party headquarters where Scherer outlined his plan and where it was immediately approved. The department was set up, and Scherer was assigned to head it.

In the early thirties Scherer and his second wife, Lena, were taken to Moscow for approximately a year of intensive training in espionage, sabotage, and related matters, with Soviet officials and Red army officers acting as instructors. About the same time, another American Communist leader received similar training in Moscow—Yugoslav-born Joseph Fleishinger, better known today under his alias of Steve Nelson.

Scherer and Nelson have been among the most trusted agents of Moscow and assigned to tasks of extraordinary responsibility. In Alameda County, California, during 1941 and 1942, they were assigned to work together. Both played important roles in events relating

to Dr. Oppenheimer and his close associates, and the results of their work had a great influence on the course of history.

Following the return of Scherer and his Russian-born wife and assistant, Lena, to the United States, the progress of the department he headed was rapid, and soon extended into every scientific field. It was extremely secret and hush-hush; most party members and secondary leaders being unaware of its existence. Partly as a cover for it and partly to establish an important new front for the party, Scherer formed an organiza-



Ben Gold —Wide World Photo

tion called the FAECT—Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians.

When Red leaders like Harry Bridges and Ben Gold became members of the Executive Committee of the CIO, it even became possible to obtain a "union charter" for Scherer's organization! The charter gave this Red apparatus for espionage and potential sabotage both an aura of respectability and an entree into the most vital fields of military research, like the radiation laboratory of the University of California and the research laboratories of Shell Development in Alameda County.

The growth of Scherer's apparatus and its infiltration into the scientific field were closely paralleled by the creation and expansion of another and allied front with similar real objectives. In the mid-thirties, Walter M. Trumbull, who had by then succeeded me as head of the department for infiltration of the armed forces, played a leading role in planning and supervising the formation of the Consumers Union (until very recently on the list of organizations cited as subversive and Communist-controlled by the House Committee on Un-American Activities).

Arthur Kallet and Dr. Harold Aaron have been the chief official leaders of the Communist-created Consumers Union from the time it was founded until the present moment. Dr. Aaron, head of the Consumers Union medical department, was for years my personal physician—assigned by the national office of the Communist party to treat me without fees when I was a leading Red official. I have participated in important policy conferences with both Dr. Aaron and Mr. Kallet, and I have firsthand knowledge of the real aims of the organization headed by them.

The work of the Consumers Union contributed greatly to Communist progress in medical and scientific fields.



Harry Bridges conducts a press conference. —Wide World Photo



Paul Crouch and his wife, Sylvia, as they appeared May 24, 1949, before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Membership and activities in the Consumers Union gave Communists a "legitimate" excuse for their interest in all technological advances and the latest and most efficient manufacturing methods. The work of the organization was self-supporting, avoiding the necessity of financial outlay by the party. Communist scientists were able to recruit their friends into a well-concealed Red front and gradually bring them closer and closer to the party itself. The department headed by Scherer was greatly benefited by the new organization headed by Mr. Kallet.

Communist sights were set on California's Alameda County—regarded as one of the most strategic places in the country in April, 1941. It was at this time that the National Committee of the party sent me to California as a member of the District Buro directing work in the state and also in Nevada and Hawaii and also as party organizer for Alameda County.

Alameda County not only had some of the nation's largest shipyards and many other essential defense industries, it also contained the University of California, with its radiation laboratory, and the important research laboratories of Shell Development. Everything possible was being done by the Communist party to foment strikes and cripple production in defense plants when I arrived in California that April.

However, on June 22, with Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, the Communists reversed their immediate tasks overnight. Instead of agitating for strikes, the party worked feverishly for increased production, and the hated "imperialist war" became the "people's war."

I found that the Alameda County party organization comprised seven sec-

tions, these sections having a total of over thirty units, the party's basic organization. The units averaged ten to twelve members each, some having only five or six and others occasionally having as many as two dozen or more. There were sections organized on territorial lines—Berkeley, West Oakland, downtown Oakland, and East Oakland. There was a "trade union" section composed of the various "shop units" in Navy yards, an automobile factory and other industrial plants, plus two units—one composed of leading Communist CIO officials, the other of Communist officials in the AF of L.

A campus section had four units of professors of secondary positions, graduate students and others connected with the University (except key members of the faculty and employees and scientists associated with the radiation laboratory and other projects).

The last section was known as the "special section" to the party leadership and to the members of its units but was called the "professional section" when mention had to be made of it in written reports (on such things as dues payments). This special section had units for (1) government employees—federal, state, county, and municipal; (2) attorneys, physicians, and other leading professionals; (3) leading members of the faculty of the University of California; (4) scientists and others associated with the radiation laboratory and other scientific work at the University. About September a new unit composed of employees of the research laboratories at Shell Development was added to the special section.

During 1941 no member of the party had a membership book, and no true list of names of members was kept anywhere. Until

June 22 the party was prepared to go underground at any moment, and during the remainder of the year the secret apparatus remained intact, despite the change in the international situation.

Many additional precautions were applied only to the special section units, and especially to the two units connected with the University and its radiation laboratory and scientific and research fields. The members of special section units were never to attend occasional county membership meetings and were excused from all routine party activities such as distribution of literature—everything that might cause them to fall under suspicion by government agents. The greatest precautions were used in holding the unit meetings in homes of members.

Party responsibilities were well defined in division of work between me and my two chief associates in the county leadership, Charles Drasnin and Kenneth May. In addition to general supervision and "political responsibility" for all Communist work in the county I was directly in charge of the work of the East Oakland and the trade union sections. Drasnin, the County Organizational Secretary, was in charge of financial and membership matters and also the work of the Berkeley, West Oakland, and downtown sections.

Kenneth May, County Educational Director, in addition to supervision of



Marcel Scherer

party literature, classes and study, directed the work of both campus and special sections. But in the special section he operated under supervision of Rudy Lambert, the district head of the underground apparatus. (Lambert knew the county well, as he had been Alameda County organizer of the party in the thirties.)

The work in Alameda County was under the general supervision of the District Buro, then composed of William Schneiderman, Rudy Lambert, Paul Crouch, Louise Todd, Steve Nelson, Walter Lambert (Rudy's brother), and Oleta O'Connor Yates. This Buro met

weekly in San Francisco; sometimes held special meetings.

Immediately after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, William Schneiderman and Steve Nelson flew to New York to attend a special and emergency meeting of the National Committee. On their return they reported first at a District Buro meeting and then at an all-day "enlarged" District Committee meeting, to which all leading district officials were invited. William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist party, was also present and made a report at the meeting. I was chairman of the afternoon session, and a speaker at the meeting held that night in the same hall to honor Anita Whitney, a veteran Red leader of California.

It is now positively known from documentation that this meeting was held Sunday, July 13, though when I relied on memory over the years I previously thought it had been earlier in the month. (The exact date of this meeting later assumed importance in investigations relating to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and to other atomic scientists.)

At the District Buro meeting held a few days before the larger meeting of July 13, considerable attention was given to the problem of transmitting the new party line to the rank and file members. Printed and published resolutions had to be "interpreted," real meanings made clear through emphasis, tone of voice and sometimes by "off-the-record" remarks, and questions of members given satisfactory answers. It was decided that a party membership meeting should be held in Alameda County as soon as it could be arranged after the July 13 District Committee meeting, and was to include all sections except the special section. I was to go in person to individual meetings of the special session units to report on the "changed character of the war" and the new line. Kenneth May was to arrange the physical details for them.

The Alameda County party membership meeting was held in a rented hall in downtown Oakland. The exact date has not been definitely established by government intelligence agencies, despite considerable investigation. It could not reasonably have been held less than six or seven days after the District meeting on the thirteenth because of technical problems of informing the members of the place and date through party channels, so it would not have been earlier than July 19. I definitely know the county membership meeting was before August 1, because a report was given by Kaufman, county drive director for the *People's World*, on section quotas for a financial drive that was to start August 1. But this does not necessarily mean that all of the three special section meetings where I made reports were before August 1.



—Wide World Photo
Dr. Kenneth May

Kenneth May made arrangements for three special section meetings where I was to make reports. One was the unit of government employees, one was the unit of leading professionals, the other was a joint meeting of two branches—those of key University faculty members and of radiation laboratory and other scientific personnel.

After so many years I do not recall the exact dates of any of these meetings or whether each meeting was held before or after the county membership meeting. As the date of the July 13 meeting in San Francisco is now positively known, they could not have been held before that time, and it is unlikely that any were prior to the nineteenth or twentieth. It is likely, in view of established party procedure and average time required to arrange such meetings, that they would have been held between about July 20 and approximately August 5, unless they were delayed beyond the latter date by some important circumstance or difficulty—such as possible difficulty in find-



—Wide World Photo
Steve Nelson

ing a suitable meeting place.

As my wife Sylvia and I had previously thought of the District meeting (July 13) as having been held earlier in the month, we naturally assumed that all of the meetings where I made reports were held by the end of the month and therefore in testimony referred to "July" meetings. We both thought of a housewarming party for Kenneth May as having been held near the end of August, but government investigators have learned that it was held on September 20.

One evening in late July or early August, 1941—the exact date still to be ascertained—Kenneth May drove to our home at 2003 East 25th Street, Oakland, to take me to the joint meeting of two special section units. My wife accompanied us. This was not unusual as Sylvia had been a leading party official for thirteen years and in 1941 was head of the national group (or nationality) commission of the party for Alameda County.

As usual in such cases, Kenneth May did not tell us the address where the meeting was to be held or the name of the host. That was immaterial, and party members and even leaders of the highest rank are expected to know only what is essential to carry out the responsibilities assigned to them.

May drove in circles through downtown Berkeley, going first in one direction and then in another, to throw off any government agent who might conceivably have tried to "shadow" us. When we eventually entered the Berkeley hills we went through a maze of streets and turns, climbing higher and higher, with frequent views of the lights of San Francisco in the distance. Then we turned off to the right on a side road or drive and after perhaps a hundred yards stopped before the house where the meeting was being held.

We walked around the left side of the house, and from an entrance near the fireplace we came into the living room, where many members already were present. We found ourselves in a most unique residence of unusual architectural design.

The living room was at the back of the house, in the southwest corner, and an angular fireplace in the northeast corner of the room. On the north side the living room was separated from an artist's studio room by some movable partitions that were opened up to provide space for the twenty to twenty-five people who attended the meeting. On the west side of the house there was a rather narrow balcony, with a door from the studio room opening to it.

Before the meeting got under way the hostess, a vivacious young lady with charming personality and manner, showed me around the house. When she took me out on the balcony I was so

thrilled at the panorama before me that I remarked, "I want Sylvia to see *this*." I went inside, returned with my wife, who appeared to be as thrilled as I had been with the spectacular view. In the distance the lights of San Francisco sparkled in the darkness. Below us and to our left was a deep and wide ravine, with the house perched on the side.

The meeting had been called for only one purpose, to hear the report by the county organizer on the changed character of the war and the new party line. It was called to order with little formality or preliminaries and I was presented to the group by Kenneth May. I spoke while standing in the southwest corner, near a built-in seat of some kind and near corner windows. There was not room for everyone in the living room, some were seated or stood in the studio room after the partitions were removed.

There were many questions after I finished my report, and it took more than half an hour to answer all of them. The largest number of questions and the most important ones were asked by a thin, tense, wiry man, seated directly in front of the fireplace. He had a dynamic and striking personality, and I was immediately impressed by evidence that he had the mind of a genius.

As I have already stated, I did not know then that the name of the "famous scientist" was Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and until we come to evidence of this in the narrative I will refer to him as Professor Z. It is unlikely that in 1941 the name of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer would have had any special meaning for me. I was too busy with my own work to keep well informed regarding personalities in educational and research fields. At that time Dr. Oppenheimer's "fame" was largely confined to his fellow scientists and educators. But in the case of Kenneth May, son of a dean of the University, the situation was different. He was in charge of party work around the campus, and he knew who was important there.

The next occasion when I saw Professor Z, the nervous and tense man May had described as a "famous scientist," was in May's own home in Albany, a suburb of Berkeley.

As already pointed out, I formerly thought it was near the end of August, but documentation I have seen in possession of government security agencies indicates it was on September 20. It was a housewarming arranged by the Communist party for Kenneth and Ruth May, who had been presented with a new house by her father. Others at this housewarming included Steve Nelson, Dr. Joseph Weinberg, and William Schneiderman. It was not a "closed" party affair, and undoubtedly some came who were not party members. I talked with Professor Z at some length on the international situation and related matters, with Steve Nelson and Dr. Weinberg joining in the conversation.

After the Kenneth May housewarming, I saw Professor Z again several times during the latter part of 1941, always

Origin and Purposes of the UN

(Continued from Page 7)

already been held invalid because of the United Nations Charter.²⁵

The United Nations Charter has already so clouded the meaning of our basic American document of government—our Constitution—that in December, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a split decision (a 4-4 decision) on the simple issue of whether the Charter of the United Nations supersedes the Constitution of the United States. One more vote on the internationalist side of the Supreme Court, and the Constitution of the United States would have been gone.²⁶

The person who has been elevated to fill the vacancy in the Supreme Court—to cast that one vote—is John Marshall Harlan: a well-known internationalist, a devoted supporter of the UN.

It does, of course, seem fantastic to say that the United Nations, which millions of fine Americans have been propagandized into believing is a good organization, was actually conceived in treason and dedicated to the cause of the international Communist revolution. Yet the broad outlines of actual proof of this charge can already be seen in the official records of congressional committees which have never actually investigated the United Nations. This evidence has been turned up incidentally and accidentally in connection with other investigations.²⁷

If only it were possible to have a full scale, determined investigation of the whole United Nations story!

The American people might then perceive that when their Secretary of State speaks lovingly of the United Nations as the keystone of our foreign policy, he is

at affairs arranged by the Communist party, usually social-type gatherings to raise funds for Red activities. The last time I saw Professor Z as far as I now recall, during the time I was a member and official of the Communist party, was at an affair held late in the year to raise funds for Spanish Communists—the so-called "loyalists." In 1952, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer told me—and Mr. Hitts and Mr. Cunningham of the Department of Justice—that he attended a fund-raising affair for the Spanish "loyalists" in 1941, and he placed the exact date as the night before Pearl Harbor.

I have no reason to dispute or doubt the accuracy of Dr. Oppenheimer's memory regarding the exact date of that affair.

(To be continued in the May issue of *Facts Forum News*)

unwittingly talking about a malignant, cancerous growth which we have taken into the body of our nation and which will consume us if it is not removed.

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- ²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-205.
- ²⁴ *Everyman's United Nations*, p. 359.
- ²⁵ *The Twenty-Year Revolution*, pp. 206-222.
- ²⁶ *Freeman* magazine, January, 1955, p. 249.
- ²⁷ Hearings of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Radio & TV Schedule

(Continued from Page 48)

WEST VIRGINIA				
Bluefield	WKQY†	1240	Mon	9:30 P
Charleston	WCAW*	1400	Sun	8:00 P
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 P
Fairmont	WJPB-TV**	35	Sat	8:00 P
	WJPB-TV*	35	Thurs	9:30 P
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon	9:30 P
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon	9:30 P
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV*	4	Sun	7:30 P
Parkersburg	WCEF*	1050	To be announced	
	WTAP-TV**	15	Wed	9:30 P
	WTAP-TV*	15	Sun	5:30 P
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	9:30 P
WISCONSIN				
Appleton	WBHY†	1230	Mon	8:30 P
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon	8:30 P
	WATW†	1400	Thurs	8:30 P
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon	8:30 P
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon	8:30 P
	KFIZ†	1450	Thurs	8:30 P
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon	8:30 P
	WJPG†	1440	Thurs	8:30 P
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon	8:30 P
La Crosse	WLCC†	1490	Mon	8:30 P
	WLCC†	1490	Thurs	8:30 P
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	8:00 P
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 P
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	To be announced	
Sturgeon Bay	WDOR*	910	Sun	
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced	
WYOMING				
Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 P
Cheyenne	KFBC-TV*	5	Sun	6:00 P
Cody	KODI*	1400	Tues	6:30 P
Lander	KOVE†	1230	Mon	7:30 P
	KOVE†	1230	Thurs	7:30 P
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	7:30 P
	KPOW†	1260	Thurs	7:30 P
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	7:30 P
	KWYO†	1410	Thurs	7:30 P
Torrington	KGOS**	1490	Tues	7:30 P

PEACE IN OUR TIME?

(Continued from Page 32)

treat if the President continues to believe "that there is no alternative to peace."

It would in fact seem that the only difference between U.S. and British policy is that London wants us to compel Chiang Kai-shek to abandon the Quemoy and Matsu without any *quid pro quo*, whereas Washington wants at least a tacit cease-fire and an end to Peiping's daily proclamation of its intention to attack Formosa.

GUARANTEED NO INTERFERENCE

Since the United States has let it be understood that the Communists need not fear war with us so long as they only nibble at the offshore islands; and since we have forbidden the Nationalist air force and navy to bomb the airfields the Communists are constructing at Foochow, or to interfere with the shipping bringing war supplies to Foochow and Amoy, we have in effect guaranteed to the Communists that there will be no interference with their preparations for the all-out assault on the islands which we should regard as preparatory to an attack on Formosa and which would mean war with us. It is almost as if we had told the enemy that we won't fight him until he is good and ready and will have a fair chance to win.

On his return from Asia, on March 6, Mr. Dulles spoke as if he had become convinced that firm opposition to any additional Communist expansion is essential to block "the crumbling away" of allied authority in Asia. But, as the *New York Times* also reported on March 7:

Nothing in Mr. Dulles' remarks today [March 6] or during his tour has removed the uncertainty about what the U.S. will, or will not, do about the offshore islands.

Nobody, except God and maybe President Eisenhower, although even this is doubtful, knows whether we shall, or shall not, fight to defend the Quemoy and Matsu offshore islands. The American public certainly does not know and can only choose between the varying opinions of commentators, columnists and editorial writers. Congress does not know, although Knowland is determined that we shall and Morse that we shall not. It would seem that neither Mr. Dulles nor Admiral Radford knows, although the latter definitely, and the former almost certainly, wants us to stop the further triumphant advance of communism in Asia by a firm stand.

The Chinese Nationalists don't know, although they understood originally that the administration had pledged itself to help them defend these strategically and politically important islands. Their for-

eign minister, George K. C. Yeh, having stated on February 10 that the U.S. had promised to defend the Quemoy and Matsu, retreated from his premise next day. After leaving the State Department, on the day he returned to Formosa, he was reported by the *New York Times* as saying that "he had not intended to leave the impression that the U.S. had given the Nationalist Chinese a specific pledge." Mr. Yeh added that he would not "eliminate that possibility" but said that "it is for the United States to decide."



—Wide World Photo
President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles

The Communists don't know, and therein lies the greatest danger of war. For, as we should know from past experience, all wars are started by one miscalculation. History shows that both the first and second world wars might never have occurred if the intentions of the Western powers had been realized. But, as Sygnman Rhee has remarked, "There is an old saying that those who will not learn from history will be required to repeat it."

Ironically, considering the Republican campaign promises of 1952, it was left to James P. Richards, the South Carolina Democrat who now heads the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to remark, on March 6, that the United States is risking an armed clash over the Matsu and Quemoy islands by withholding its intentions regarding them. As he wisely stated, the consequence is likely to be that the Communists "will start probing out our intentions... and in doing so will open an armed clash." It was also Mr. Richards who, on March 6, stated that when the joint resolution on Formosa was voted the administration had misled Congress into believing that it was guaranteeing the defense of the offshore islands. It was also a Democrat, Senator George of Georgia, who pointed out the implications of Dulles' report, when he stated on March 8 that:

The Communists portray us as weak, and unless the free people get a clear sense of our strength and of our willingness to use it, they may conclude that communism is going to win and that they had better join up.

On the same day that Dulles was reporting to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee that the whole of Southeast Asia will be in danger unless the U.S.A. "makes its influence felt in a positive way," Mr. Eden was telling the House of Commons that a Formosan cease-fire and withdrawal of the Nationalist Chinese from the offshore islands could pave the way for consideration of Red China's entry into the United Nations "at an appropriate stage."

When questioned concerning Eden's statement, so completely at variance with his own, Mr. Dulles is reported to have said that he "knew nothing about it." But on February 11 Drew Middleton had reported to the *New York Times* that Herbert Morrison had said that day: "The United States intends to retire from situations imperiling peace, such as insistence on occupation of islands near the Chinese mainland."

As Mr. Middleton also wrote, no "factual information" on this had been made public, but in London it seemed as if some "reassuring information" about the islands "had passed from Washington to London." This no doubt accounts for Mr. Eden's affirmative reply in the House of Commons on March 8 to a question as to whether British "friendship, cooperation and consultation with the United States remained as strong as ever." This was on the same day that the British Foreign Secretary praised the United States for having "effectively restrained the Chinese Nationalists from initiating attacks against the Chinese mainland" and for having "persuaded" Chiang Kai-shek to evacuate the Tachens.

BRITAIN'S PRIVATE DEAL

It would therefore seem probable that the Alsop brothers were correct when they reported that Dulles had made it clear to Eden at Bangkok that if Britain could arrange a "private deal" along these lines, we could "persuade" the Nationalists to withdraw from the offshore islands. Stewart Alsop represented Eden as offering the carrot to the Communist donkey while Dulles threatens it with a stick. Those who want us to stand by our Chinese allies might view them instead as Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

"Pull devil, pull baker"—Britain's intentions are all too plain while ours are veiled in the obscurity of double talk and double think. Moreover, British views are reinforced by the powerful voices of our own appeasers and anti-anti-Communists as voiced by the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* and a host of American so-called liberal commentators and columnists who have no conception of Communist aims and methods, or of the clear and present danger which menaces the United States.

UNIMPORTANT TERRITORY?

Just as, before the second world war and their defeat, the French used to say, "Why die for Danzig?" we now have Walter Lippmann and others of his kind proclaiming that it would be folly to risk war over "such unimportant territory" as the Quemoy and Matsu.

Neither Mr. Lippmann, nor other Sophists of his kind, realize that wars are neither waged, much less won or lost, according to an accountant's estimate of the value of a particular piece of real estate. Nor is victory assured to the side which has the most "hardware" to throw at the other. "Wars are won or lost in the hearts of men."

No American who knows and understands the origins of his country is likely to question the truth of this remark, made to me recently in Harrisburg by a Russian who had managed to escape the fate of the thousands of his displaced countrymen in Germany whom we handed over to Stalin to be shot, or sent to slave labor camps after our victory in the last world war. But too many of us today, having inherited the blessings of liberty, have no conception of what it means to be without them and no realization that the price of freedom is readiness to die for it.

A year ago hardly anyone had heard of the Quemoy and Matsu islands. Today they have become our Rubicon. The decision to cross it or to retreat lies with President Eisenhower alone. This at least is clear from the wording of the resolution passed by Congress on January 28 at the President's request, which authorizes him to secure and protect "such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands, and the taking of such other measures as he judges to be required or appropriate in assuring the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores."

CAMPAIGN PROMISES VANISHED

No one knows the mind of President Eisenhower; or rather no one knows who will make up his mind for him when the choice between peace or war in the Formosa Strait can no longer be avoided. One thing only is certain. The Republican campaign promises of 1952 have vanished like snow upon the desert's face. There is no longer any question of "rolling back" the Iron Curtain in Europe or Asia, or of liberating anyone anywhere in the world. Far from abandoning the sterile "containment" policy of the Truman-Acheson era, as promised in the Republican platform, the administration now aims only at peaceful "coexistence" with the Soviet empire based, at best, on the *status quo*, and at worst on further retreats in Asia.

Few today seem even to remember that President Eisenhower was elected on a Republican platform which promised that:

It will mark the end of the negative, futile, and immoral policy of "containment" which abandons countless human beings to a despotism and godless terrorism which in turn enables the rulers to forge the captives into a weapon for our destruction.

For a few months this wise and courageous proclamation of Republican policy seemed to be more than campaign oratory. Mr. Dulles spoke of an "agonizing reappraisal" of our foreign policy which foreshadowed an end to our unconditional aid to those who, like the French, could not be counted upon to fight even to defend their own liberty, much less anyone else's.



—Wide World Photo

Chiang Kai-shek (left) toasts Syngman Rhee at reception at Nationalist Headquarters, Taipeh, Formosa, in November, 1953. Man between is Sampson Shen, Chiang's confidential secretary.

CAPTIVE PEOPLES REGAIN HOPE

The captive peoples of the Soviet empire in Europe, together with the Chinese under the iron heel of communism, regained hope and strengthened the resistance forces, thanks to Mr. Dulles' statements concerning their liberation. The workers of East Germany revolted in the summer of 1953, and even the slaves in Russia's concentration camps went on strike that same year in large numbers.

Chiang Kai-shek's forces were temporarily "unleashed" when Eisenhower countermanded Truman's order to the Seventh Fleet to protect the rear of our enemy in Korea "by neutralizing Formosa." And on February 25, 1953, Dulles told Congress that the United States "would never be a party to any international deal fixing despotism on peoples in Europe and Asia." On that occasion he also said that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain "have no ground to fear that the administration would sell them down the river for our advantage."

For a brief moment the clouds lifted, and it seemed as if, at long last, America would have the wisdom and courage to win the battle for the world without war instead of waiting for the Communists to acquire the "positions of strength" they need before they can attack us with the certainty of victory.

Soon the bright prospect faded. First,

the Republican administration "settled" the Korean war on terms so favorable to the Chinese Communists that they had been rejected a year earlier by the Democratic administration. Next Indochina was given up because the United States dared neither to intervene nor to compel France to take the measures necessary to defend the colony out of which she had derived great profit, but to which she refused either to give self-government or to defend with adequate forces.

During this same period, in spite of McCarthy's efforts to stop Stassen, the security barriers against trade with the enemy were lowered even while American prisoners of war were being starved and tortured in Chinese Communist prisons.

Under British pressure and because the administration nurtures the illusion that trade with Communist countries can promote "friendship" and "peaceful coexistence," we started permitting our "allies" to export more and more of the sinews of war to China and the rest of the Soviet empire.

Meanwhile Chiang Kai-shek was being more effectively "leashed" than ever before, and Syngman Rhee's army was being rationed to a two day's supply of ammunition for fear it might attempt to liberate North Korea.

In Europe, according to the same pattern, we gave our blessing to the Paris agreements, which were acceptable to France only because they are designed to ensure that the West Germans shall neither raise nor equip sufficient forces to ensure a viable defense of Europe, nor attempt to liberate East Germany.

SOVIET RUSSIA—NO. 1 "ALLY"

According to Walter Lippmann, a "constructive" reading of the Paris agreements offered "an excellent basis for negotiations with the Soviet Union" because they provide "for the limitation of armaments in Western Europe." Without agreeing that his adjective "constructive" is well chosen, one can agree with Lippmann's view that the Soviet Union should have been happy to negotiate, since, according to Dulles' statement of November 30, the purpose of the London-Paris accords was "not merely to create defensive strength... but to limit and control that strength so that it can never be an aggressive force."

Since any attempt to liberate the captive peoples could no doubt be considered as an "aggressive" action, and contrary to the principles and aims of the United Nations at its foundation (when Soviet Russia was our dear "ally"), the Paris accords, like the Formosa treaty, constitute in effect an assurance to the Communist tyrants that they have nothing to fear so long as they content themselves with the enjoyment of their ill-gotten gains.

NO AMERICAN REPRISALS FEARED

No one who understands the terribly effective measures used to suppress rebellion by the Communists can believe that any people can liberate itself without help from outside. Thus Dulles' statement that "liberation normally comes from within," must have reassured Moscow and Peiping that they can continue to repress, or exterminate, the resistance forces in their far-flung empire without fear of American reprisals. Once again, as during the second world war, we are saving the Soviet government from the consequences of its crimes and follies.

Today, as yesterday, we fail to understand either the weakness or the strength of the Communists or their unchanging aims. Instead of pressing our advantage during the struggle for power which followed Stalin's death, President Eisenhower, on March 19, 1953, made what the *New York Times* described as the "most conciliatory White House statement on U.S.-Soviet relations since the start of the Korean war."

This was the occasion on which he observed that the Soviet leaders would never be met "less than halfway," and also said that he would not do anything so "provocative" as starting a move in the United Nations to brand the Soviet Union as an aggressor in Korea.

More than a year later, on June 30, 1954, the President told a press conference that he "would not be a party to any treaty which makes anybody slaves." Optimists could take comfort from this statement. The pessimists noted that on the same occasion Eisenhower had again stated that the hope of the world lay in peaceful coexistence with the Communists, which is surely incompatible with nonrecognition of their right to hold and exploit millions of slaves.

MASSIVE RETALIATION—OR APPEASEMENT?

During his second year of office, President Eisenhower was proclaiming that there is "no alternative to peace." Thus the tyrants were assured that the big stick we carry is not intended for use. Instead of "massive retaliation" against Communist aggression and crimes against humanity and international law, we seemed to be embarking on a policy of massive appeasement based on the vain hope that, sooner or later, the Communist leopards will change their spots if we treat them nicely and give them plenty to eat. As usual, the Russian people were identified with their masters, and instead of being encouraged to resist were disheartened by our conciliatory attitude toward those who oppress them.

"Coexistence" or a *modus vivendi*, or whatever other expression is preferred as a substitute for the unpleasant word

appeasement, became the order of the day. By the fall of 1954 Republican and Democratic anti- and pro-Eisenhower editors, columnists and commentators were agreed that the objective of administration policy is simply peace in our time.

Drew Pearson wrote on November 29, 1954:

The decision is: Whether to accept the olive branches dangled from the Kremlin for coexistence with Russia—olive branches that are urged upon Ike by Churchill and Mendes-France; or to accept the advice of his Pentagon advisers and force a flat showdown with communism in the Far East—a showdown could lead to a preventive war.

So far, President Eisenhower has taken

that the U.S. will pay a good price for a period of peace and quiet. Just now they're out to cash in again."

DULLES SAYS "WHEN"

John Foster Dulles, whose appointment as Secretary of State had seemed to herald the inauguration of a policy cognizant of the aims and methods of the Communist power, said on November 29, 1954:

Of course we look anxiously for signs of real change in the attitude of international Communists. We hope that the day will come when they will renounce the effort to rule the world by methods of force, intimidation and fraud. When that day dawns we shall greet it eagerly.



Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (second from left) entertains as luncheon guests Admiral Felix B. Stump (left), commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, and Major General Sory Smith, U.S. Air Force commander in the Pacific (second from right). At right is Colonel Hu, Chinese interpreter.

a definite course toward coexistence and against his military advisers. More than on any other matter of late, he is inclined to play this policy with a lone hand. He personally overruled the Joint Chiefs of Staff when they proposed that the United States stand and fight at Quemoy, the small Nationalist Chinese island just off the Communist Chinese mainland.

David Lawrence's *U.S. News & World Report*, which, unlike Mr. Pearson, can be relied upon to tell all the truth which it is possible to know, was of the same opinion. On December 3, 1953, it said:

Peace search, basis for a deal, to be pushed by Eisenhower despite almost any Communist provocation, is basic U.S. policy now.

Doris Fleeson, who likes Ike but prefers Truman, wrote on November 29 that the President's "noble aim" is "to avoid a military showdown... he believes that the free world will win in the end by wise action and the erosion of time."

And on February 11 *U.S. News & World Report* stated, all too truly, that "the Communists know from experience

If our Secretary of State had said "if" there would be no reason for alarm. But he said "when" as if we had only to wait patiently and with restraint for the Communists to cease from troubling. Thus American policy would now seem to be based on the erroneous supposition that the free world can win by sitting back and hoping that God will help those who fail to help themselves; or, on the even more dangerous supposition that the enslaved peoples of the Communist empire in Europe and Asia can liberate themselves without our help.

The record speaks louder than words.

By 1954 the United States was refusing either a security pact, or the continuance of arms aid and economic assistance to Chiang Kai-shek unless he promised never to use such aid for "offensive" purposes. And on March 2, 1955, President Eisenhower, at his press conference, was understood to have said that any attempt to liberate one's country or one's countrymen would be con-

sidered as "aggression" by the United States. In answer to a question concerning Generalissimo Chiang's statement to Senator Margaret Chase Smith that he expected U.S. moral and logistic support for an invasion of the Chinese mainland, Eisenhower replied:

The United States is not going to be a party to an aggressive war.

Of course, like so many other administrative statements this one can be variously interpreted. But the White House issued no denial when the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* together with most other newspapers, commentators and columnists took his reply to mean that the United States would not help the Nationalists to liberate their homeland.

In the inelegant language of Doris Fleeson, Eisenhower had "slapped" Chiang. It was hard to disagree with her that, in effect, the President had "recognized the sovereignty of Red China."

TREATY FOR DEFENSE ONLY

There had in fact been little doubt for some months past of our intention to accept, if not as yet to "recognize," the Chinese Communist conquest of China. This was made clear by the terms of the Formosa treaty and by the President's January 24 message to Congress in which he stressed the fact that: "It is a treaty of purely defensive character." The terms of the treaty make this fact all too clear. It not only forbids "offensive military operations by either party from the territories held by the Republic of China" without mutual consent, but also forbids the Chinese Nationalists to "remove" from Formosa without our consent any of the arms we have supplied.

Mr. Dulles' various statements have served to make it yet more clear that "liberation" is no longer the objective of our policy. As on November 29, 1954, he said in a speech in Chicago that we should not "allow ourselves to be provoked into action which would be a violation of our international obligations"; and that "we have agreed by the UN Charter to try to settle international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that peace is not endangered."

All this would be very fine if our enemies thought likewise. Since they do not, it is folly to imagine that the evidence we continually give of our peaceful intentions will not embolden them to attack our friends or to continue blackmailing us. What the world is waiting for is proof that we can be counted upon to stand by those who stand by us and that there is a chance that ours will be the winning side.

Mr. Dulles evidently realizes this for, in his February 17 speech, he said: "A great danger in Asia is the fear of many non-Communists that the United States has no real intention of standing firmly

behind them. Already that fear has mounted to the danger point."

DISASTROUS POLICY CONTINUED

Unfortunately Mr. Dulles has to reckon with others who also have the possibility of influencing the President and are giving him contrary advice.

Truman was the inheritor of Roosevelt's disastrous foreign policy and can at least be praised for having finally started to take measures to stem the triumphant advance of the Communist power. But Eisenhower, on the occasions when he lends an ear to the so-called liberals who have maintained their footing in the White House, seems to be trying to out-Roosevelt Roosevelt in his desire for coexistence, if not collaboration, with the vastly extended Communist empire in Europe and Asia.

Instead of taking advantage of the agrarian crisis in Russia and the unrest in the satellite countries to compel the Kremlin to make concessions to the free world, we are proclaiming our readiness to give the Communists the breathing space they require to recuperate and prepare for a future attack on us when they feel strong enough to defeat us.

Truman, whose favorite game is poker, was perhaps better qualified to know when an opponent is bluffing than Eisenhower who spends his leisure hours on the golf course. True that Truman, after taking the risk of resisting the Communists in Korea, was afraid to stake enough to win. But Eisenhower seems not even to realize that a player who says he will never risk his blue chips, however good his hand, must lose in the end.

COMMUNISTS WIN JACKPOTS

Our Communist opponents win the jackpot every time, even if all they have in their hand is a pair of deuces, simply because we are afraid of risking anything, ever, anywhere in the world. Imagining that we are so rich that we can afford both to continue losing ourselves and also to stake other players too lacking in boldness ever to win a pot, we let the Communists take all, again and again and again.

Today we are no longer seeking even to "contain" the Communist power. In-



Harry S. Truman

—Wide World Photo

stead we watch them "nibble away" in Asia, secure in our President's frequent pronouncements that we fear war too greatly ever to use our strength to stop their depredations. While Mao Tse-tung displays United States flyers captured in the Korean war to the peoples of Asia as evidence that the United States is a "paper tiger" which cannot even protect her own nationals, much less anyone else, we have been busy extracting promises from Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek that they will never attempt to liberate their countrymen.

While proclaiming our policy as one of "partnership" and citing the wishes of our "allies" as the reason why we cannot pursue a bold policy in line with American interests, we do not hesitate to exert pressure on the Koreans and Chinese to prevent them from fighting to free their countrymen from Communist slavery.

PEACE AT ANY PRICE?

In a word, both in Europe and Asia we are now giving arms and promising support, not to those who wish to fight for the liberation of others, but only to those who promise that they will never resort to arms except in self-defense. We give "favored nation" treatment to the neutralists and appeasers instead of to those who today, as distinct from yesterday, wish to fight the totalitarian tyrants. And the very same people who cried shame on Neville Chamberlain after Munich now proclaim "peace in our time" at any price as a "noble" aim.

Few realize that our obsession with security must eventually place us in a position in which the United States would have no choice but to fight in the most adverse circumstances, without allies, or to submit to Communist conquest from within and without. For lost allies are not merely lost. Sooner or later those who looked to us in vain to help them liberate themselves from Communist oppression, together with those who had the courage to resist Communist aggression but whom we abandoned to their fate for the sake of peace in our time, must be driven to join our enemies. If there is no banner in the West to which those who prefer death to slavery can repair, even the brave must eventually give up hope and save their lives by joining the ranks of our enemies.

In the words of Senator Knowland: "Coexistence and atomic stalemate will result in ultimate Communist victory... we must face up to the fact that the Communist concept of 'peaceful coexistence' means that the U.S. or other free nations of the world will be allowed to exist only until communism is able to subvert them from within or destroy them by aggression from without... Since stalemate would put the Soviet Union itself 'off limits,' the in-

tended victim of the aggression could only look forward to a localized war within their own frontiers with the destruction of life and property that would entail. Since the hope of restraining this new type of Soviet aggression by placing the body of the octopus in danger, these nations individually, one by one, might prefer to accept Soviet terms rather than even call on the West for aid.

POLICY OR INSANITY?

"Before our eyes the people of the United States would see nation after nation nibbled away and when the realization finally dawned that this policy would inevitably result in our country becoming a continental Dien Bien Phu in a Communist totalitarian world, the chances of our winning such a struggle would be so lessened and the Soviet world so extended that they then would be prepared for an all-out challenge to us wherein we would be allowed the choice to surrender or die."



The "Big Three"—Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill (left to right, center of table) together at the final dinner held in connection with the conference at Yalta, Crimea, Russia. Also shown are Secretary of State Stettinius and Russian Foreign Commissar Molotov.

The courageous speech made by the California Senator on November 15, from which I have quoted, interrupted the debate on whether or not to censure McCarthy for having been rude to General Zwicker and for not having been sufficiently communicative concerning his finances to the Gillette Committee. This debate can be compared only to Nero's notorious musical performance while Rome burned. Today it is not a city, but the whole free world which faces destruction. The McCarthy business served only as a distraction or as a smokescreen behind which those who are leading us down a road, proverbially paved with good intentions, can continue to work for "peace in our time."

As the Greeks said: "Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad." Could anything be more insane than our present policy of giving arms aid and financial assistance only to those who promise *not* to fight? Could anything be more foolish than listening

to the siren voices of the protagonists of "coexistence," which, to quote Senator Knowland again, means that "the United States or other free nations of the world will be allowed to exist only until communism is able to subvert them from within or destroy them by aggression from without."

It would be as foolish as futile simply to blame the administration, or either the Republican or Democratic party, for our irresolution. There is an old saying that a people gets the government it deserves. Today we should perhaps rather say that in a democracy the people get the kind of press and radio and TV reporting which they want. The "fourth estate" is now more powerful than either Congress or the President. What passes for "public opinion" is that of our favored commentators and columnists or the editorial writers of such newspapers as the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. And since "the people" favor those who tell them pleasant things, it is not to be wondered

he can steer the ship of state along a nicely calculated course between the Scylla of atomic war and the Charybdis of submission to Moscow. But he is the captain of a mixed crew with opposing ideas as to the right course to follow. Thus helmsmen who dread Scylla must alternate with those who veer away sharply from Charybdis, while the strong and varying winds of public opinion, buffeting the ship from all sides, increase the danger. Nor can we rest assured that if we escape shipwreck we shall not be lured to destruction since, unlike Ulysses, Eisenhower has failed either to tie himself to the mast or to plug the ears of his crew so that they shall not hear the songs the sirens sing promising ease and security through appeasement.

The vacillations, prevarications, ambiguities, and sudden changes in the direction of our foreign policy are nonetheless dangerous because they are understandable. If government by consent of the governed is taken to mean government by Gallup poll, or government by the lowest common multiple of the intelligence of the citizens, we shall be unable to avoid the fate of the city states of ancient Greece where democracy degenerated into demagoguery and led to the conquest of power by native tyrants or to the enslavement of the people by foreign conquest.

Freedom cannot survive in this or other dangerous ages unless the leaders of the nation are men of character and courage who believe in the principles they profess and stand by them even at the risk of unpopularity or of losing office.

ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN

The representative form of government, which we now like to call "democracy" requires that the actions of political leaders correspond, at least remotely, to their opinions. It must certainly perish if the elected representatives of the people cease to mean what they say and say what they mean. The nadir of democracy is reached when double think and doubletalk make a mockery of the people's right to know and judge and decide. If both, or all, political parties try to be all things to all men, the electorate has no choice even at election time. In the name of democracy the people then find themselves with little more control over their destiny than the subjects of a totalitarian state, since they have no means of knowing what will be the actual policy of the party for which they vote.

The endeavor to be all things to all men is dangerous enough in domestic politics. In the sphere of foreign policy it must be disastrous. For here the President is confronted, not only with the problem of keeping his mixed "team" together by doubletalk—or by acting like the legendary horseman who

at that our newspapers, radio and TV, and the advertisers who support them, enable only those who obscure realities, or delude us by false hopes, to form "public opinion."

In a word, we have only ourselves to blame if the elected representatives of the American people are more interested in getting re-elected by being all things to all men than in saving the nation. Those of us who credit the President and his advisers with being no worse than ourselves may see them instead as simply unable to make up their minds. Like Hamlet they cannot decide whether to "take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them" or to continue suffering "the slings and arrows" flung at us, not by "outrageous fortune," but by the Frankenstein monster which we created at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, and which we are now too fearful to challenge lest in destroying it we make a desert of the world.

President Eisenhower may think that

fulfilled his assignment by riding off rapidly in all directions—he also has to reconcile the irreconcilable desires and aims of a multitude of so-called allies. Since it is obviously impossible to pursue a policy acceptable to both those who want peace at any price and to those who wish to resist tyranny—much less those who yearn to liberate the enslaved peoples of the Soviet empire in Europe and Asia—America's endeavor to please everybody results in our losing friends on all sides and influencing nobody. By endeavoring to make the best of both worlds we are in danger of losing both.

"ISLAND-HOPPING RETREAT"

In this connection a dispatch from Rome, dated March 7, from one of the ablest of American foreign correspondents is of interest. George Weller, whom I knew well in China in 1946, when he was one of the few Americans who had no illusions concerning the nature and aims of the Chinese Communists, reported as follows in the *Chicago Daily News*:

America's "island-hopping retreat" in the Formosa Strait is beginning to produce results on European public opinion opposite to those intended by Washington. Instead of winning sympathy for moderation, it is causing Communists and fellow travelers to scent the blood of further conquests. It causes America's allies to ask "who next?"

The same view of the effect which our abandonment of the Quemoy and Matsu islands would have in Europe was expressed by Richard Hottelet of CBS who reported on a TV program that the people of Berlin were saying that, if the United States failed to defend these Pacific outposts, they would fear that they too would be abandoned, since Berlin is also an island in a Communist sea.

Such voices as these telling us the true, or informed, reaction of the peoples of Europe to our policies are rare. For the most part American correspondents, columnists and commentators, are wont to reflect only the image of their own desires or what they think is official American policy in their reporting of foreign opinion. Most of them do not even speak the language of the country to which they are accredited and therefore depend either on their prejudices or on U.S. Embassy handouts for their "opinion" of what opinion is.

Reason and logic tell us that we cannot retain the confidence of the forces in Europe and Asia which are prepared to fight and die for freedom and at the same time placate the neutralists and appeasers or those who, like the British, will fight only when their immediate interests or their own survival are at stake.

We cannot liberate the peoples under communism's iron heel nor even protect what is left of the free world, without risking war. We cannot proclaim that "there is no alternative to peace," and

also expect that our power, great as it is, will be of any use in stemming Communist aggression. We cannot ensure "peace in our time" without agreeing to the perpetual enslavement of the millions of people delivered over to Communist rule at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam; and also without serving notice on the world that those who are threatened by the Communists had better submit because they can expect no help from America. Nor can we please the "neutralists" by minor concessions to the Communists because they will not be satisfied until we have retreated past the point of no return.

Quoting George Weller again:

Indications are that the policy of retreat, politically speaking, has no further dividends to offer the United States in the European camp.

Nor can it offer any dividends in Asia where our vain attempt to placate neutralists such as Nehru is disheartening, or alienating, those who can be counted upon to fight with us in the cause of liberty or for their own legitimate national interests. The morale of the Chinese Nationalist army must be destroyed if we compel them to abandon all hope of liberating their countrymen on the mainland and rejoining their families there. It is as unrealistic as it is cruel to convert them into American mercenaries dedicated only to the defense of our security or the promotion of our interests. Yet this is in effect what we are now trying to do by making our support dependent on their renunciation of their own national and personal cause. The end result is likely to be the one calculated on by the Communists, namely that they will be able to take Formosa from within through the disaffection or desertion of the Nationalist soldiers.

CONCILIATE INDIA AND LOSE JAPAN

Nor is it likely that we shall be able to keep Japan in our camp if our main aim is to conciliate India, since Japan requires evidence of our determination not to give way to Communist aggression in Southeast Asia where her principal markets are today, while Nehru wants us to retreat and appease, appease and retreat.

Similarly in Europe we cannot expect to acquire the Germans as willing allies while also pleasing France, since the latter wants an assurance that NATO will never use its strength to roll back the Iron Curtain, while the Germans, if they are to enlist with any enthusiasm in the European defense forces, need hope that their enslaved countrymen in the East zone will one day be liberated.

It is all too easy for the United States to use the threat of withdrawal of material and moral support from Chiang's and Rhee's forces in order to prevent them from taking "offensive" or "aggressive" action against the Commu-

nists. No great effort is required to damp down the fires of liberty for the sake of peace in our time. But it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to fan the spark of liberty to life, if and when we decide that our own security requires that we cease to act as firewardens for the Communists.

The American people, misled by press, radio and television concerning the real issues, have been lulled into a false sense of security. Except for a few lone voices such as those of General MacArthur and Senator Knowland, no attempt has been made to awaken them to realization of our peril. Most of our newspaper editorial writers and columnists, together with our radio commentators, use our predicament to scare us into a policy of appeasement.

Last year during the Berlin Conference, Frau Reuter, widow of the late great mayor of that courageous city, reminded me of what her husband had said to me when I visited them during the blockade: "The strength of the Soviets lies in the irresolution of the Western democracies." Echoing him nearly seven years later Syngman Rhee stated in a speech he gave in Seoul on March 1, 1955:

The greatest enemy of the free world is not the armed masses of Communist soldiers... but its own fearfulness and self-doubt.

These two brave voices, echoing each other, came from what Mr. Dulles has called the outposts of freedom. It is not from the front line of the battlefield but in the rear—where the Communist menace is not understood and where too many people hope to save themselves by sacrificing others—that the demand is raised for peace at any price.

Franklin Roosevelt said that we have nothing to fear but fear itself. Strangely enough his greatest admirers are those who now counsel us to be governed by our fears. Generally speaking, those who urged the United States to intervene in Europe to prevent the victory of the Nazi totalitarian tyranny are now lined up on the other side and are advocating peace at any price and telling us that we can do business with the Communists.

Meanwhile the former "isolationists," or noninterventionists, are divided. Some few believe that the United States can still retire behind her own defenses and abandon the rest of the world to cope alone with the Communist menace which America herself did so much to create by the crimes and follies of Roosevelt and his advisers. But the great majority of those who opposed Roosevelt's foreign policy realize that America cannot now "go it alone" while also opposed to our following the advice of those of our allies who wish us either to submit to Moscow or to defend only their own particular interests.

THIS MONTH'S SLOGAN

PATRIOT OR PARASITE?

Submitted by **MRS. L. ALLEN HIGLEY**
68 Highland Ave., Bridgeport, Conn.

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

(Closes April 11)

- | Yes | No | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1. Do treaty laws threaten private property? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2. Should taxpayers be allowed to prescribe what their children be taught? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. If we were suddenly attacked would any other nation come to our aid? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Do you approve of the President's \$7 billions for new schools plan? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Are you in favor of the administration's proposed health program? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. Should U.S. defend the Nationalist Chinese coastal islands? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7. Should the birthday of Franklin D. Roosevelt be made a national holiday? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8. Will Senator McClellan become a prime target of the Communists? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9. Are Parent-Teacher Associations infiltrated with Reds? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10. Should the U.S. refrain from publishing accounts of new defense weapons? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11. Should Chiang Kai-shek's army be allowed to attack Red China? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12. Do those who innocently promote communism harm more than known Communists? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 13. Has the Marshall Plan justified its cost? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 14. Should Social Security be put on a voluntary basis? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 15. Is enough American History being taught in our schools today? |

NAME (Please Print)

NO. AND ST.

CITY AND STATE

* To receive regular Facts Forum Poll card each month, already addressed and with postage paid, simply write your request once to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas.

* 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.

See Page 25 for Results of March Poll

POLL QUESTION WINNERS

FOR APRIL

1st Award—\$64.00

MRS. JEWELL R. KENT
Tishomingo, Okla.

2nd Award—\$32.00

JOSIE BARBER
2511 Forest Way, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Ga.

3rd Award—\$16.00

MISS JUDITH E. GROSSE
1820 Potomac Dr.
Toledo 7, Ohio

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Bend Route
Lometa, Texas

10th: **MRS. D. H. M. COOK**
138 Disraeli Rd.
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Chicago 19, Ill.

12th: **MRS. EVVA SKELTON TOMB**
Box 254AA, Rt. 2
Holland, Ohio

7th: **MR. JOSEPH PUSATERI**
238 Bond St., Apt. 12-D
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

13th: **LESLIE GORRELL**
Gifts Unlimited
420 Market St.
San Francisco 11, Calif.

8th: **MR. REX B. FINLEY**
5311 "T" St., S.E.
Washington 27, D. C.

14th: **MRS. CARROLL K. FAUGHT**
1415 Thistle St.
Seattle 8, Wash.

9th: **ANN M. BANICK**
1301 Madison Ave.
Dunmore, Pa.

15th: **MRS. JOHN SALA**
Box 518
Tombstone, Ariz.

What they're saying ...



about FACTS FORUM

...Your broadcasts...are especially interesting and instructive, and I would appreciate...copies of the last three...which were done so well.

W. L. Houck, M.P.
House of Commons
Niagara Falls, Ont., Canada

...Thank you for your prompt and courteous attention. You have aided me greatly in a very important debate...

Ted Shipman
DuPont Blvd., Lugoff, S. C.

...I would like to tell you that the activity of Facts Forum is one in which I have a great interest, and I feel keenly the accomplishments of it...

J. R. Maxfield, Jr., M.D.
Maxfield X-Ray and Radium Clinic
2711 Oak Lawn, Dallas 19, Texas

Mr. Smoot...I enjoy your program very much. I find it very informative.... Please enter my subscription for *Facts Forum News* and bill me for same. I don't always agree with the expressed views, but keep up the good work.

J. D. Payne
Woodruff's Stamp & Coin Dept.
424-426 S. Gay St., Knoxville, Tenn.

I happened to catch your magazine at our local magazine store, and all I can say is "Bravo." There is still hope. The truth shall prevail. Keep up the good work.

An order for a full-year subscription will be forthcoming.

Franklin Salzman
2903 Madison Ave., Ogden, Utah

...The public is groping to find a magazine which presents the facts, and I believe...that *Facts Forum News* should be in every home. One way to accomplish this would be for each of us who are subscribers to give our copy to a neighbor or friend. I feel that many new members will be enrolled this way...

Mrs. Ellsworth Ireland
1887 William H. Taft Rd.
Cincinnati 6, Ohio

...I am going to place copies of *Facts Forum News*, after I have read them, in the school for our older children to read and be posted on the important questions of the day....In these small rural towns, such reading is a great help...

Father Walker, Pastor
Saint Joseph's Church
P. O. Box 228, Taneytown, Md.

...I so heartily endorse the attitude of your publication....I do make good use of my own copy—I pass it among my neighbors and then drop it on the public reading table at our city library...

Mrs. Walter H. Christman
1145 Lagonda Ave., Springfield, Ohio

Dan Smoot

in

EL DORADO

*SEE FACTS FORUM
RADIO AND TELEVISION
SCHEDULES INSIDE

CITY OF EL DORADO
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
A. C. NEEL
EL DORADO, ARKANSAS

March 10, 1955

Mr. Dan Smoot
Facts Forum
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Smoot:

First let me say that I very much enjoyed your talk at our annual meeting of the El Dorado Chamber of Commerce some weeks ago.

We listen to your broadcast almost every week, and were particularly interested in your United Nations discussion last night. If you have a copy of your talk I would be very much pleased to have one.

Yours truly,

A. C. NEEL

Annual Banquet
EL DORADO
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
EL DORADO, ARKANSAS

SPEAKER



DAN SMOOT
Commentator, Facts Forum

Youth Center Building
Feb.



El Dorado Daily News

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SMOOT MAKES HIMSELF CLEAR

Dan Smoot made himself perfectly clear and plain in his address at the annual Chamber of Commerce banquet last Tuesday night. Speaking on the subject "America's Responsibility in the World Today", Smoot gave some definite ways in which Americans can carry out this responsibility. In doing so he also made clear how he stands and how Facts Forum stands on American principles and American funds.

Citizens Challenged To Check On Status Of U. S. Freedom

ORDELL

questions were raised during the evening by the roundly-applauded address, "America's Responsibility in the World Today," delivered by Dan Smoot, of Dallas and radio commentator of TV. This responsibility the speaker described as the need "to revive and keep alive the philosophy of a great, calling the idea of collect-

Capacity Crowd Will Hear Smoot In Address Tonight

One of the largest crowds to attend an annual banquet of the Chamber of Commerce is indicated tonight's event in the Youth Center building starting at 6:30 Texarkana, Magnolia, Camden, Ford, city crowd of approx. persons is expected. It actually a sellout last some last minute expected today. ot of Dallas, of Fact will be the pri-

The time required to produce fifty-two radio and television programs a year prevents Dan Smoot from accepting many speaking engagements, but recently he was able to appear as the principal speaker at the El Dorado, Arkansas, Chamber of Commerce Annual Banquet. His reception was heart-warming . . . for which every member of the Facts Forum family joins Mr. Smoot in saying, "Thank you . . . and God bless you!"

You can hear *Dan Smoot* with
FACTS FORUM each week on
Radio and Television . . .