

MARCH 1955

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STRAUSS
OF
VIRGINIA

SECURITY
and
ACHIEVEMENT



Provocative Prose

"A society of sheep must, in time, beget a government of wolves."

—BERTRAND DE JOUVENEL

"When more of the people's sustenance is exacted through the form of taxation than is necessary to meet the just obligations of government and expenses of its economical administration, such exaction becomes ruthless extortion and a violation of the fundamental principles of a free government."

—GROVER CLEVELAND
(Second Annual Message, 1886)

"The American people ask one thing—the truth. They will find their way over any obstacles, through any fog, against any foe, foreign or domestic, if they have the truth."

—SENATOR WILLIAM JENNER
"Let Us Safeguard America First"
January 1955 *American Mercury*

"If Nero played his fiddle while Rome burned, then our present outcry against rigorous investigation of communism in America makes the same kind of mad and misplaced music."

—CLARENCE E. MANION
Former Notre Dame Law Dean

"Let the national flag float over every schoolhouse in the country, and the exercises be such as shall impress upon our youth the patriotic duties of American citizenship."

—BENJAMIN HARRISON

"If a man is going to be an American at all, let him be so without any qualifying adjectives; and if he is going to be something else, let him drop the word American from his personal descriptions."

—HENRY CABOT LODGE, SR.

* * * * *

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Cover Photo Credit: NEW YORK TIMES

To pay or not to pay, that is the question that has but one answer—
all *must* pay. Dan Smoot weighs the points for and against the
government's power to tax.

INCOME TAX AMENDMENT

Should the Income Tax Amendment
be repealed?

* * * * *

As usual, let's answer the question
from two opposite points of view —
taking first the arguments of some
who say "Yes."

* * * * *

BEFORE the Income Tax Amendment
was adopted in 1913, the American
federal government was different from
any other government ever created.

Now, there was nothing new or different
in the idea of democracy. The basic
idea of democracy (that is, that
people elect their own rulers) is quite
old—older, in fact, than the idea of
government by a king.

Democracy in its purest form had
been tried out in ancient Greece, before
the birth of Christ.¹

The Western world had had a vast
amount of experience with democracy
before the American Revolution was
ever fought, and had discovered that
democracy never produces freedom.

Democracy always ends in the most
crushing and terrible kind of tyranny.

The people who established the American
government knew that democracy
had never enabled people to govern
themselves in a free and orderly society.

But the American experiment in self-
government was a miraculous success.

REPUBLIC—NOT DEMOCRACY

Why? Why did America achieve the
ideal of order, self-government, material
prosperity, and freedom, when democ-
racy had brought none of these things
to any group of people before in human
history?

Because the men who founded our
nation did not create a democracy. They
created a federal republic.²

In a democracy, the power of govern-
ment is unlimited.

In a democracy, if the rulers decide
that government ought to seize privately
owned industries and place them in the
hands of politicians—as the rulers of
Britain did decide in 1948—that decision
becomes law, because it is the
will of the elected rulers.

In a democracy, if the rulers decide
that a certain economic group should
be murdered en masse—as Stalin did
decide about the Russian Kulaks—that
decision becomes law because it is the
will of the elected rulers.

In America, however, the govern-

ment's power over its own people was
strictly limited. The Constitution speci-
fically denied the federal government
all of the dangerous powers of govern-
ment over the lives of individual citi-
zens.³

The most important constitutional
limitation on the power of the federal
government was the taxing power.

The Founding Fathers knew that if
the federal government had unchecked
power to levy taxes it could destroy all
the freedoms which the Constitution
sought to protect, because, as the great
Chief Justice John Marshall said, the
power to tax is the power to destroy.⁴

That original constitutional limitation
on the taxing power of the federal
government was the one thing (the only
thing) which fundamentally distin-
guished the American system of govern-
ment from the so-called democracies of
the old world—and of Latin America.

CONVERTED AMERICAN SYSTEM

And then, in 1913, the American
people, by adopting the Sixteenth, or
Income Tax, Amendment, unwittingly
destroyed the old American system and
converted it into the kind of democracy

which has always, in the end, led to
ruin, degradation, and slavery.⁵

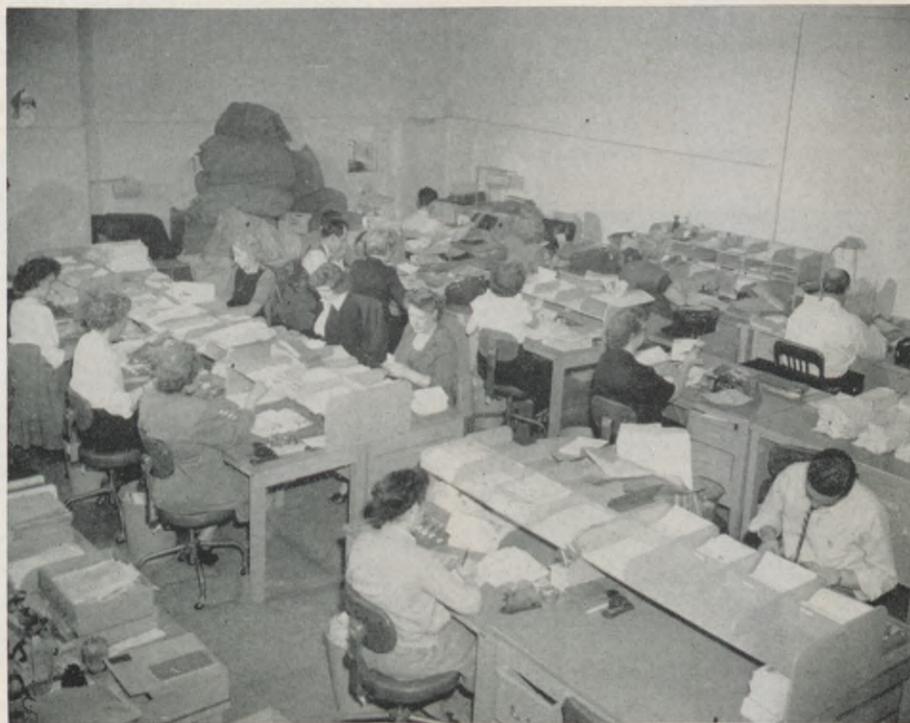
In 1913, before the federal govern-
ment acquired its unlimited power to
tax, the federal government owed less
than one billion dollars.

Today, the federal government owes
over 275 billion dollars, and the Presi-
dent is asking Congress to raise the
debt limit so that we can owe some
more.⁶

This nation today is mortgaged to
the hilt. Our present federal debt is
equivalent to the total value of all
tangible property in the United States—
mines, mills, homes, automobiles, fac-
tories, buildings, railroads, everything.

Before the Sixteenth, or Income Tax,
Amendment was adopted in 1913, Amer-
ica was immune to the European disease
of socialism, because politicians could
not promise voting blocs something
which was to be paid for by someone
else. They could not buy my vote by
promising me a pension or a subsidized
house, because they couldn't take money
out of your salary check to pay for it.⁷

The American people, by and large,
did not begin to see or even suspect
the terrible consequences of the income



—Wide World Photo

Clerks work on incoming mail at Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C., and find 60 per cent of the mail received contains orders for a new tax booklet sold by the government. Note mail sacks at back of room.

tax until about twenty years had passed.

But when Roosevelt came along and for the first time used the tax weapon on a gigantic scale—demonstrated the technique of buying votes with the voters' own money—the old American system vanished.⁸

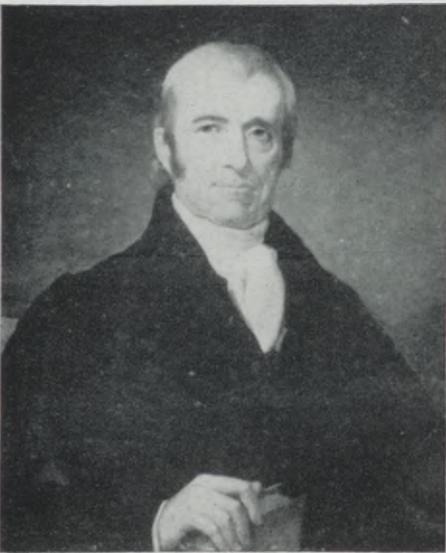
Each administration since Roosevelt—which means Truman and Eisenhower—has used the federal income tax in the way and for the purpose that Karl Marx prescribed when he wrote the *Communist Manifesto*. The *Communist Manifesto* says that if governments in the capitalistic countries would adopt steeply graduated income taxes for the purpose of redistributing the national wealth—that is, imposing a higher rate of taxes on people who have been successful and who have accumulated some holdings, and a lower rate on those who don't have very much—they would, by that act, create Socialist societies, because, in destroying the accumulations of private wealth, they would dry up the sources of private capital and destroy the system of private capitalism.⁹

SOAK-THE-RICH APPEAL

This Communist idea of graduated income tax has always been politically popular, because it has a pleasant, soak-the-rich appeal. But soaking the rich raises relatively little revenue, because there are relatively few rich people to soak. Most of us who pay taxes are poor people.¹⁰

Although people in the top income brackets today pay the federal government 92 per cent of their earnings, it is still the people with small incomes—stenographers, bookkeepers, truck drivers, steelworkers—who pay over 80 per cent of the cost of government.

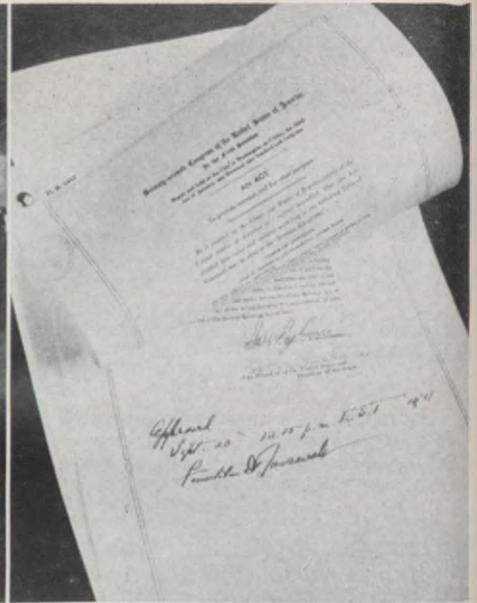
If the government confiscated every penny of every income above ten thousand dollars a year, the proceeds would be barely enough to run the federal government as it now operates for two weeks.



—Wide World Photo
Chief Justice John Marshall (portrait by James R. Lambdin).



In 1934 (left), President Roosevelt signed the dollar evaluation bill and took immediate steps to put the new monetary system into effect. President signed bill in the presence of his monetary advisers (left to right): Herman Oliphant, of the Treasury Department; Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau; Eugene Black, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board; Professor George Warren; George L. Harrison, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board of New York, and Professor James Rogers. At right, photo shows the first and last pages of the \$3,553,400,000 tax bill, the largest that had ever been enacted, after FDR signed his name to it in September, 1941. It was designed to defray the costs of the national defense and lend-lease programs.



—Wide World Photos

Of course, the man who has the most property should pay the most taxes, because he gets the most protection from government. If your income is twice as much as mine, your taxes should be twice as much as mine, because you have twice as much value needing the protection of government. But there is no legal, moral, or economic justification for your having to pay four or five times as much, as is the case now under a tax system built on the Communist principle of graduated rates.

Federal income taxes are gradually achieving the Communist ideal of transferring all capital wealth from private individuals to the federal government, leaving our economy entirely dependent on government capital.

We are converting our system of private capitalism into a system of state or government capitalism. Private capitalism is the system that built America. State or government capitalism is the system that Mussolini had in Italy, Hitler in Germany, the Communists in Russia and China.¹¹

Today, there is hardly any major undertaking planned without the federal government's being asked to provide financial backing. Yet the debt of our government is already bigger than the combined indebtedness of all the other governments in the world.

If a city needs a lake for its water supply, it asks the federal government to provide it. If a region wants a canal, it asks the federal government to dig it. Slum clearance project? Get the money from government. The government of India wants some wheat? Get it free from Uncle Sam.

Four young couples who vote right and who have "pull" want to take an expensive vacation together traveling through Europe?

Fine! Our Foreign Operations Administration rigs up a ridiculous inspection trip for them so they can take their trip at government expense.¹²

YOU PAY FOR IT!

What does "at government expense" mean? It means that you pay for it!

When the government spends 100 million dollars that, of course, doesn't come from you, because you don't have that much money.

But the one dollar or two dollars or five dollars taken out of your check each payday, along with equivalent sums taken away from every other person in the nation, goes into the federal pot. And from that pot, the bureaucrats get the money with which they finance "at government expense" trips, and other benefits for the people—the right people.¹²

The two or three dollars that you would like to lay aside each payday, to save up for the vacation trip you have always dreamed of but could never afford, is never quite there for you.

The government always beats you to it—takes it out of your check before you ever see your check—and then uses it to provide a really good vacation trip for someone else.

With practically every person in the nation dependent in one way or another on government handouts, subsidies, and contracts, can the tide be turned back?

It could, but it would require states-

manship and courage. We could, first of all, adopt a constitutional amendment limiting federal taxation to 25 per cent of individual incomes. This would eliminate the worst evil in our present system—the Communist principle of graduated rates—and it would compel the government to economize. Government simply will not cut out wasteful and dangerous spending unless it has to. If we would put a limit on the government's power to tax, your government would have to stop giving your money away to foreign governments, spending your money on housing studies in Africa, and publishing brochures on the life histories of North American wood-warblers.¹³

We could also adopt an amendment making it illegal for the federal government to compete in business with its own citizens. This would eliminate countless socialistic enterprises on which tax money has been squandered for many years.

If we had these two amendments as a beginning, we could cut the federal government back to legitimate size, restrict its activities to valid and legal functions, and make substantial inroads on retiring the national debt. We could then repeal the Income Tax Amendment and remove forever the possibility of the federal government's embarking on another Harry Hopkins orgy of taxing, spending, and electing.

* * * * *

That was one side. Now comes the opposite side—arguments of some who DO NOT think that the Income Tax Amendment should be repealed.

* * * * *

THE idea of repealing the Income Tax Amendment is preposterous.

Limiting the federal government's power to levy taxes would place such a

fiscal strait jacket on the government that it could not meet the grave crises of depression, inflation, and threats of war.

Every other major government on earth has the freedom to raise taxes as needed to meet national emergencies. How could our government compete—or even survive—in the present world of continuing international tensions if its hands were tied—if its most vital power (the taxing power) were limited?¹⁴

When the Sixteenth Amendment was proposed, the country voted for it because it permitted the most equitable kind of tax possible.

It has enabled us to create a modern tax system, based on the principle that people should be taxed according to their ability to pay.

The argument that the progressive income tax has hurt the country is ridiculous. The gross national product almost doubled between 1939 and the first half of 1951, rising from 179 billion dollars to 324 billion dollars. Employment rose from 46 million to 62 million. Weekly wages in manufacturing increased about 50 per cent. Corporate profits rose from five billion dollars to 18 billion dollars.¹⁵

PEOPLE JUST WORK HARDER

High tax rates do not reduce incentive. When taxes are high, people work harder and assume greater risks in order to maintain a given standard of living. If a man pays a tax of 20 per cent, he must increase his income in order to have the same take-home pay he would have without taxes. Obviously, a man will work harder when he has to meet larger obligations—whether they are a new car, a television set, a new baby, or higher taxes. He will aim at a standard of living which seems right to him, and



—Wide World Photo

Harry Hopkins (right) shown as he talked with reporters in Washington, D.C., prior to reporting to President Truman on his mission to Moscow. Hopkins' trip to Russia was as the President's special emissary.

he will work to achieve and maintain it.

The fact that the nation's output has doubled during the past ten years proves that individuals and corporations carry on economic activities at high levels of efficiency even if taxes are heavy.¹⁵

The opponents of the Income Tax Amendment argue that it tends to discourage production. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Not only do the revenues derived from the income tax enable the government to be the largest single consumer, which makes more jobs; but the availability of these resources allows the government to control the economy in such a way as to avoid the old "boom and bust" that used to plague our system. The largest consumer, following scientific principles, can keep our economy running on an even keel and can maintain a constant high level of prosperity.

The conditions existing at the time of the Declaration of Independence and of the framing of the Constitution have vanished. Prior to 1900, Americans could afford to be "rugged individualists"; but the Industrial Revolution brought in its wake such a highly interdependent society that the rights of society became more important than the rights of the individual. Society has the right to protest when one man amasses great wealth while other men starve. Society has the duty of protecting itself and its members against the economic anarchy of a greedy few. Society grants to the individual equal rights with all other individuals, but requires him to exercise those rights as a responsible member of society.¹⁶

The whole is greater than the sum

(Continued on Page 63)



—Wide World Photo

President Eisenhower distributed souvenir pens to congressional leaders Aug. 16 after signing into law the new tax bill granting reductions to many. Witnessing the ceremony were, left to right, Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.), Rep. Dan Reed (R-N.Y.), seated; Rep. Leo Allen (R-Ill.), Rep. Joseph W. Martin (R-Mass.), Rep. Leslie Arends (R-Ill.), Sen. Homer Ferguson (R-Mich.), Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.), Rep. Charles Halleck (R-Ind.), Undersecretary of the Treasury Marion Folsom, and Sen. Eugene Millikin (R-Colo.).



Dan Smoot discusses:

RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS

SEVENTEEN different states have outlawed the union shop with what they call right-to-work laws.

These states are: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, South Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

On December 7, 1954, Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell, speaking before the sixteenth annual convention of the CIO in Los Angeles, expressed the hope that these seventeen states would wipe those right-to-work laws from the statute books, saying that such laws do more harm than good.¹

The cordial tone of Mitchell's talk to the CIO was made even more emphatic by the warm tone of the message he brought to the CIO from President Eisenhower.

The Eisenhower message to the CIO said:

"Trade unionism has become a vital part of American life. The activities of the American labor movement have brought about social and economic reforms which have enriched the lives not only of union members but of millions of other Americans. Union efforts to help strengthen our general welfare, our national prosperity, and our democracy have earned sincere gratitude among our people."¹

After listening to the President's words, one CIO leader said:

"We used to organize by saying, 'Roosevelt wants you to join a union.' Now we can revise that to say, 'Ike wants you to join a union.'"¹

The next day, December 8, 1954, at the White House, however, President Eisenhower in a press conference said that Mr. Mitchell, in calling for repeal of state right-to-work laws, was not speaking for the administration.²

TOUCHED OFF SHARP ATTACK

This comment touched off a sharp attack on Mr. Eisenhower by Walter Reuther, president of the CIO. Mr. Reuther declared that the President had repudiated his Secretary of Labor.³

The political implications of all this are interesting and important; but

Facts Forum's specific question here is this:

"Do you agree with Secretary of Labor Mitchell that the state right-to-work laws do more harm than good?"

* * * * *

As usual, let's answer this question from two exactly opposite points of view, taking first the arguments of those who say "Yes."

All of the arguments on this side of the question are taken from the CIO publication, **ECONOMIC OUTLOOK**, September, 1954. The article is entitled "Right-to-Work' Laws—Slick Anti-Labor Weapon."⁴

* * * * *

"**T**HE Right to Work" is a fair-sounding slogan. It sounds like the title of a full employment program. But it is being used by reactionary groups as a cover for state antilabor legislation.

In its name, seventeen states have outlawed all forms of union security: the closed shop, the union shop, and maintenance of membership.

These laws aim to undermine union strength and to throw roadblocks in the way of collective bargaining.

Eleven of the seventeen "right-to-work" states passed their laws in 1947. That was the year of whipped-up antilabor hysteria when the Taft-Hartley Act was passed over President Truman's veto.

Since 1952, antilabor forces in the states have been gathering new strength. Five additional states passed right-to-work laws between 1952 and 1954. And antilabor groups are hard at work in the state capitols attempting to convince legislators that their states need such legislation.

"Right-to-work" propagandists always refer to liberty, justice, and free choice, which union-security provisions supposedly take away from workers. But underlying such misleading declarations of high principle is the illusion that "right-to-work" laws are a special attraction to industry and commerce.

PREMISES ARE DECEIVING

Both of these premises—used by "right-to-work" propagandists—are false and illusory. They serve merely to cloak antilabor legislation with a fraudulent

cover of social purpose and respectability.

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

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

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

Unions attempt to redress the balance through collective organization and action. The union attempts to give the individual worker the bargaining power he lacks on his own.

The union which a majority of employees of a company unit select is the exclusive bargaining agent for all employees in that unit. When a union bargains with an employer on wages, hours, and working conditions, the union bargains for all of the unit's members.



—Wide World Photo

Labor Secretary James Mitchell, addressing the CIO's national convention at Los Angeles Dec. 7, defended the idea of compulsory union membership and condemned state laws which prohibit such requirements in labor contracts.

President Eisenhower and Labor Secretary Mitchell voice separate views on whether State Right-To-Work Laws should be repealed.

The doctrine of exclusive bargaining rights for the majority union did not spring up suddenly. It developed on the basis of American experience.

CONFLICT COULD RESULT

Multiple representation could result in conflicting demands upon an employer — from CIO unions, AF of L unions, rump unions, racketeer organizations, and Communist-dominated unions, all of them ostensibly recognized as bargaining agents for workers within the same unit.

The grant of exclusive bargaining rights to the majority union does away with the possibility of such chaos. And it tends to free the majority union from endless battles with numerous competing unions for collective bargaining with the employer.

Unions are unlike other types of membership organizations. Their legal rights and obligations are different from those of fraternal orders or churches.

Fraternal orders and other membership organizations perform services. But they are not required by law or custom to perform services for nonmembers as well as for members.

Veterans may join veterans' organizations if they wish. But no veterans' organization is required by law to represent all veterans. Yet a union selected as the bargaining agent by a majority of workers in a unit is legally required to represent all the unit's workers.

The burden of exclusive representation is a difficult one. The union must place its strength and finances at the service of all the workers in the unit. The cost of negotiating collective-bargaining agreements covering the wages, hours, and working conditions of all the workers in the unit must come out of the union's treasury. In processing the grievance of any worker in the unit, the union may have to reimburse the union steward and committeemen. If the grievance goes to arbitration, the union's staff will probably represent the aggrieved employee—the arbitrator and the union's lawyer, economist, industrial engineer, and field representative, may have to be reimbursed out of union funds.

Union representation, in short, benefits all the workers in the unit.

Is it unreasonable, then, to ask all workers in the bargaining unit to contribute financially to the support of the union that represents them? Can society properly sanction the "free rider" who refuses to assume his share of the burden of industrial citizenship?

THREAT TO COMMUNITY

The "free rider"—the nonpaying nonmember who enjoys the benefits of trade unionism—is like a member of the community who refuses to pay taxes for the upkeep of the schools, parks, police and fire departments, and refuses to vote in the community's elections. Such a citizen is not merely antisocial; he is a threat to the continued health and safety of the community. If he is permitted to get away with it, others may well follow

his example. The finances of the community would be weakened; community services would suffer. Community peace and order could be supplanted by chaotic battles between taxpayers and nontaxpayers.

It is similar in industrial relations. The "free rider" refuses to accept his social obligations. His fellow workers view him as a self-appointed person of special privilege. He is a threat to the union and to the continued peace and order of collective-bargaining procedures. Dues-paying union members view "free riders" as an insult. The presence of "free riders" creates a situation that is loaded with danger to peaceful relations and uninterrupted production.

In many ways, the Taft-Hartley Act seriously restricts the operation of union-security provisions.

In some industries, such union-secur-



—Wide World Photos
MEN AT WORK—(Top left) steelworker directs hot metal crane operator in pouring hot metal, while (top right) beneath a Chicago street a worker connects telephone wires in underground cable. (Lower left) front axles for military trucks are produced on assembly line in Cleveland plant. (Lower right) huge rough 75,000-pound forging for generator shaft of 100,000-kilowatt turbine-generator constructed at GE plant in Schenectady.



—Wide World Photo
 Lee Pressman as he arrived for questioning during closed hearing in 1948. A former government lawyer, he was secretary of the Wallace third party platform committee.

ity arrangements as the closed shop had been in force for twenty to thirty years when they were outlawed by the Taft-Hartley Act. And in many cases, union-shop and closed-shop agreements have been championed by employers, as well as by unions.

Many employers, as well as students of industrial relations, agree that closed-shop or union-shop agreements contribute to responsible unionism and result in benefits to management.

Responsible unionism can develop only to the extent that the union feels secure, that its position is not being attacked or undermined.

Under closed-shop or union-shop conditions the union is not compelled to spend its major efforts on continuous organizing drives within the plant. The union under such conditions can concentrate its attention on collective bargaining and cooperate with management for the mutual benefit of the workers and the company.

Instead of a national policy that would permit unions and employers to negotiate union-security provisions freely, the Taft-Hartley law permits arrangements for union security and then authorizes the states to outlaw these provisions.

CALLS FOR NATIONAL POLICY

If "right-to-work" laws were adopted by all the states, there could be forty-nine different laws affecting union security: the federal law and forty-eight state laws. Yet union security is an issue that clearly calls for a national policy, since labor-management relations are conducted with national firms that buy and sell in the national market and operate establishments in several states.

Consider the disruption of industrial relations created by "right-to-work" laws as they affect union-management relationships in multiplant firms. The union and the company negotiate a master agreement covering all the firm's establishments. Both parties agree to a union-security provision. But if one of the plants is in a "right-to-work" state, the union-security provision is inoperative in that state.

A multiplant company may operate under a union-shop provision in its New York, Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois plants. But in its Texas, Alabama, and Virginia plants, all forms of union security are outlawed by state legislation.

A national economy requires national economic policies. To atomize collective bargaining through the Taft-Hartley Act and state "right-to-work" laws is to restrain trade unions and business firms from functioning properly within a national economy dependent on interstate commerce and multiplant companies.

The selection of union security for special restrictions under a combination of federal and state laws is an obvious attempt to undermine collective bargain-

ing. This policy on union security clearly stems from an antilabor bias regardless of how it is cloaked.

The claims of high principle for "right-to-work" laws have no basis in fact. These laws have but one single-minded aim: the undermining of union strength by disrupting effective collective bargaining and atomizing industrial relations.

* * * * *

That was one side. Now comes the opposite side—arguments of some who DO NOT agree with Secretary of Labor Mitchell that state right-to-work laws do more harm than good.

* * * * *

THE best way to defend the states' right-to-work laws is to explain why they were needed. The best explanation is a brief review of historical facts.

In 1935, the Wagner Act was sold to the American public as the law which would give labor equality of bargaining power with industry. But that was not the real purpose of Lee Pressman, the Communist who drafted the law. The Wagner Act was a Communist measure. Its purpose was to make labor union powerful enough to dictate terms to the government of the United States. The Communists hoped to capture these unions and use them at the appropriate time to spearhead the revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.⁵

The country was not as ripe for revolution as the Communists imagined, however, and the real growth of union power did not come until World War II when the government, controlling practically all industry, forced most major industrial establishments to negotiate closed-shop contracts with the big unions. Literally hundreds of thousands of farmers, day laborers, small businessmen from the South, Southwest and Midwest, who could not get into the army, gave up their occupations and moved to Detroit or the East Coast or the West Coast to help the war effort by working in defense plants. The first thing they had to do there, however, was to join one of the big unions, whether they liked it or not. Money was taken out of their paychecks for initiation fees and monthly dues. If they protested this high-handed tyranny, the unions would remove them from their jobs and blackball them in the entire industry. They could get no help from their government, because government was on the union's side. Local and state governments felt that they could do nothing or were too timid to try.⁵

As World War II came to a close, the labor leaders saw that the end of the war might also be the end of their labor prerogatives. The terrible outbreak of nationwide strikes and violence that occurred right after World War II was monopolistic labor's bid for final power.

over the economic life of the nation. 1946 was one of the worst strike years in our history. In that year alone, 4,600,000 workers were made idle by strikes, with a loss of 116,000,000 man-days of work.

But the big unions overplayed their hands. This bald revelation of unbridled power nauseated a nation that wanted a return to peacetime production and an elimination of wartime shortages.

The Taft-Hartley law, badly mutilated by left-wingers, Socialists, and New Dealers in both houses of Congress, was finally passed in 1947 in response to public demand that something be done to control the big unions. But the Taft-Hartley law is by no stretch of the imagination an antiunion law. It merely amends the old Wagner Act in an effort to require the big unions to give some accounting of themselves.⁶

NO ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE

The Taft-Hartley Act outlaws the closed shop, but as amended it permits the union shop. Now there is no essential difference between the union shop and the closed shop. The closed shop simply means that any employee who goes to work for an organized company has to belong to a union before he can go to work. A union shop means that anybody who goes to work for an organized company must join the union within thirty days after he goes to work.⁶

Union leaders want this kind of compulsory union membership because they have discovered that without it — without some means of forcing people to join



—Wide World Photo
President Roosevelt signing the Wagner unemployment bill in 1933 in the presence of, left to right, Cong. Kyster, Labor Secretary Frances Perkins, and Sen. Wagner.

their unions and stay in and pay dues — they cannot get and hold new members.

Despite the favoritism they have received from the federal government; despite the fact that administration policies have forced millions of people against their will to join the big unions; and despite the hundreds of millions of dollars spent on propaganda and organization — the big unions still have a combined membership of less than 20 per cent of the working force in America.⁷

The union shop deprives individual union members of any means of effective protest against bad union leadership. When compulsory membership is permitted, the individual worker has no control whatever over the union to which he is forced to pay dues. An individual American voter does have some small control over the President of the United States, in the sense that he can criticize the President and threaten not to vote for the President or his party. But the individual worker in John L. Lewis' union has about as much control over John L. Lewis as a Russian peasant has over the Russian dictator.⁸

Any union man who gets out and makes speeches against Walter Reuther or in any way criticizes his union would instantly be kicked out of the CIO and blackballed so that he couldn't get a job in his trade anywhere in the United States.

Union propaganda holds that management is the enemy, unionism the friend, of the laboring man, and that unions are due all the credit for getting higher wages and working conditions.⁹

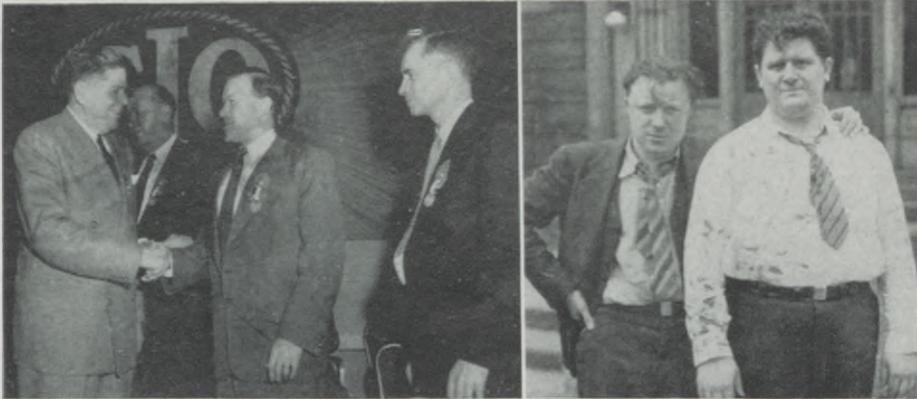
If the union leaders believe their own propaganda, it is difficult to see why they want compulsory union membership to force people to join their unions. If the unions had done all the fine things for American workingmen that they claim to have done, it seems rather apparent that self-interest would encourage every laboring person in the United States to clamor for union membership. If labor unions were really, as they claim, responsible for the rise of workers' living standards, then of course the highest living standards of the world would be in Europe, where unionism has been predominant for generations.

Since 1790, living standards of wage-



—Wide World Photo

Several hundred placard-carrying pickets assail Taft-Hartley law outside federal building in New York during House subcommittee hearing into alleged Communist influence in the distributive and mercantile industries. Demonstration was in protest over summoning of union officials for questioning on their political affiliations.



—Wide World Photos

Left photo, CIO President Walter Reuther congratulated Labor Secretary Mitchell (left) after the Cabinet member addressed the union's Dec. 7 convention. Standing at right, James Carey, President of the CIO Union of Electrical Workers. Right photo, Reuther (left) made headlines in 1937 when, as a UAW local president, he and Richard T. Frankensteen, UAW-CIO organizational director, were beaten up by employees at the Ford River Rouge plant whom they were trying to organize.

earnings in the United States have improved continuously—not in ratio to union activity, but in ratio to the investment that private management has made in better plants and equipment.¹⁰

The basic evil of the compulsory union membership or union-shop idea is the use of force to compel individuals to do the will of others. Americans certainly have a right to organize unions and join them. They also have a right to strike. Taking a job that is offered you, or quitting the one you have; joining a union that wants you, or refusing to join—these are a part of your inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. But no one, not even government, has the constitutional right to force someone else to join a union if he doesn't want to.⁹

Yet the instances of outright and outrageous violence on the part of organized labor hoodlums to force individual workers to join unions against their will or to participate in strikes which they do not approve of are almost infinite in number.

Labor czars today can hold the people of the United States for ransom, cut off their livelihood, starve them, and strangle their economy.

In 1952, John L. Lewis decided that all the employed people in Widen, West Virginia—whether they worked in cafes, grocery stores, laundries, or what-not—should belong to the United Mine Workers. The people resisted. So, in September, 1952, UMW put a picket line across the only automobile road leading into Widen, West Virginia. And there it remained until Christmas Eve, 1953. During those fifteen months the people of Widen, West Virginia, lived in a reign of terror, instigated by a band of men who sought to force them to sign up with the UMW, whether they wanted to or not. During this strike, three railroad bridges, two electric power substations, and one high-tension tower were destroyed by dynamite. Nine houses or barns were burned. A train was stopped, its passengers removed at

gunpoint, and one of its passengers beaten severely. Another passenger train loaded with women and children was fired on. Twenty-nine automobiles belonging to individual citizens were overturned, shot up, or dynamited. The climax of this strike was an ambush involving some twenty shotguns and rifles fired from darkness upon a motorcade on a public road. One man was killed, three wounded.¹¹

Similar occurrences were recorded in a prolonged strike at Elizabeth, Louisiana, where an AF of L affiliate was trying to organize some paper mills.¹²

Similar incidents occurred in Central City, Kentucky.

In 1954, George Lee, independent owner of a small laundry in a little town in Louisiana, tried to resist the efforts of a powerful union to organize his employees, who didn't want to be organized. The union put a picket around his place, insulted his customers with obscene language, beat up his truck drivers, refused to let his employees go to work.¹³

Union goons in Chicago waylaid and beat to death an elderly man for refusing to participate in a strike which he considered unjust.



—Wide World Photos

At Pittsburgh during power strike in 1946, regular heat supply was cut off. Chilly federal building offices were warmed up by heating system pipes connected with locomotive.

ABOVE AND BEYOND THE LAW

The list of such incidents is long and terrifying. Yet, because of the political power they possess, the big labor organizations have been placed above and beyond the laws of our land. The instigators and perpetrators of all this criminal violence are seldom brought to justice for their crimes. When they are, they are usually given suspended sentences or light fines.

Even more startling is the fact that such arrant hoodlumism is seldom criticized by the great liberal church leaders, newspapers, and various civil rights organizations which look upon themselves as the keepers of the nation's conscience.

It is a situation which defies understanding. But one thing we can understand: if the people of America continue to appease industry-wide union labor monopolies, their appeasement will end either in civil war or in the submission of the United States government to an unofficial labor dictatorship.⁵

Our presidents, our cabinet officers, our congressmen, and our senators have been so susceptible to the powerful political pressures of the big unions that the federal government has been unable to regulate labor-management affairs in the national interest. The only way out of this dilemma is to permit the power of regulation to return to the individual states, where it should have been all along, according to the Tenth Amendment of our Constitution.

The real importance of the right-to-work laws which the individual states are enacting is that such laws are returning to the individual states the function of policing labor-management violence.

The people of Florida started this trend in 1944.

STATES ADOPT OWN LAWS

Arizona followed suit in 1946. Since that time, fifteen other states in the South and West have adopted their own right-to-work laws.

What are these right-to-work laws that seventeen southern and western states now have on the books? They are simply laws which say that people don't have to join unions if they don't want to. In all of the seventeen states, the right-to-work laws recognize the right of people to join unions. None of these laws outlaws union organization or union strikes. They merely outlaw the practice of forcing people to join unions and pay dues against their will.¹⁴



—Wide World Photos

UMW Chief John L. Lewis (left) as he emerged from Illinois mine following an eight-hour inspection of scene of explosion where 119 miners were killed in 1951. (Right) as he appeared before a House labor subcommittee.

It is incredible that James P. Mitchell, a member of the Cabinet of the President of the United States, could publicly attack such laws, whose sole and simple purpose is to protect individual Americans against the tyranny and violence of private organizations.

* * * * *

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

"Do you agree with Secretary of Labor Mitchell that the state right-to-work laws do more harm than good?"

* * * * *

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- ¹⁴ "Labor in Industrial Society," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, p. 149.

SECRETARY HAGERTY ATTACKS REUTHER'S "FRAUD" CHARGE

"Ridiculous charge!" retorted White House Press Secretary James C. Hagerty in answer to CIO President Reuther's denunciation that the administration was perpetrating a "political fraud" in its attitude toward Labor Secretary Mitchell.

In a REPORTERS' ROUNDUP interview, Hagerty—commenting on Reuther's reference to a speech in which Secretary Mitchell expressed his views on right-to-work laws—views voiced without the advance approval of President Eisenhower—declared:

"I think that Jim Mitchell is one of the best Secretaries of Labor this country has ever had. He represents all segments of labor. He is not primarily concerned with or tied to any one labor organization. He is working for the welfare of the working men and women of this country. . . and the charge that Mr. Reuther makes that Mr. Mitchell is a sort of second-class member of the Cabinet is the most ridiculous charge I have ever heard."

Hagerty further emphasized, "Jim Mitchell was appointed by the President as Secretary of Labor and . . . his opinions are constantly sought in the process of working out a legislative program."

As to President Eisenhower's reaction to Secretary Mitchell's speech, which was not submitted in advance to the White House, Hagerty stated:

"The President believes that a

member of the Cabinet has a right to express his opinion, and he does not want a member of the Cabinet to be just a 'rubber stamp' or a 'yes man.'"

Hagerty went on to say, "I would recommend that even Mr. Reuther take another look at that speech. In talking of the seventeen states that have these right-to-work laws, Mr. Mitchell was merely saying that he thought that these states should take another look at those laws. He was not proposing this as either an administration policy or a legislative policy of the national administration to be submitted to this Congress. In the first place we couldn't; those are purely state laws, and it is up to each one of those states to take those actions . . . if the state legislatures in their wisdom think that any such action is necessary. He was merely proposing this and stating his often-expressed opinion that these right-to-work laws were detrimental."

When asked if he did not prefer that public expressions of opinion by administration officials coincide with those of the White House, Hagerty replied, "Not necessarily; on many subjects, of course, but not necessarily."

Press Secretary Hagerty concluded, "I believe it is quite fitting and proper for individuals to express their own opinions without in any way tying down an administration to a policy decision, and that's what Mr. Mitchell did."

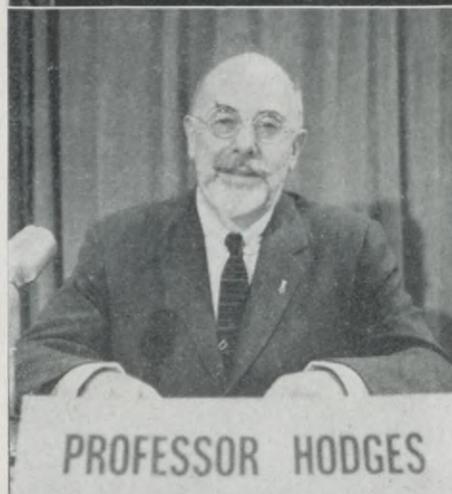


—Wide World Photo

Attempting to halt auto from entering Hollywood studio during 1946 strikes, a picket was knocked over by the car during full-scale melee in jurisdiction fight among AF of L unions.

COULD THE UNITED STATES 'GO IT ALONE'?

FEATURING JAMES BURNHAM, famed author who has been called the "leading intellectual antagonist of communism," with panel members: Publisher Devin Garrity, Former Democratic Congressman George Hamilton Combs, and Professor Charles Hodges of New York University. Hardy Burt served as program moderator.



Q. If the Soviet empire were able to conquer Europe and Asia, could a free America survive?

(BURNHAM): I think we have to distinguish here between conquer on the one hand, and organize and consolidate on the other. Merely conquering more territory sometimes makes a nation weaker.

For example, Hitler conquered most of Europe and most of the Soviet Union also, at least the European parts of the Soviet Union; but he progressively got weaker when he overextended his lines. And the same thing was true of Napoleon.

However, if the Soviet empire could not only conquer the rest of Europe and Asia but organize and consolidate that territory economically as well, I'm afraid that it would so outweigh us in population, in area, and in resources that we would not be able to survive as a free nation.

Q. More specifically, would we be communized, too, in your opinion?

(BURNHAM): In the end we would be absorbed in a world Communist empire. Our own government would be overthrown; we would become slaves of the Soviet tyranny under the control of Moscow.

(GARRITY): I don't think I agree with my friend, Jim Burnham, on this. I assume that if Russia took Asia and Europe (and throw in Africa, too); by that time—if this thing gets going any more—we'd have consolidated our own position in the Western Hemisphere.

Now, I'm a Western Hemisphere fellow. I believe that in the foreseeable future we, the 160 million Americans, can (if we play our cards right) dominate intelligently this Western Hemisphere which, to me, is a self-contained unit.

There just aren't enough Russians, that is, the core of the Communist conspiracy, to be able to come over and dominate us. They would take a hundred years to digest what they would bite off

if they were to take what this question assumes.

(COMBS): I don't think there is a chance of permanent survival on the part of an America in the face of a world organized against us. We might have some form of hemispheric autarky, trying as best we could to maintain an economy nurtured on these shores here in the new world; but it wouldn't work. And I believe Mr. Burnham is completely right when he says that this would ultimately result in the subjugation of the American people.

NO CHANCE OF SURVIVAL?

The truth is that we would be either conquered or obliterated. I can't conceive our being able to stand against the Soviet in the concept of "Fortress America" when there could never be a roof over that fortress. We might be able to repel attacks at its walls, but we couldn't and can't canopy this entire continent. Therefore, we would be in danger and such a minority, expressed demographically or population-wise, even with South America, that we wouldn't be able to stand against them.

They've far outnumbered us, and we must also remember that for many, many years to come South America is going to be, let us say, more of a liability than an asset. The authoritarianism of the Latin American dictators would readily lend itself to deals with the Communists. There is a large Communist movement there which I'm afraid would be too strong for us to stand.

(GARRITY): I don't agree with that at all.

(HODGES): I would join the group that says the answer is "No, the United States cannot 'go it alone.'" I think we've gotten two angles on it. I'd just like to reinforce the logistic (as the military put it) side of trying to organize this hemisphere.

You are dealing with magnificent distances—distances from this stand-



James Burnham, philosopher and author of many books, including "The Managerial Revolution," "The Struggle for the World," and "The Web of Subversion."

point of interruption of supply lines. And it is quite true that we are dependent now on the outside world for such ordinary things as iron ore, let alone the strategic metals with which you tailor-make your ores nowadays for war or for peace.

I think any idea that we can control against the Soviet threat (I'm speaking now from a military standpoint)—that we can control Latin America—is simply preposterous. And the best answer is to go to the reference book, *Jane's Fighting Ships*, and to see the increase in Soviet naval tonnage and, more specifically, the jump-up in long-range submarines, the answer to which I don't think the Pentagon has as yet.

I also want to emphasize the fact, and I think that is where I disagree with Devin Garrity even more, that we've had our hands full.

Now here is a State Department publication in which there is an analysis of communism in Guatemala. Here we've got a clinical record of what can happen in one little place, very deliberately planned where it was a most sensitive spot in relation to North America and to the Panama Canal. And I think it was a great test, and I'm very glad that up to date we're able to control it. And I think you're going to get this by infiltration—that's the real menace.

Q. Are you saying it would be impossible to hold South America?

(HODGES): I said specifically when I started out that we could not, as the United States, "go it alone" and, particularly since going it alone has been brought up as requiring Latin American backing, I say doubly we can't "go it

alone" because we won't have Latin American backing.

Q. But if South America were consolidated, could the United States "go it alone" in your opinion?

(HODGES): Providing it has the military power to command the approaches to North America and to move the bulk cargoes upon which our military destiny rests.

(GARRITY): I don't agree with Professor Hodges at all. I really get annoyed at the whole group of eastern seaboard Europe-firsters. The kind of person who says, "If Europe goes down, we must go down." You don't hear Englishmen saying that "if Europe goes down, England's going down," but there's a whole group of people along this eastern seaboard that has a vested interest in American doom if Europe fails.

U.S. CAN BE INDEPENDENT

It's ridiculous nonsense. A lot of it has been inspired by Communists. Harry Dexter White inspired the idea (if you want to look up Malone's data on this, you can find it) that we were dependent upon Europe for strategic supplies. We are not; the facts are otherwise. And that particularly goes for iron—there's a marvelous new strike in Canada which is going to take care of our needs in the iron ore department for quite some time.

(BURNHAM): I think that Devin Garrity here has jumped two or three steps in advance of his own argument. Now the conclusion from the view that if the Soviet Union consolidates Europe and Asia this country cannot long hold out is not a Europe-first, United Nations globalist policy—such as is upheld by some of the eastern seaboard's internationalists that you are referring to and that you are attacking. And, in attacking them, I certainly would agree with you, Mr. Garrity.

I've written three books and about 300 articles in which I draw a quite different conclusion from this, and it seems to me that this is the only one that follows from the facts—namely, that we have to prevent the consolidation of Eurasia by the Soviet Union by moving away from a merely defensive containment policy, a merely nega-

tive policy of waiting to see what Moscow does, into an aggressive policy which will aim, if possible by political means and psychological means, to break up the Soviet empire from within.

Q. Would you send American soldiers over there to enforce this? Would you involve American youth over there in a third world war to stop it?

(BURNHAM): In my opinion, the strictly military strategy that goes with such a political policy of what I call "liberation of the Eurasian continent from the Communist tyranny," the strictly military strategy that goes with that is based primarily upon strategic airpower.

(GARRITY): Right.

(COMBS): It seems to me that we have overlooked one aspect of this which is of tremendous importance. You might be able materialistically to hold this hemisphere for a time, but there would be an impoverishment of the American spirit and a degeneration of the American character, which I am afraid would be fatal in the last analysis. Moreover, we'd have to be an armed camp. We'd have to be a nation—

(GARRITY): We're an armed camp now.

(COMBS):—standing in arms and absorbing a tax burden among these 160 million people, which the Communists could distribute over billions of peoples.

Q. Why would there be an impoverishment of American spirit if the United States were isolated by Russia?

(COMBS): I think that in the first place if we're cut away from world currents of thought and, let us say, the affinity of mankind generally, we'll find ourselves ingrowing. Secondly, I think that we'd feel a sense of despair and resentment and would have to go into totalitarianism ourselves in order to meet the countering totalitarianism of the nation abroad, and that would inevitably pervert and corrupt the American spirit.

(GARRITY): This country grew up with people who got away from that feeling of despair which has been Europe's heritage for thousands of years—who came over here. If anything, it would cause a revival of the American spirit to be cast back upon our own.

"FLYING SAUCERS MAY TAKE US!"

(COMBS): Generation after generation, year after year, decade after decade, struggling under arms—

(GARRITY): Well, we can't talk about that; nobody can talk about that. Flying saucers may take us by that time!

Q. The technological factor of the H-bomb hasn't been mentioned. Would the H-bomb be such a deterrent to the Soviet empire that the outside forces could be withstood if they did take Europe and Asia?

(BURNHAM): It seems to me that the fact is that up to the present, for the

(Continued on Page 54)

All eyes turn to

FORMOSA

Analysis of Far Eastern Crisis by Dan Smoot

On January 24, 1955, President Eisenhower sent to the Congress a special message requesting authority for the use of armed force, if necessary, to keep the Chinese Communists from taking Formosa and related islands.¹

In that message to Congress—and in subsequent statements made by high government officials—many new, important features of American policy have been revealed.

Facts Forum's question: Do you approve of American policy with respect to the conflict between the Chinese Communists and the Chinese Nationalists?

* * * * *

As usual, let's look at the question from two opposite sides, taking first the arguments of those who DO approve.

* * * * *

GEOGRAPHY—as well as history—helps to explain the vagueness of our previous policy on Formosa; and it also helps us to understand the delicacy of

our problem in trying to establish a clear and precisely defined policy.

Formosa is at points just ninety miles from the mainland.²

But when the Communists drove the Nationalists off the mainland six years ago, the Nationalists not only occupied Formosa, they occupied all of the islands between the mainland and Formosa.²

Some of these islands are large enough to be important. Many of them are tiny heads of rock sticking up out of the sea—not even shown on the maps.²

Some of them—such as the Pescadores—lie fairly close to Formosa and are obviously vital to the defense of Formosa.

Many of them, however, are offshore specks of land which stretch two or three hundred miles along the rim of China itself.²

Since President Truman first ordered the Seventh Fleet to patrol the Strait of Formosa in 1950, there has been little doubt that we intended to help Chiang



—Wide World Photo

TENSION MOUNTS IN FAR EAST—Map locates the Tachen Islands (A) where the U.S. Seventh Fleet and other U.S. forces were ordered Feb. 5 by President Eisenhower to help in the evacuation of Nationalist Chinese troops and civilians. Earlier, American Sabre jet fighters from Osan Air Force Base (underlined) in South Korea shot down two of eight Communist fighter planes which, the Air Force said, tried to attack a U.S. reconnaissance bomber over the Yellow Sea (B).

hold Formosa and the Pescadores.³

But we have been intentionally vague about the little offshore islands.

We have never wanted to commit ourselves to defend them; but we have hoped that the Communists would not take them until their fate could be settled by international agreements, because such action would cause both Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists to lose face in Asia.

Remaining silent and vague about the offshore islands was a kind of bluff on our part.⁴

We had hoped that the Communists—not knowing what we would do if they seized the islands—would not run the risk of seizing them.

U.S. BLUFF CALLED

Now, however, they have called our bluff. They have taken some of the little islands by direct assault. We put considerable pressure on Chiang to evacuate (with our help) other islands—such as the Tachens—in order to avoid bigger and growing conflict in the area.

In thus giving ground, we have again demonstrated our eagerness to settle the dangerous Far Eastern crisis by peaceful negotiation.

It is now apparent to all the world that we are willing to draw a definite line through the Formosa Strait and say to the Communists: You may have the offshore islands—all of the islands—up to this line; but you may not cross this line to take Formosa, the Pescadores, or closely related islands.⁴

Drawing such a definite dividing line will not, of course, stop the conflict unless the Communists agree to the line.

That is why we are still being deliberately vague about certain key offshore islands, like Quemoy and Matsuyau.



—Wide World Photo

On Jan. 29, President Eisenhower signed the resolution, passed by Congress, for the defense of Formosa. Standing behind the President, left to right, Sen. Walter George (D-Ga.), Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.), Secretary of State Dulles, Sen. William Knowland (R-Calif.), and Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wis.).

We are willing to let the Communists have Matsu and Quemoy; but before telling them that specifically, we want to negotiate with them an agreement on a dividing line which they will promise not to cross.

Once we negotiate such an agreement with them, we will hold the line until the ultimate fate of Formosa itself can be settled by international agreement in the United Nations.⁶

That is our policy with respect to the conflict between the Chinese Reds and Nationalists.

WILL U.S. DEFEND ISLANDS?

The American government is engaged in an earnest effort to stabilize its relations with Communist China. The congressional resolution—which the President requested and obtained—leaves open the question of whether the United States will defend the offshore islands that lie between China and Formosa. In the cease-fire arrangement which we hope the United Nations can negotiate, these offshore islands will be bargaining elements.⁶

The presidential message on Formosa was the first important step in a series of delicate diplomatic maneuvers looking toward—not just a clarification of our own policy and a temporary cease-fire—but a long-range, final settlement of the explosive Far Eastern situation.⁷

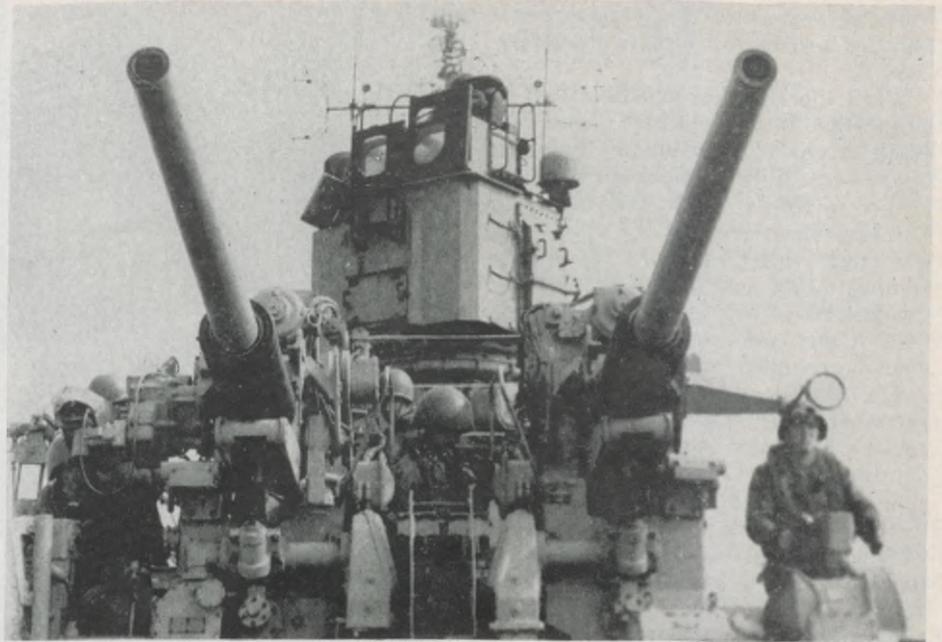
Despite the belligerent and implacable attitude of the Communists, Washington officials are still working very hard for some kind of UN-sponsored cease-fire agreement. New Zealand's prime minister has spent some time in Washington, working with our State Department toward that end.⁷

Both the President and Mr. Dulles hoped that the American decision to intervene if necessary would bring stability to the area—with the Communists accepting a dividing line in the Formosa Strait between the two Chinas. The presidential decision was presented to the British on this basis.⁸

Our allies—particularly the British—were never before enthusiastic about our Formosa policy, but they are supporting us now that we have revised our Formosan policy in order to cope with realities and with the trend of world opinion. The administration has abandoned, for General Chiang, the Nationalist dream of a return to the mainland—as too costly in terms of lives, taxes, treasure, and effort. The President hopes that this change of course will end American diplomatic isolation in the Far East.

Ever since we took Formosa under our protection in 1950, the Chinese Communists have won one great victory after another. In Korea they fought the United States and other Western powers to a stalemate. They won a great victory in Indochina. They went on to a still further victory in diplomacy at Geneva.⁹

We have been handicapped, because



Crewmen aboard the destroyer U.S.S. Craig are on the alert during drill off Formosa. The Craig is with the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

—until now—we have not had one consistent policy on China. We have had two policies—which actually contradict each other.⁹

On the one hand, we have been moving toward a long-range policy of disengaging ourselves from the struggle in Asia so that we can live at peace with the Communist regime in China. On the other hand, we have been supporting Chiang Kai-shek, who vows to destroy the Communist regime.⁹

Each policy has prevented full realiza-

tion of the other. We have now, however, begun to make a definite choice between the two. The policy of disengaging ourselves from the fighting in Asia is the one that we have chosen.⁹

The Korean truce was the first step in our policy of disengagement. It was the most popular act of the Republican administration during its first year in office. It made possible a reduction in the military budget and helped bring about tax cuts. It laid the basis for the Eisenhower program at home.¹⁰



Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek and Vice Admiral Alfred M. Pride, commander of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, who conferred Jan. 23 at Taipei on the explosive civil war situation, are shown here at a previous meeting aboard the U.S.S. Wasp.

The settlement of the Indochina war was the next logical step in disengagement.¹⁰

When the Eisenhower administration took office, the United States was, in a sense, at war with Communist China on three fronts. With disengagement accomplished in Korea and in Indochina, the Formosa Strait remains the only active war front with Communist China. The administration now desires to eliminate this last active war front with the Reds. Only if this is done will our disengagement be complete and lasting.¹¹

The President's special message on Formosa represents an attempt to achieve maximum disengagement without abandoning Chiang—and maximum support for Chiang without abandoning the disengagement policy. It will sustain Chiang on Formosa—which was territory the United States liberated from Japan. But the United States will disengage itself from all territory which is historically Chinese—that is, the offshore islands—provided the Chinese Communists will agree not to attack Formosa and the Pescadores.

There is no longer any doubt that the administration is willing to offer all the offshore islands to Red China in return for a cease-fire and a promise to abandon its military campaign against Formosa. A cease-fire could be had tomorrow on those terms as far as the United States is concerned.¹²

The offshore islands have been Chinese for centuries. Formosa and the Pescadores were originally Chinese, but Japan had held them for a half century before World War II. Under the terms of the Japanese Peace Treaty, Tokyo renounced all claim to Formosa and the Pescadores—but it did not reassign



—Wide World Photo
Busy scene at a Taipei intersection as the bustling activity of the Formosa capital keeps pace with the increased tempo of the Chinese civil war. Civilian evacuees from the Tachen Islands poured into the island fortress of Chiang Kai-shek.

them to any specific power. By this time Chiang had already fled to Formosa.¹²

The United States has a legal responsibility to secure Formosa and the Pescadores until their future can be decided by international agreement. But the United States has no responsibility to keep the offshore islands out of Communist hands. They are Chinese territory just as the mainland is. The United States was not responsible for keeping Chiang on the mainland. Neither is it

responsible for keeping him on the offshore islands.¹²

We have a right to be present in Formosa and the Pescadores under the terms of the Japanese surrender. But we do not have this right in the case of the offshore islands. They have always been Chinese. If we were to intervene in the offshore islands, we would be acting on Chinese territory in a Chinese civil war.¹³

If Communist China had not announced its intention of taking Formosa when the attacks on the offshore islands were started last fall, the United States would probably have looked the other way while the Communists took the islands.¹³

AMERICAN AID FOR CHIANG

The United States will help Chiang defend Formosa and the Pescadores. In return, the United States will expect Chiang to refrain from any further attacks on the Communists.

All of this means, of course, that we are officially writing off the vain, unrealistic dream that Chiang Kai-shek might someday return to the mainland and overthrow the Communists.

At last, we are facing up to reality in Asia.

Our present policy of defending Formosa but giving up the offshore islands will almost certainly have the support of our active allies in the Far East. It enables the powers who recognize the Communist government of China to recognize the defense of Formosa also. It will do much to win respect for our Formosa position among the uncom-



—Wide World Photo
Chinese junks and small boats crowd the harbor of Tashato, village in Upper Tachen island group.



—Wide World Photos

Admiral Felix B. Stump (left), commander in chief in the Pacific, and Major General Sory Smith (right), Pacific air force commander, explained from Pearl Harbor to Formosa Jan. 29.

mitted nations of Asia. It will provide a sound legal and political foundation for an eventual attempt by the United Nations to bring about a final settlement in the Far East.¹⁴

When Formosa is protected by a guaranteed cease-fire, the offshore islands can safely pass into Peking's control; and the Chinese Communists will no longer be humiliated by the Quemoy and Matsu corks in their harbors.

The Eisenhower administration will continue to do everything possible to get a UN-negotiated settlement in Asia. These efforts of ours—even if they fail ultimately—have tremendous impact on world opinion. We have already won a great decision in the court of world opinion by proving that we are eager to end a dangerous dispute, not by force of arms, but by peaceful negotiation.

* * * * *

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

Here are arguments of some who DO NOT approve of our policy with respect to the conflict between the Chinese Communists and Nationalists.

* * * * *

NEGOTIATION is the Communists' principal weapon of conquest. It was primarily by negotiating with Western leaders (and only secondarily by force of arms) that the Chinese Communists managed to conquer half of Asia.

In 1955, when we asked the United Nations to negotiate a cease-fire between Chiang Kai-shek and the Reds in China, we were ignoring the experience of 1945 when Harry Truman sent George C. Marshall out to China to negotiate a cease-fire.¹⁵

When the Marshall mission to China was conceived, China was ablaze with civil war, and Chiang Kai-shek was winning. Marshall went to China to stop the fighting and force Chiang Kai-shek to recognize the Communists as a legitimate domestic political party and take them into his government. Chiang had resisted all previous pressures for a

coalition with the Communists, because he knew them. He knew that when you fight Communists, you destroy them or they destroy you, because cooperation with them is impossible.¹⁵

But General Marshall was carrying a big stick when he arrived in China in late 1945. He was authorized to terminate all American aid to China if a coalition between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists were not effected. And he was empowered to grant or withhold a 500 million dollar loan to the Chinese.¹⁵

Chiang agreed to hold truce talks with the Communists, who, severely beaten and in bad shape at the time, also agreed. But the Communists, instead of coming to terms, would always use the truce talks as a cover period for regrouping and catching their breath to launch new surprise offensives.¹⁵

After several months of this, Chiang Kai-shek was grievously weakened. The Communists, who had gained greatly in relative strength, would no longer agree to truce talks of any kind. Mar-

shall, in the summer of 1946, finally realized that a coalition government could not be formed; and all United States military aid to China was stopped. We cancelled the 500 million dollar loan and halted shipment of supplies already purchased by the Chinese. We even forbade the shipment to Chiang Kai-shek from Okinawa and other Pacific islands of surplus American supplies which Chiang's government had already bought. These surplus supplies, withheld from Chiang, were dumped into the Pacific Ocean.¹⁵

Thus, step by step, we helped to negotiate Chiang Kai-shek off the continent of Asia.

CHIANG A MENACE

But even after he had retreated to Formosa, Chiang remained a serious menace and handicap to the Communists.

Occupying Formosa and all of the offshore islands between Formosa and the mainland, Chiang Kai-shek practically controlled shipping in the Formosa



—Wide World Photos

(Top left) Evacuees were crammed aboard an American ship just before it left a North Tachen island for Formosa. (Top right) A group of small Chinese children cluster on a Tachen island beach as they await their turn to board ships for evacuation. (Lower left) Chinese civilians unable to climb ladders to the American evacuation ship are taken aboard in a makeshift lift. (Lower right) Civilians, among the first evacuees to reach Keelung, Formosa, disembark from the American ship which took them from their island home.

Strait. He made it difficult for China to trade with the outside world. Chiang was seriously interrupting the flow of American and other Western goods which our noble allies were shipping in to the Chinese Communists.

Moreover, the presence of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa—just ninety miles from the mainland—kept vast numbers of Communist soldiers tied down on the coast, awaiting an ever-expected and dreadfully-feared invasion.

The Communists needed help; and we gave it to them.

Truman sent the American Seventh Fleet into China waters to neutralize Formosa—to keep Chiang Kai-shek from trying to invade the Communist-held mainland. Of course, Mr. Truman also ordered the Seventh Fleet to keep the Commies from invading Formosa. But that was meaningless, because the Reds did not have any navy—not any. Chiang Kai-shek did have a small navy of sorts

—the one that got him to Formosa in the first place.¹⁶

Within a matter of weeks after our Seventh Fleet moved into Formosa Strait to protect the Communists from Chiang Kai-shek, the Communists pulled some 250,000 of their best soldiers out of their defensive positions on the China coast and sent them into battle against Americans in North Korea.¹⁵

But note this well: the Communists, in sending their armies against ours in Korea, were not daring to challenge American military might.

SPIES ARE REASSURED

Through their espionage coverage in the United Nations and in the Western capitals, the Communists had been assured that the United Nations would not permit America to strike back at China if China intervened in Korea.

Even so, the Communists failed utterly to win anything by force of arms in Korea; but they won most of what they wanted with their weapon of negotiation, and put themselves in a position to take the rest without further struggle.¹⁶

The senior American military commanders who fought in Korea—Generals MacArthur, Clark, Stratemeyer, Van Fleet, Almond—have all testified that we could have won the war in Korea and destroyed Communist power in Asia—without precipitating a general war, and with fewer American casualties than it cost us to lose the war. But Washington officials wouldn't let our soldiers win the war, because the United Nations didn't want them to win.

The Republicans, of course, were going to conclude the Korean war honorably. Their notion of honor, as it turned out, was to accept armistice terms dictated by the Chinese Communists and written by pro-Communist India. The Communists have been violating the armistice terms since the day they were signed; and we have ignored their violations.¹⁷

Communist China is one of the weakest nations on earth. They have vast armies of foot soldiers, and six hundred million people who are starving. But they have no navy, no superweapons, no transport, no industry—nothing with which to fight a modern war. Yet, they have committed every conceivable outrage against us. How do they dare?¹⁷

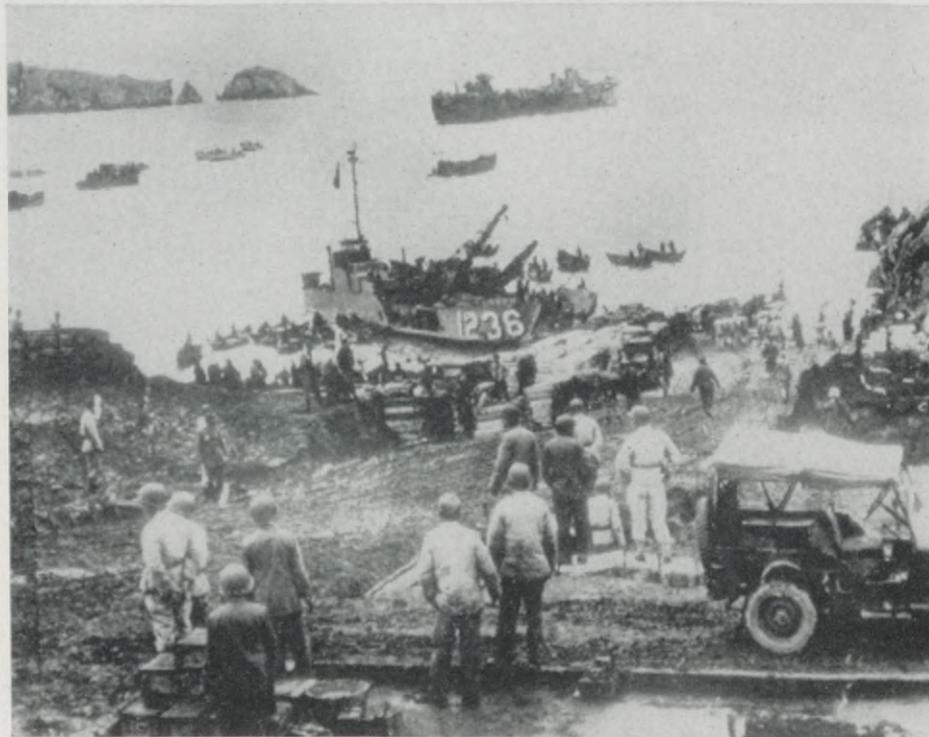
They have guessed that America has become so completely hypnotized by the senseless idea of collective security through the United Nations that we simply do not have the national will to use, in our own interests, the overwhelming power that we possess.

When the Chinese Communists are ready for more conquests, they start little wars and threaten big ones. All of the Socialists, pro-Communists, and neutralists in the United Nations begin to quiver and plead for peaceful negotiations. We, in the fatuous belief that we



—Wide World Photo

A group of U.S. Navy frogmen cleared underwater obstructions in the harbor of the North Tachen island before start of evacuation.



—Wide World Photo

General view of the evacuation operation on the North Tachen island showing landing craft on the beach with others standing by in the bay Feb. 8.

are winning friends in the UN, permit the United Nations to set our policy.

WAIT FOR RIGHT MOOD

At first, the Communists loudly reject all suggestions for negotiation. This is merely a part of the act—designed to make us eager, so that when they do consent to negotiate, we will be in a mood to give them what they want. That's how they have already conquered half of Asia. That's how they plan to conquer the other half, take Formosa, liquidate Chiang Kai-shek, get into the United Nations, and force America to extend diplomatic recognition to them.¹⁸

From 1945 to 1955, America, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, has walked into every trap the Chinese Communists have set for us.

For ten years, our consistent China policy has been one of appeasing the Communists—behind, of course, a facade of bluster which is strictly for American home consumption.¹⁹

When the Democrats were appeasing the Communists, however, there was widespread public complaint about it. The Republicans, having achieved bipartisan harmony and national unity in their policy of appeasement, are receiving public praise for taking a firm stand against the Communists.²⁰

The people who loudly condemned Harry Truman for sending the Seventh Fleet into the Formosa Strait to neutralize Chiang Kai-shek in 1950 are the very ones who are now applauding the Republicans for doing the same thing, only worse.²¹

In line with the President's widely acclaimed message to Congress on the Formosan crisis, we have once again neutralized Formosa with our Seventh Fleet—and more. We have publicly named for the Communists the offshore Nationalist islands which we will permit them to take; and we have deliberately remained vague about the remaining important islands, such as Matsu and Quemoy—



Chinese Nationalist troops move artillery up ramp to ship for evacuation from the Tachens under watchful eyes of the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

—Wide World Photo

leaving these islands on the bargaining table as an invitation to the Communists to come and negotiate for them.²²

If and when we complete this purchase of another meaningless agreement with the Communists—at the expense of Chiang Kai-shek—where will we be?

FINAL BETRAYAL OF FREEDOM

We will be well on the way toward the final betrayal of the cause of freedom in Asia—the betrayal which Dean Acheson tried to engineer in 1949 when he had Philip Jessup prepare that lying white paper which said that Formosa was of no strategic importance to us and that we should therefore permit the Communists to take it.²³

America, of course, should never again send another American soldier to

die in Asia. We never should have permitted ourselves to get involved in Asiatic affairs as we now are. But we are involved, and we can't just walk away. There is a way out—with honor.

With one of our fleets—the one that's already over there—and with the ground forces that Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek could supply, we (without landing one American soldier on the Asian mainland) could destroy the Communist regime in China.²⁴

If we would gather together the vast military stores which we are scattering all over the earth now in places where they never will be used to fight communism, and pour those military supplies in to Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, we probably could start a rapid disintegration of Communist power. The Communists have already murdered over twenty million Chinese. They are bound to have millions of bitter and implacable enemies inside China. If well-fed and well-equipped Asiatic armies from Formosa and South Korea started simultaneous invasions of the Chinese mainland, it is more than likely that widespread rebellion and wholesale desertions from the Communist ranks would break out all over China—and in Indochina.²⁴

What if all this didn't happen? What if the Communists destroyed Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee?

There is one thing we can be sure of: America cannot fight Asia's war for Asia. If there are not enough Asians willing and able to fight for their own freedom, with us giving the wherewithal to fight, then Asia simply cannot be



—Wide World Photo

U.S. Air Force Sabrejets lined up on the ready line at an air base near Taipeh, Formosa.

saved. We had better find that out right now, and get out.²⁴

Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek are the only two great Christian leaders in all of Asia; the only two who really want to fight communism. If we keep appeasing and negotiating with the Communists, and delaying the inevitable showdown, we will negotiate Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee out of existence; and when they go, the hope of freedom from Communist slavery in Asia goes with them.

* * * * *

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

"Do you approve of American policy with respect to the conflict between the Chinese Reds and the Chinese Nationalists?"

* * * * *

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What About Red-Held Prisoners? Asks Virginia Forum Group

HEAVY turnout at the Staunton, Virginia, Facts Forum discussion January 18 evinced anxious interest in the question, "What should be done about the Americans imprisoned by the Chinese Reds?"*

Thorough presentations of all points involved in this issue were made by Colonel Paul J. B. Murphy, U.S. Army (Ret.); Leonard G. Dawson, retired U.S. consular officer, and Dr. Richard R. Potter, Presbyterian pastor. Retired Army Colonel Roy F. Lynd, president of the Staunton Facts Forum, presided at the session.

Three particular bases upon which the handling of the American airmen's release might be projected were presented by Dr. Potter: First, the American attitude as to the individual; second, the American commitment to work on international matters through the UN; and, third, the violation of the Korean armistice by the imprisonment of these men.

Mr. Dawson quoted Secretary of State Dulles as saying that the position of the Chinese Reds in this matter is indefensible, certainly from the American point of view, but that in order to secure the airmen's release, it would probably be necessary to make concessions. He suggested that the concessions to be demanded by the Chinese might possibly be the cessation of Korean aid; the granting of exit visas to sixteen Chinese students now in the United States who desire to return to China; the withdrawal of the U. S. Fleet from Formosa Strait, or the admission of Red China to the UN. Mr. Dawson stressed that the latter two would in no probability be granted.

Group discussion indicated that admission of Red China to the United Nations was felt to be very inadvisable. Other means available to one country for pressure against another were also pointed out—such as economic boycotting and, if that failed, naval blockade. The forum was advised that the latter would mean an act of war and would be most unlikely to be used.

Colonel Murphy's comments on the prisoner release question were presented via a tape-recording. He summarized the effects of the foregoing actions and, analyzing the reasons behind the Chinese move in announcing the detention of the American airmen, suggested the type of action that would best bring the desired results in the Chinese mind and its reaction to Western procedures.

He surmised that the Chinese were using this incident to strengthen their position with other Asiatic peoples and, therefore, they did not care how it affected the Western world. Colonel Murphy added that they would maneuver to place Red China in a position esteemed by the Oriental mind, which is to say, "to make face" before the Asiatic world; and only to the extent that we handled the matter to create that "face" for them would our demands for the release of our men be met.

Colonel Murphy went on to say that to a Western mind, the matter is a very simple one of a violation of an armistice, the arrest of men in the uniform of another country. However, he cautioned, although China has dishonored the armistice, to "strong-arm" her in an effort to free the men might only result in jeopardizing their lives.

At this point the question was asked as to whether the United States was abandoning, or should abandon, its traditional position of protecting her citizens wherever they were. Discussion brought out the point that this was no longer an age when the waving of the flag or the showing of a battleship could produce the results it did in the past; it is the atomic age. "The Big Stick" is powerless against the atom, and political leaders must calculate the risks of their actions accordingly.

This emphasized the belief of Dr. Potter that the United States is committed to action through the United Nations. If, he said, this country effects action through that organization, it will strengthen not only itself but all other countries of the Western world. Also, if the United States acts outside of the UN, it will weaken its own international position and that of the other nations.

For this reason, and because of the subtleties of this particular situation as a whole, forum participants felt that to send the UN Secretary-General as emissary to Red China was the correct move, giving "face" to the Chinese and preventing pressure against the men held. Expressed opinion indicated that the captured airmen themselves would favor this method of solution.

Those present at the forum session voted unanimously that, in the words of President Eisenhower, the matter should be handled through the UN until such time as events indicated that the organization could not obtain the desired result.

*Story of the Facts Forum group's meeting appeared on Page 1 of the *Staunton News-Leader*.

WILL FORMOSA FALL?



—Wide World Photo

Dr. T. F. Tsiang, chief United Nations delegate from Nationalist China, vividly pictures Formosa in an hour of crisis—a tiny island that stands as the biggest question mark in the taut Far Eastern struggle between communism and the free world. Joining Dr. Tsiang in discussing Formosa's peril were ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS panelists: Devin Garrity, President of Devin-Adair Publishing Co.; Prof. Charles Hodges, formerly a foreign correspondent in the Far East, now professor of international politics at New York University; George Hamilton Combs, well-known radio-TV news commentator and former Democratic Congressman from Missouri; and Hardy Burt, moderator.

Should the United States go to war with Red China if Formosa is attacked?

DR. TSIANG: I wish to say first of all that if Formosa should be attacked, all the Chinese on the island would unite as one man to repel that attack. Of that much I'm definitely certain.

Now, we're not afraid of such an attack, if that attack should be manned and equipped by the Communists in China. But if that attack should be supported by the Soviet Union, that would be an entirely different proposition. Such a navy as the Chinese Communists have now we're not afraid of; such an army as they have—although in large numbers—we're not afraid of. The air force that exists is something which I'm afraid we cannot handle, because the Soviets have furnished them with far better and more planes than we have. So in case of a full-scale invasion with the full backing of the Soviet Union, we would need your help.

I believe that it is to the interest of the United States to give us that additional help needed to meet what would in fact amount to a combined Chinese Communist and Russian Communist attack, because although Formosa means much more to us Chinese than it means to the United States—to the American people—after all, it does mean a great deal to the United States.

U.S. INTERESTS INVOLVED

There are important strategic and political interests of the United States involved. U.S. possessions in the Pacific and in Asia as a whole would be deeply affected if the Communists should succeed in taking hold of that island. So in brief, that would be my answer.

PROF. HODGES: Of course, the use of the words "go to war" is unpopular. It would be a police action to repel aggression since Nationalist China holds the UN seat. And I think that we should put it in its proper framework of refer-

ence. The Seventh Fleet is commanding the Formosa straits as a bipartisan example of American sea power: Both President Truman in his administration, President Eisenhower in his, have maintained this position. I think also you



—Wide World Photo

Dr. T. F. Tsiang

have to recognize the fact that we're negotiating a new defense pact with the Nationalist government, and we will get there the complete diplomatic definition of our obligations. But I think that we should make our position absolutely clear now so that there's no confusion. We have gotten into trouble in world politics because we haven't said what we mean.

MR. GARRITY: My answer is, in a word, no. I should say that from henceforth the United States should reserve a war—meaning the kind of wars we go into—for the one showdown war which I hope will never be necessary, but which may be, with Russia. Meanwhile I think we should do what Russia

has been doing. I think we should do exactly what Russia did in North Korea. We should arm Formosa, we should sneak in supplies, we should give them aircraft and, if necessary, blandly deny that we're doing it.

I think that these limited actions that can be fought by other people against Russia, aided and abetted by us, are desirable and far more preferable to our going to war on anything short of the final showdown which we all hope we can avoid.

MR. COMBS: This may be a somewhat strange position for a more or less consistent liberal to take, but I would not be satisfied at all by the adequacy of the measures which my adversary, Mr. Garrity, proposes. It seems to me that it will become necessary for us to intervene actively if there is an attack on Formosa. It also occurs to me that there's a chance—and a good chance—of localizing the war in such a way that it will not spread; although of course there's always the inherent possibility of spontaneous combustion in Asia.

HOLD ON TO FORMOSA

Ever since 1946, I have been advocating stronger assistance, American assistance, to the Nationalist government of China, simply because I foresaw what has later eventuated. But now I insist that American interests require that we hold on to Formosa—friendship with the Chiang Kai-shek government—since it's an indispensable part of the defense perimeter, and I don't believe that there could be any strategic question about that. We can't hold the Philippines, we probably couldn't hold Japan, if Formosa fell to the others; and also we'd probably lose the Dutch East Indies and the Malayan peninsula as well.

PROF. HODGES: I don't think we have to go to war in the sense that it is popularly used. I think we have to intervene;

that is why I call it a police action. We have to give active support beyond any question. And I think as long as the Seventh Fleet is in the straits of Formosa, the policies will be made right out there.

MR. BURT: Then, if our battleships fire on Red China, are we actively at war with Red China?

PROF. HODGES: We're at war.

MR. BURT: Dr. Tsiang, having heard the statements of our other panel members, would you like to oppose somebody's point of view?

DR. TSIANG: I'd like to comment briefly on Mr. Garrity's statement. I'm not opposed to his viewpoint. There is a great deal to that viewpoint. During the last two years, the amount of military equipment we have received has been on an accelerated rate, but unfortunately we have been very slow in building up an up-to-date air force. So in the line of air help, we are really very short if an invasion should take place; and when that does take place, air undoubtedly will play a big part.

In view of the fact that we have not received the necessary equipment to make a modern air force, we would have to fall back on U.S. active participation in the air. Personally, I would prefer that we get all the equipment that we can properly use; and we, ourselves, would not ask for U.S. support except under absolute necessity. This battle is primarily a Chinese battle, and we want to fight that battle as much as possible with Chinese manpower.

MR. GARRITY: I believe in that thoroughly. I believe in giving more airplanes as fast as we can give them but would define "war" as a place where foot soldiers, GI boys, American youth go; and I would reserve that for the all-out death struggle.



—Wide World Photo
Camouflaged Chinese Nationalist soldier creeps through underbrush during training maneuvers in southern Formosa.

China Expert Predicts All-Out War Possible

Full-scale war resulting from Red China's action in the Formosa area is definitely possible, according to General Albert C. Wedemeyer, China expert and author of a famed report long suppressed by the State Department. However, because the Red Chinese know this, they probably will not attack Formosa, which would "involve them in operations that they are wholly unable to cope with," said Wedemeyer.

In a Facts Forum STATE OF THE NATION interview, General Wedemeyer's reply when asked to speculate as to possible repercussions should a U.S. destroyer be sunk during one of the Red Chinese so-called "nuisance raids," was as follows:

"I think that if this destroyer were carrying out the instructions from Washington to protect Formosa and if it were sunk as the result of hostile action—action by the Red Communists—that it might involve us in wider-scale operations against the Communists. I don't think that our country would for a minute permit such an event to occur without taking immediate action."

General Wedemeyer's statement that Red China would be reluctant to provoke all-out war with the United States prompted interviewers to query: "Is there danger of Russian intervention?" "No," Wedemeyer replied, "I don't think the Soviet Union wants to become actively engaged in large-scale operations with us, either."

MR. BURT: Mr. Garrity, as moderator, I would like to ask how either you or Professor Hodges can say that we can drop bombs on Red China and say we're not at war.

MR. GARRITY: Well, at war you deny you dropped them. You do exactly what the Russians have been successfully doing all these years. That's the only way we can do it against Russia today, and anything is better than plowing under American youth.

MR. COMBS: A democracy cannot afford to parade under a dishonest banner, and the moment we do, we stultify the basic premise of democracy.

PROF. HODGES: As I have very carefully said, I think we should take a police action—and I mean just that—to counter aggression on the basis of the United Nations. I think that we have to recognize that there are degrees of getting into war.

MR. COMBS: We will apply that degree of force which is necessary to win now, whatever that may involve—starting peripherally if you will, but ultimately exerting that degree of force and military power which is necessary to maintaining the defense.

DR. TSIANG: I notice in your discussion frequent mention of the American foot soldiers—American manpower be-

ing bogged down in this vast country of China. Now, I want to tell you this much: so far as the defense of Formosa is concerned, we do not need a single American foot soldier.

In regard to possible action on the mainland of China, I know for certain that my government's plans do not involve the use of American infantry.

MR. BURT: This brings up another question: Do you think that you could successfully carry on a war with Red China on the mainland using the manpower you have, even if you had all the material you needed?

DR. TSIANG: That is a thing that I'm glad you put to me. We on the island of Formosa never viewed that operation as a military conquest of the island of Formosa over the mainland. We never considered that. We never planned that. If that should be the case, then we might as well give up.

What we think will happen is this: The people on the mainland, living under insufferable conditions, would wish to get rid of their Communist masters. If they're willing to do the fighting, we on the island of Formosa must stand ready to give the utmost help we can give.

MR. BURT: Do you see any chance of such revolution in the foreseeable future?

DR. TSIANG: Sir, I see many possibilities of that. Very frequently the question there is rather simple—an economic system; we suffer limited powers of production. With such a fast increase now in our population, we cannot indulge in such a huge bureaucracy, such a huge army as the Communists have established and will continue to expand—and also go ahead with ambitious schemes of industrialization.



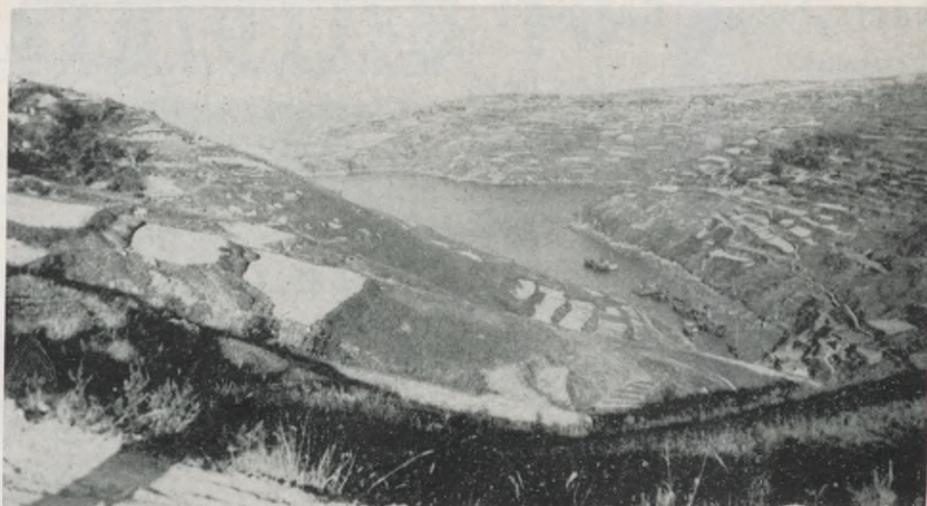
—Wide World Photo
Cruiser U.S.S. Helena, flagship of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, "at the ready" to evacuate Chinese Nationalist forces from the Tachien Islands off the Red China mainland.

In Russia they make the people tighten their belts, while in China the people's belts are already tightened to the limit. Now you know in China the point of revolt comes with the point of starvation. With their totalitarian control, they can starve the people to a certain extent, but there's a limit to that. Once the maximum point of starvation is reached, I believe the people will revolt.

PROF. HODGES: It is of the utmost importance that the American people understand this issue right now, because Washington is making the basic treaty which will affect everything that Ambassador Tsiang has said. And I think the American people should understand that to deny the Nationalist Chinese a certain freedom to survive—let's put it that way—would be a fatal mistake.

MR. GARRITY: There were reports that the United States and Britain were discussing the neutralization of Formosa by making it an independent state separate from China. I would like to ask Dr. Tsiang if he feels that this is going to be the way of getting Red China into the United Nations.

DR. TSIANG: So far as the British government news is concerned, this



—Wide World Photo

Typical scene in the Tachen Islands, recently evacuated Chinese Nationalist stronghold, where more than 200 Communist planes unleashed the biggest air attack of the Chinese civil war Jan. 19. The Tachens' attack has been interpreted as a possible prelude to invasion of Formosa, which is about 200 miles south of the islands.

BOMBARDMENTS FROM QUEMOY

DR. TSIANG: I think your statement is based on certain assumptions that are really not true. You take the series of bombardments from Quemoy which were started by the Communists on September 3. We found ourselves forced to retaliate in order to destroy the batteries on the mainland.

Now, Mr. Combs, I want to say this: No matter what you think of my government or my people, I can assure you that we're not fools, we're not children. We do not think that this "pinprick" business on the coast would get us back the mainland.

MR. COMBS: I understand.

DR. TSIANG: Neither do we think that we can control U.S. policy. Why, for you this is a momentous decision. It will be made after mature deliberation. A little raid upon my government here and there certainly would not involve you. We, ourselves, do not attribute much military value to these coastal raids; and we, ourselves, do not think that we singlehandedly could by these "pinpricks" make any impression whatever.

So, we mustn't despair. We want to watch the mood of the people on the mainland. If our brothers on the mainland issue the call to us for help and they back up their call with action on their part, then we will go in.

MR. BURT: Could the defense of Formosa by the United States in case of Communist attack lead to a third world war?

DR. TSIANG: I think not. The fight in Korea did not lead to a third world war. I'm convinced that the Communists are convinced that they can get the whole world—and hold the whole world—by a means much cheaper than a third world war. They have used cheap means— that is, limited action, infiltration, subversion, making the rest of the world fight each other—stirring up trouble

between social classes, groups in each individual country. I think they will continue to do that.

BOMB NEW YORK OR MOSCOW?

MR. GARRITY: I don't think there will be any real third world war, all-out war, until one or two things happen: either New York and our cities are bombed by the Russians or we bomb Moscow; and I don't think the latter is likely.

PROF. HODGES: It's been completely denied that we're going in for preventive war.

MR. BURT: Professor Hodges, do you think that the attacking of Formosa by the Communists could lead to a third world war?

PROF. HODGES: I say decidedly no, Mr. Burt, and I want to emphasize that that issue was put up in Korea, and if we'd gone in and won Korea, we wouldn't be asking these questions today. The third world war will come, in my opinion, when the Kremlin decides it cannot get anything else and the issue is win or lose the world. That's a long time off.



—Wide World Photo

U.S. Air Force ground crews were busy pitching tents at a secret air base on Formosa. They were among the advance contingent of U.S. forces rushed into the Chinese Nationalist stronghold to ward off any Communist attack on the island fortress.



—Wide World Photo

Flaps down, a Panther jet plane makes landing approach aboard the U.S. aircraft carrier Yorktown during recent maneuvers in Asian waters.

seems to be a faithful report. I don't know how your government is going to react to that. But if your government should fall in line with that, I would consider this one of the greatest crises in the whole world, because that would mean the bringing into being of two so-called Chinas.

Already we have two Koreas, two Indochinas, but in Korea the Southern Republic has, you might say, conditions for survival. Vietnam, too, partitioned though it is, still has possibilities of survival. With this kind of division of Formosa and Vietnam, I'm afraid free China will not stand a chance of survival.

MR. COMBS: The thing which disturbs me is this: Are we willing to make a definite commitment to the Formosa government that we will stand by them even if they initiate the hostilities, because I somehow doubt that the Formosa government will be able to encompass the emancipation of China singlehandedly.

Facts Forum Radio-TV

ALABAMA			
Albertville	WAVU*	630	Sun 4:00 p
Alexander City	WRFS*	1050	Sun 12:15 p
Andalusia	WCTA*	1340	Mon 7:15 p
	WCTA†	1340	Mon 8:30 p
Anniston	WSPC*	1390	Wed 7:30 a
Birmingham	WBRC*	960	Tues 6:30 p
Brewton	WEBJ†	1240	Mon 8:30 p
	WEBJ‡	1240	Thurs 9:30 p
Carrollton	WRAG*	590	Sun 12:30 p
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun 12:15 p
Cullman	WFMH*	1300	Thurs 7:15 a
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed 7:15 a
	WMSL†	1490	Mon 8:30 p
	WHOS**	800	Sat 12:15 p
	WMSL-TV*	23	Sat 7:30 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Sun 6:00 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560	Sun 12:15 p
Eufaula	WULA**	1240	To be announced
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun 1:00 p
	WWWF**	990	Sun 12:30 p
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun 12:30 p
Gadsden	WGAD*	1350	Sun 12:45 p
Geneva	WGEA*	1150	Sun 12:45 p
Greenville	WGYV*	1400	Thurs 9:15 p
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun 12:45 p
	WGSV**	1270	To be announced
Hamilton	WERH*	970	Fri 7:30 a
	WERH**	970	Sun 1:00 p
Huntsville	WBBS*	1550	Mon 7:00 p
	WBHP†	1230	Mon 8:30 p
	WBHP‡	1230	Thurs 8:30 p
	WPBB*	1290	Mon 4:30 p
Jackson	WJAM*	1310	Thurs 7:30 a
Marion	WABW*	1480	Wed 7:00 p
Mobile	WAPX*	1600	Mon 7:15 p
Montgomery	WJJJ†	1170	Mon 8:30 p
	WJJJ‡	1170	Fri 1:00 p
	WCOV-TV*	20	Mon 9:30 p
	WCOV-TV**	20	Mon 9:30 p
Muscle Shoals	WLAY†	1450	Thurs 8:30 p
Ozark	WOZK*	900	Sun 5:00 p
	WOZK*	900	Sat 5:15 p
Phenix City	WPNX*	1460	Sun 7:15 p
	WPNX**	1460	To be announced
Piedmont	WPID*	128*	To be announced
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun 12:15 p
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun 12:45 p
	WWWR**	920	Sun 3:30 p
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun 12:15 p
Troy	WTBF*	1490	Sun 6:45 p
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs 9:45 p

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Consult your local papers or get from friends other stations carrying Facts Forum programs.

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ALASKA			
Anchorage	KFIA-TV**	2	Thurs 6:30 p
	KFIA-TV*	2	Tues 9:00 p

ARIZONA			
Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced
Phoenix	KOOL-TV**	10	Sat 6:30 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun 7:30 p

ARKANSAS			
Arkadelphia	KVRC†	1240	Mon 10:30 p
Camden	KAMD†	1450	Mon 8:30 p
	KAMD‡	1450	Thurs 8:30 p
Fayetteville	KGRH†	1450	Mon 8:30 p
Fort Smith	KWHN†	1320	Mon 8:30 p
	KWHN‡	1320	Thurs 8:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sun 6:00 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat 6:15 p
	KWHN*	22	Wed 9:00 p
Hope	KFSA-TV*	1490	Mon 8:30 p
	KXAR†	1490	Thurs 8:30 p
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri 8:45 p
	KXLR†	1150	Mon 8:30 p
	KXLR‡	1150	Thurs 8:30 p
	KARK-TV*	4	Sun 1:30 p
Magnolia	KVMA*	630	Wed 4:45 p
	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
Poehontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun 9:15 a
Russellville	KXRJ†	1490	Mon 8:30 p
	KXRJ‡	1490	Thurs 8:30 p
Stuttgart	KWAK†	1240	Mon 8:30 p
Texarkana	KCMC-TV*	6	Sat 8:30 p

CALIFORNIA			
Bakersfield	KBK†	550	Sun 8:30 p
Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun 1:00 p
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun 6:00 p
	KDAC*	1230	Mon 9:00 p
Hollywood	KCOP-TV**	13	Sun 11:15 p
Los Angeles	KFI†	640	Sun 12:30 p
	KHJ†	930	Sun 8:30 p
	KHJ‡	930	Mon 9:30 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Sun 7:30 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun 5:00 p
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

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM FILM LIBRARY

I feel that your motion picture prints will assist materially in bringing current points of view on public issues to the political science students.

Dr. Fred O. Erbe
Concordia College
St. Paul, Minn.

Thank you for the films you sent us recently. They were viewed last night and we were most pleased with them and grateful to you for the gift.

Mr. Ismael Velez
Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico
St. German, Puerto Rico

... These films are something in visual aids that I have been looking for, for some time.

Charles B. Hirsch, Asst. Prof.
La Sierra College
Arlington, Calif.

... We believe the films have been successful in encouraging some of our students to begin thinking of some of the pertinent questions that face our government today.

Floyd H. Blizard, Lt., US Navy
Ground Training Group
USNAAS Cabaniss Field
Corpus Christi, Texas

Your films would be very useful to us in this small, bilingual College in Puerto Rico.

Mother M. Byles, Dean
Colegio Universitario del Sagrado Corazon
Apartado 9595, Santurce 29, Puerto Rico

... This is an excellent film and should be made available to our students.

E. A. Glatfelter, Principal
William Penn Sr. High School
York, Pa.

... We believe you have done a remarkable job of alerting the American people to some of the pertinent problems of our time.

Robert Underwood
Prof. of Economics
Cedarville Baptist College
Cedarville, Ohio

... These films, I am sure, will be an important addition to our permanent film library.

Sister Miriam, Librarian
Rosary Hill College
Buffalo 21, N. Y.

... Other members of the faculty have been so impressed that they have now all had a chance to view your presentations and literature.

Kent H. King, Director
Audio-Visual Aids Center
Nebraska State Teachers College
Peru, Neb.

CALIFORNIA - Continued

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 p
San Luis Obispo	KVEZ†	920	Sun 8:30 p
	KVEC-TV*	6	Sun 7:00 p
	KVEC-TV**	6	Sat
Santa Cruz	KSCO**	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
	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 6:30 p
	WEAM†	1390	Sun 8:30 p
	WTTG-TV*	5	Sun 6:30 p

FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	To be announced
Daytona Beach	WMFJ*	1450	Sun 8:30 p
Fort Lauderdale	WFTL-TV**	23	Wed 9:30 p
	WFTL-TV*	23	Tues 9:30 p
Fort Myers	WINK-TV*	11	Sun 9:30 p
Gainesville	WRUF†	850	Mon 9:30 p
	WRUF**	850	Sun 9:30 p
Hollywood	WTPV*	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 3:45 p
Lakeland	WLAK*	1430	Sun 4:45 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 6:30 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
	WDLA**	590	Sun 2:30 p
West Palm Beach	WIRK-TV*	21	Sun 7:00 p

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Vote the March poll questions, Page 65.

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GEORGIA

Atlanta	WSB†	750	Thurs 7:15 p
	WQXI†	790	Thurs 9:15 p
	WLWA-TV*	11	Mon 9:30 p
Cordele	WMJM†	1490	Mon 9:30 p
	WMJM‡	1490	Thurs 9:30 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun 1:30 p
	WGFS**	1430	To be announced
Dalton	WBLJ*	1230	Sat 6:30 p
Dublin	WMLT†	1340	Mon 9:30 p
Gainesville	WGGA†	550	Mon 9:30 p
	WGGA‡	550	Thurs 9:30 p
Griffin	WKUJ†	1450	Mon 9:30 p
	WKUJ‡	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 8:30 p
Statesboro	WWNS†	1490	Mon 9:30 p
Swainsboro	WJAT*	800	Sun 5:30 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 8:30 p
Honolulu	KULA**	690	To be announced
	KULA-TV**	4	To be announced

IDAHO

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

(Continued on Page 65)

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

ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS

By H. L. Hunt

The successful Texas oil operator analyzes the role of advertising in the American system, and suggests how patriotic advertisers might save the United States from destruction by the MISTAKEN.

"IT PAYS to Advertise." American business accepts and acts on that. Last year in this country, \$8,145,100,000 was spent on advertising. Now what part can those who direct advertising take in preserving the economic system and the way of life which has made America great?

Advertising is a vital part of the nervous system of the national economy. Without it we would be inert and lifeless. Advertising supports press, radio, and TV. Some kind of national system of communications for selling may be possible without it, but our actual American system depends on advertising.

Advertising depends on the American system. While some copywriter, news-caster or performer may feel superior to his sponsor and override him for awhile, they gain their livelihood from and owe their loyalty to their Sponsor. They know this, just as the Sponsor knows that a good program is a sound investment. The Sponsors, in turn, know that their ability to advertise—their whole ability to operate—depends on the Opportunity System, for which they generally use the less specific name—Free Enterprise. The Opportunity System, in turn, must depend on U.S. national independence and sovereignty.

These factors are so concisely interwoven that they are interdependent and vital to each other. The failure of one would impair or destroy the others.

Socialism, and in its more violent form, communism, is a recognized danger to our domestic welfare. Some speak of "creeping socialism" in this country. If this is an accurate description, it is making vast strides for a creeper, and in other countries there is no uncertainty as to its stride. Socialism is completely and violently in power in the Soviet world, and it is passively accepted in nearly all the other nations which are still called a part of the Free World.

That brings us to consider the danger to which free society and the Opportunity System are constantly being subjected. It, like any other danger, cannot be eliminated nor cured by our holding our own. Merely maintaining the "status quo" leaves the initiative ever in the hands of the enemy. The success of everything in life is dependent on timing. Should we dedicate ourselves to the defensive strategy of meeting every attack, and protecting every vulnerable point, the all important "timing" which

belongs to the offense is given into the exclusive hands of the enemy; and for him becomes a superweapon with which the Patriot simply cannot cope.

Time-tested practices and procedures are inadequate to safeguard Freedom. Employing the best of them with a people of whom at least 85 per cent are not only loyal, but take pride in their loyalty to their country, we are still losing the battle at home. As to the danger of being taken from abroad, we think in terms of safeguarding our grandchildren. It seems quite unselfish and noble to concern ourselves with the fate which might befall our grandchildren. In this we set up a time schedule for the enemy, and the indication is the enemy will not use our time schedule at all but continue exerting constant pressure on us in every circle in which we live and move. The third generation may puzzle why their grandparents failed to save their own scalps when they had the mightiest country in the world in which to protect themselves.

We are prone to overlook that we are losing to an enemy who has been actively fighting in the open only thirty-eight years. It was as recent as 1917 when our enemies discarded their humanitarian disguise and took the practical step of selecting a dictator necessary for them to function. They then started with a handful of people in a very backward nation.

MISTAKEN

People tire of trying to differentiate between Communists, Reds, Pinks, Pinkos, Fellow Travelers, Fifth-Amendment Witnesses, etc., and the tenor of the names erroneously suggests a degree of guilt. These malefactors, often referred to as the enemy because they are the opposing and deadly enemy of Patriots, might better be grouped under the name "MISTAKEN." The name gives them the benefit of the doubt, while leaving them to differentiate among themselves and decide for themselves their place in the picture and the harm, if any, which they may do.

Loose thinkers may place those they call New Dealers, Left-Wingers and Liberals among the enemy, but there is nothing subversive about advocating new social measures, practices that would be considered Left-of-Center according to European standards, and Liberal construction of personal and

property rights. Neither of the great philosophies has a monopoly on Patriotism. The Free World will be saved by the followers of one or the other of the great philosophies, but never by the wholly indefinite and uncertain Middle-of-the-Road thinking which is the stronghold of entrenched apathy, capable of saving nothing.

The different names for the non-Patriot now in use cannot fix a degree of guilt. The net harmful effect of their activities is much the same whether they are mistaken in believing that the ugly means they employ to undermine our cherished American way of life are justified by the great humanitarian objectives they visualize, whether they are simply duped by others more devious, or whether some strange split personality complex prompts them into mistaken willingness to offer America in sacrifice to an almighty State.

Patriots should keep out of name-calling contests. The MISTAKEN falsely parading under a banner of humanitarianism will best the Patriots in a name-calling fest. The MISTAKEN, greatly in the minority, assume the role of the oppressed, and thus capitalize on the tendency of the American people to be "for the underdog." The Patriots cannot outmanage the MISTAKEN because of the latter's training, adroitness and versatility, coupled with duplicity. However, the Patriot, accurate in his thinking, can more than offset this adroitness by out-thinking the MISTAKEN, who think as the name implies. The Patriot must appeal to reason rather than prejudice or sympathy—act gently, firmly and aggressively, and above all, persistently, to make and keep individual liberty sacred. He must learn that he cannot modestly save free society. He must make himself known and heard. In doing so, while he may impress with humility, he must permit no uncertainty as to his loyalty to country and to free society.

In trying to get started to regain ground already lost to the MISTAKEN, experimentation and new thinking may be required. We have not had the indispensable man nor do we have the infallible man. If new plans fail, they can promptly be called off and abortive efforts quickly diverted into new and promising channels.

(Continued on Page 24)

ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS

(Continued from Page 23)

Loyalty is not enough! It must be accompanied with a pride in loyalty branding one as a Patriot. For his Patriotism, the MISTAKEN will attempt to discredit him. This may prove to be shaky ground for the MISTAKEN, identifying them to an alerted people for what they are and disclosing the tenor and tone of their plot.

The Patriot will be termed "anti-this" or "anti-that," or ridiculed as old-fashioned. However, he should succeed, for today he is armed with the most natural force or instinct in human history—self-preservation.

The true friends of the Opportunity System in America can save it by acting together, by appreciating, encouraging and understanding each other. With good understanding, they may act collectively without formal organization. If this can be done, the advantage is that there will be only Patriotic individuals to be smeared—each responsible for his own action—and this can defeat the MISTAKEN's deadly smear. Their way of life will not be saved for them by its enemies nor by people unaware or indifferent to the danger. They must learn the score—for those who know not of the battle cannot win it. They need to keep in mind that the Socialist who is mistaken is little different from the Communist and is equally destructive to Liberty.

We may safely proceed on the theory that our nation is so mighty in its industrial potential and its people so ingenious that we can be destroyed only through betrayal. Since this is true, we must be able to detect treason, near-treason, and tolerance of treason. In the MISTAKEN's plan the destruction of our national ideals is a key step. Side-tracking Constitutional Government and undermining Patriotism is a part of this sabotage.

"ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS," promoted with zeal, can overwhelm the MISTAKEN.

BEYOND CONSPIRACY

Much is said about the Communist conspiracy. Unfortunately for us, the MISTAKEN understand each other so thoroughly that they can depend on each other to work in concert and need seldom meet in dark conspiracy. So smooth is their teamwork that two or three, working smoothly, are often seen to rise up and capture a small meeting by a few timely questions, comments, and motions, all made in apparent good faith. Each furnishes the impetus for the other and soon the ball is rolling their way. Those learning to keep score may study the effect of announcements by stations and sponsors disclaiming the "views and opinions expressed" in connection with

(Continued on Page 25)

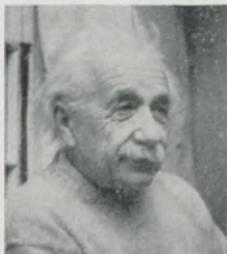
Political Riddle of Einstein Test For 'State of the Nation'

Brooklyn Police Lieutenant Edward Shea has succeeded where some of America's ace reporters have failed—in getting Professor Albert Einstein's theory, not of relativity, but of politics.

In relating his story via Facts Forum's STATE OF THE NATION program, Lt. Shea told how the idea to write to Prof. Einstein came to him during a dinner party with friends.

"Since nobody present seemed to be familiar with what his political philosophy really was, I offered to write and find out," explained Lt. Shea.

His efforts drew the following letter from Prof. Einstein:



—Wide World Photo
Einstein

DEAR SIR:

Thank you for your letter of November 22.

A good government, resp. constitution, is, in my opinion, one which gives the citizen that maximum amount of liberty and political rights as is desirable in his own interests.

On the other hand, the state has to provide for the citizens personal security and a certain amount of economic security. This situation necessitates a compromise between those two requirements which has to be found according to circumstances.

Yours very sincerely,
(Signed) A. EINSTEIN

SOCIETY'S OLD RIDDLE

In commenting on the second sentence of Dr. Einstein's letter, another program guest, George Hamilton Combs, said, "It restates the old riddle of our organized society: To what extent may a citizen be given liberty or exercise liberty in such a way that it will not violate the greater or overweening good of society as a whole?"

"That particular phrase, 'as is desirable in his own interests,' seems to me to be a somewhat equivocal phrase," Mr. Combs continued. "It could be interpreted in two ways. It could mean that the state could be the judge of that quantum of power or liberty given to him with which I am not theoretically in accord but which is probably necessary as a pragmatic matter. Or it could mean that the degree of liberty given him should be consistent with his own best interests as a member of society, as a member of the community with the interacting responsibilities of such communal membership."

He went on to say that Professor

Einstein's political philosophy comes close to paralleling his own. "I'm strongly inclined to the belief that this poses the great problem of our times. How do we preserve the largest area of personal liberty consistent with our security and with the maintenance of organized society? He has put it perhaps inversely, but if I may state it, it's this: How do we manage to safeguard the greatest possible measure of individual freedom within the context of a society which must enjoy certain protection and afford certain security?"

"SHEER POLITICAL INCOHERENCE"

Another program guest, William Buckley, Jr., stated, "I think that the letter received by Lt. Shea is an excellent example of sheer political incoherence. Put it this way: I think that the average professor of political science in any college in the United States would have looked at, say, an examination paper that contained this description of the role of government and the role of free man in a society and have marked it 'E.' That is to say, he would have failed it simply on the grounds that the person who offered such a statement simply is not at home even with the vocabulary of government on the basis of which we have to try to formulate some opinion about government.

"I would say that this leads us to something very important and highly relevant and that is that unfortunately the American people and, in fact, people throughout the world have tended to identify scientific skill with political skill with a result that has been disastrous in terms of our society. Unfortunately, I think it happens to be true that scientists as a whole seem to be not particularly competent political thinkers. This, I think, is illustrated very well by the record of Einstein himself.

"Here is a man," Mr. Buckley added, "who was given refuge in this country from Nazi tyranny. He no sooner came to this country than he showed his scorn for American governmental processes.

"He has belonged to thirty Communist fronts in this country. He has backed the Socialist ticket. In fact, he has shown himself not only ungrateful to the country that gave him some kind of refuge, but he has shown himself rather to be a vigorous critic of the basic institutions of that country. Now for that reason I think that it is nothing short of silly to take anything that Einstein says politically, seriously," Panelist Buckley asserted.

ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS

(Continued from Page 24)

the presentation of so many of the national affairs or news broadcasts which are not slanted to please or appease the MISTAKEN.

Do these disclaiming announcements suggest to the public mind that the "views and opinions" they have heard expressed carry an element of crankiness, falsity, unfairness, and viciousness? Do they cause the message of the most wholesome pro-freedom program to register in reverse? If the voice to which they are listening says the Constitution is good, is the listener to understand that it is probably very bad? With the "ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS" under way, patriotic programs will be heard over the air or seen in print often enough that stations and sponsors will become hesitant about disclaiming programs even though they feel their patri-

otism will offend some of the MISTAKEN.

GUISES OF THE MISTAKEN

It is perfectly natural, in trying to keep score, to want to be on the lookout for the MISTAKEN who is carrying a bomb in his pocket, ready to throw it where it will do plenty of harm. Nearly everyone would enjoy apprehending and shooting one of these traitors at sight. Our minds are prepared by the MISTAKEN to suspect certain labor leaders and also be on the lookout for the terrible card-carrying Communists. But when you are commended for your every act and patted on the shoulder by the enemy with pledges of cooperation, it is difficult to understand the plan of the MISTAKEN while he subtly suggests a course which is tolerant

of treason. He may be content to cause you to feel that Patriotism is old-fashioned. In his forces he musters representatives of some of the greatest fortunes in America and some of the brightest minds.

It is so easy to listen to what he says in his nice way of saying it instead of evaluating what he does. If you do not approve of some of his associates, you have been properly warned of the evil of "guilt by association." In the strangeness of this world which we are so incredibly losing, he may be a close and always ingratiating friend.

Your keeping score should not depend on discovering the duplicity of an Alger Hiss after he is convicted in court and sent to prison. Long before traitors in great numbers can be singled out with provable Communist records, our precious liberty will have been destroyed. The "presumption of innocence" is a great American principle to prevent the

(Continued on Page 26)



'State of the Nation' Goes To Formosa

Facts Forum's Hardy Burt (left) and General Frank Howley shown just prior to taking off for the threatened Formosan bastion and Hong Kong—sites of STATE OF THE NATION on-the-scene interviews with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and other government and business leaders. Lower photo, General Howley and Burt are greeted at Tokyo airport by a Nationalist Chinese representative. The pair stopped off in Japan en-route to Taipeh, Formosa.



(Continued from Page 22)

ILLINOIS				
Bloomington	WBLN-TV**	15	Fri	9:00 p
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	8:30 p
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	1:00 p
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Rock Island	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
Rockford	WREX-TV**	13	Thurs	7:30 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
	KGTV-TV**	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	KBIZ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KBIZ†	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	8:30 p
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
	KIND†	1010	Thurs	8:30 p
Lawrence	KLWN*	1320	To be announced	
McPherson	KNEX**	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburg	KSEK**	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Salina	KSAL†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
	KSAL†	1150	Thurs	8:30 p
KENTUCKY				
Campbellsville	WTCO*	1150	To be announced	
Cumberland	WCPM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL*	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	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
	WGRG†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW**	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
	Rebroadcast		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
New Orleans	KNOE-TV*	8	Sat	5:30 p
	WWL*	870	Mon	9:15 p
	WNOE**	1060	To be announced	
	WNOE†	1060	Thurs	8:30 p
	WJMR-TV**	61	Sun	2:00 p
	Retelecast		Mon	9:30 p
	WJMR-TV**	61	Sun	9:00 p
	Retelecast		Mon	4:30 p
Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	8:30 p
	KSLO**	1230	Tues	8:00 p
Ruston	KRUS*	1490	Sun	6:15 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KENT†	1550	Thurs	9:30 p
MAINE				
Orono	WORO*		To be announced	
Portland	WCSH*	970	Sun	1:15 p

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

ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS

(Continued from Page 25)

loss of liberty and life. It should not be permitted to keep a suspect even one hour in a position to betray our country.

ADS FOR FREEDOM

The MISTAKEN cannot be appeased. This is proven daily. Business needs to reach the masses with its advertising, but the masses it seeks to reach are not pro-Communist. Last year a few far-sighted advertisers, knowing that a vast majority of the consuming public love America, used ads which were well planned to kindle and fan the flame of Freedom. If other advertisers, to the extent of 10 per cent of the total, will do likewise in 1955, there will be born a battle chest for Freedom of more than 300 million dollars per year.

No one need sacrifice a penny in its building. Both the seller and the buyer he reaches will profit businesswise. The patriotic businessman is very apt to offer commodities or services on a parity with his constructive philosophy, and freedom-loving customers are very apt to appreciate and afford him patronage which will keep his business a going concern. Patriotic messages, viewpoints and plugs meet the approval of those who hold or direct real purchasing power. The attempts to smear and intimidate which the well-trained MISTAKEN direct toward any display of patriotism are becoming familiar—are understood—are discounted, and cease to exact their toll.

"ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS" could not belong to either of the major political parties, nor become a factor for or against the Liberal nor the Conservative philosophies.

The practical steps in "Adding Patriotism to Ads" need to be worked out and determined by patriotic advertising men. A few concerns are setting a fine example. The only need is that many will rise to the occasion and do likewise.

No conspiracy is needed to save Liberty by promoting Patriotism and perhaps it can best be done without organization. "ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS" need not propose additional advertising nor propose diverting any of the advertising which is now placed. It should require very little if any solicitation of funds. It has been proven that free society cannot be saved with contributions. The amount which can be raised in contributions is a pitifully inadequate sum when pitted against the billions of dollars being spent under the direction of the MISTAKEN who are busily undermining the pillars of Freedom. The idea is as practical as a pair

(Continued on Page 29)

MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810	To be announced	
Baltimore	WBAL*	1430	Sun	9:45 p
Cambridge	WCEM**	1240	Sun	7:00 p
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	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
Detroit	WTVW-TV**	13	Thurs	7:30 p
	WJR*	760	Sun	10:30 a
	WJBR*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
	WJBR-TV*	2	Sun	10:30 a
Escanaba	WDBC†	680	Mon	8:30 p
	WDBC†	680	Thurs	9:30 p
Flint	WBBC†	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	WLS-TV**	54	Wed	7:30 p
	WLS-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

Be sure and see page 45

MISSISSIPPI

Aberdeen	WMPA*	1240	Sun	5:30 p
	WMPA**	1240	To be announced	
Biloxi	WVMT*	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMT**	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	3:30 p
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Hattiesburg	WFOP*	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	WAFP*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAFP**	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC**	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO**	1230	Fri	6:30 p
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
	KFVS†	960	Thurs	10:30 p
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	KKLK**	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	12:15 p
Kennett	KBOA*	830	Sun	12:15 p
Kirksville	KIRX*	1450	Sat	6:15 p
	KIRX**	1450	Sun	2:00 p
Lebanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	KLWT†	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
	KNIM**	1580	Fri	3:30 p
Moberly	KNCM**	1230	Sun	1:05 p
Nevada	KNEM*	1240	Sun	1:05 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC**	930	Sun	6:30 p
St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV*		Sun	1:00 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
St. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
	KSGM**	980	To be announced	
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

(Continued on Page 30)

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 1955

DAN SMOOT this month passed the 200-thousand-mile-mark in DC-6 air travel. Between Dallas and Washington, Facts Forum's "air commuter" has flown more than eight times around the world.

Smoot's weekly radio program heard by millions of listeners is recorded in Dallas, home of Smoot and Facts Forum; but the television program, emanating from eighty stations throughout the country and in Alaska and Hawaii, is filmed in Washington, D. C.

On a recent trip someone said to Smoot, "I saw your TV discussion of the question, 'Was the Sneak Attack on Pearl Harbor Actually a Surprise?' Did you have inside information? I was right here in Washington at the time of the attack, and all through your analysis I found myself wondering if perhaps you didn't have some inside information."

Smoot replied, "No, both the pro and con arguments were based on information available to anyone who would look for it."

But how many people would take the time and effort to search for all available facts on both sides of just one national issue before making a decision? The answer is obvious; most would not. Many would continue along the course which the nation has too often followed for many years, basing their opinions on vague misinformation and preconceived notions with very little foundation in actual fact.

Just how much time and effort are involved in presenting just one of the Dan Smoot programs?

The sight of Dan Smoot with a book, magazine, newspaper—or more often a



DAN SMOOT'S AIR TRAVELS CLIMB TO 200,000 MILES

briefcase bulging with reference material—is a familiar one to his associates. The bibliography of one of his latest programs lists *nineteen* separate sources. This represents literally hundreds of thousands of words—words that must be not only read, but assimilated, digested, evaluated, and arranged in logical sequence to support the arguments of not just one side—but of two diametrically opposite sides—in an unbiased

manner and without regard for personal prejudices.

The service Dan Smoot renders with these Facts Forum programs is unique. His listeners are rewarded with a distillation of facts—carefully documented information presented in the pleasant, easy, conversational manner of Dan Smoot—commentator, lecturer, writer, and air commuter—but most important—Dan Smoot, American.

Facts Forum Featured in National Magazine

U.S. News & World Report turned the national spotlight on Facts Forum activities via its January 28 issue.

Commenting, "Millions of people, through these programs, are given information and arguments that could influence their opinion on major public issues," the widely-read publication goes on to describe the various Facts Forum programs.

Regarding Dan Smoot's pro and con discussions, *U.S. News & World Report* says, "These discussions are conducted, usually singlehandedly, by Dan Smoot, a former university teacher of English and more recently an investigator for the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

"The weekly debates run for 30 minutes on 80 TV stations, and 15 minutes on 265 radio stations."

The national news magazine goes on to tell how governors and other prominent persons are interviewed during Facts Forum's STATE OF THE NATION programs.

"Moderator of the discussions is Hardy Burt of New York. The program is carried on 400 or more stations affiliated with the Mutual Broadcasting System and the Don Lee Network on the Pacific Coast."

Pointing up still another Facts Forum program, ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS, *U.S. News & World Report* states:

"With Mr. Burt as moderator and a panel of three members, this program features discussions of questions such as 'How Successful Is the United Nations?' and 'Is There Bias in the American Press?' It is aired by 50 TV and 138 radio stations."

Facts Forum's REPORTERS' ROUNDUP program series was also highlighted. "This is a 350-station radio program in which moderator Robert F. Hurleigh and a panel of newsmen interview public figures."

Attention also was focused on the magazine you at this moment are reading. "Facts Forum News, now a monthly publication with a 75,000 circulation, is

aiming at a goal of 1.5 million circulation and conversion into a weekly." [The 75,000 was based on December circulation. February circulation was 375,000.]

U.S. News & World Report gives a graphic account of H. L. Hunt, highly successful oil producer and conservationist, who originated Facts Forum.

The magazine relates how Mr. Hunt in discussions with family and friends came to the conviction that the gravest danger that the American people face is the loss of individual freedom—chiefly through communism—and how Facts Forum was established in 1951 with these announced aims:

"To resist totalitarianism by alerting people to its dangers, to contribute to adult education, and to promote discussion of public issues."

U.S. News & World Report adds, "Facts Forum began with the establishment of neighborhood discussion groups in Dallas and other Texas cities. It evolved gradually into the big television and radio enterprise of today."

Season's Greetings

"April Is the Cruellest Month"—T. S. Eliot

The Income Tax—Root of All Evil, by Frank Chodorov, The Devin-Adair Company, 23 E. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y., 1954, 116 pp., \$2.00.

Man to Man, by Bernard N. Ward, C.P.A., The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1952, 359 pp., \$4.00.

Both writers contend that the federal income tax is basically wrong, that it plays into the hands of Marxism by writing Point Two of the *Communist Manifesto* into our Constitution, and that the Sixteenth Amendment should be repealed. Thus, both men storm big government at its foundation.

"THE INCOME TAX—ROOT OF ALL EVIL"

Frank Chodorov is an uncompromising individualist, editor of *The Freeman* and associate editor of *Human Events*. One of America's most entertaining stylists, Chodorov—like his friend the late Albert Jay Nock—has the knack of raising even the most serious subjects to the amusing level of a dinner conversation. The reader, after he has had several hours of Chodorovian entertainment, will be surprised to find that he has learned a great deal in the way of history, contemporary issues, and political philosophy.

After a passing glance at a great-grandpappy of the income tax in the time of Rehoboam, son of Solomon, Mr. Chodorov discusses the moral and religious base upon which our Constitution was laid. Then the general lines of his treatise are outlined.

"That as a consequence of this law our government is being transformed into one alien to the American tradition.

"That social and individual values are likewise undergoing transmutation.

"That, in short, America is no longer the America of the Declaration of Independence.

"Finally, and most important, we shall suggest a means for reversing the trend and restoring the 'good' of our tradition."

Then for the next 108 pages, the Income Tax Amendment finds itself in the ring with one of the most brilliant men in American letters. Starting with the Constitution as it was framed in 1789, Mr. Chodorov traces the history of federal taxation.

In 1913, recently imported Marxist class-envy social dogma, do-gooder instincts, and the hungry glances, representatives of poorer states were cast toward the rich eastern ones combined to write the Sixteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Even the strongest supporters of the In-

come Tax Amendment argued and believed that it would never exceed a few per cent. The Income Tax Amendment was strongly supported by the Populists, who were opposed to the tariff duties upon which the federal government depended for nearly half its revenue. Paradoxically, after adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment, tariffs continued to rise, thus illustrating a political maxim that government will never, on its own initiative, relinquish any significant element of power.

Four years after adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment, the United States government had junked the Monroe Doctrine and was involved in a foreign war, using conscripted soldiers. The growth of the federal government was steady, reaching great acceleration with the advent of the New Deal. An interventionist foreign policy led to involvement in an even greater foreign war, again using conscripted soldiers. World War Two-and-a-Half in Korea and intermittent echoes all over the globe followed in due course. And today our federal government is a monolithic structure which has taken over many of the functions of the states, municipalities, and private citizens—plus the lion's share of the tax revenues previously available to the lower echelons of government.

So runs the author's account. He contends that the income tax set our country on the path to absolutism. "Freedom is the absence of restraint. Government cannot give freedom, it can only take it away. The more power the government exercises, the less freedom will the people enjoy. And when government has a monopoly of power, the people have no freedom. That is the definition of absolutism—monopoly of power."

"MAN TO MAN"

Bernard Ward views the income tax with the jaundiced eye of a certified public accountant who has for many years helped American taxpayers weather their annual ordeal with forms X, Y, Z, and P. D. Q. He writes with the sympathy of one who has just pulled Junior out of the other end of the wash-ringer.

The most telling criticism of the income tax here is leveled at the almost inescapable inequities and injustices attendant upon the administration of the federal taxing program. Mr. Ward's is a telling indictment, built on actual case after case. Many cases are, indeed, pa-

thetic in the hardships and injustices worked on individuals who, having no effective appeal, just had to pay up. The author also feels for the general wear and tear on all taxpayers—whom he calls "income-poops"—including those who manage to file returns that don't bounce.

Hard words are leveled at the income tax system.

"Throwing people in the jug for public debts has descended to low art and become a national pastime. In the olden days, before income taxes were thought of, the Federal government used to concern itself with those of our citizenry who broke the peace, moonshiners, traitors, counterfeiters, deserters, and so forth. Now, it is subjecting all of our citizens to the hazard of going to jail, having their reputations besmirched, their personal affairs disrupted, their children left home to wonder if, and later to learn that, Dad was a jailbird. Witnesses lying on the witness stand; tax cheaters implicating innocent persons, under oath, as accomplices; Federal informers blackmailing people; husbands and wives becoming involved in domestic squabbles over their income-tax affairs; the gagging of millions by threat of reprisal against them and stilling the voices of liberty and democracy; using the power of money and law to destroy.

GOVERNMENT A THIEF?

"Yes, your government through this law can steal your money from you and actually steals it many, many times. Can you throw the government in jail? No! You only damn it under your breath."

Another contention made is that the Income Tax Amendment has procured a widespread practice of fraud and disregard for law. Certainly, one of the most damaging things to law and order is a set of laws against which there is widespread opposition and which results in extensive attempts at evasion on the part of normally law-abiding citizens. It is axiomatic that laws against which there is large popular resistance cannot be enforced equitably, even with the most extreme penalties prescribed. Thus the Diocletian Decree of death penalty for disobedience of the price control laws in ancient Rome failed to prevent evasion, so great was the popular resistance.

In a long chapter entitled "Fraud," Mr. Ward records many cases in which "income-poops" have come up with what they thought were sure-fire ways to beat the game. They didn't. This chapter—plus the delightful illustrations by Rodolphe LaRiviere—is highly amusing and is well worth the price of admission. Yet more sober reflection prompts one to ask what is wrong basically when ordinarily decent and law-abiding people yield to the temptation to be dishonest. Running through so many of these cases is some sort of feel-

What they're saying . . .



about **FACTS FORUM**

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Please accept my prayerful wishes for every blessing on yourself and on the important program you are managing to carry out. God enlighten, guide, and protect all who are working with you.

Sister M. Chrysologa, S.S.N.D.

Directress of Advanced Study
Notre Dame Junior College
320 E. Ripa Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Thank you for your letter advising us that the Milwaukee School of Engineering has been placed on your list to receive *Facts Forum News* for the year 1955. . . . These will be placed in a permanent file, for we deem the articles appearing therein to be valuable and that they should be kept for future reference.

A. C. Schmidt, Librarian
Milwaukee School of Engineering
1025 N. Milwaukee St., Milwaukee, Wis.

We are happy to receive *Facts Forum News*. . . . It is a forthright and substantial periodical which should be of considerable value both in our teaching program and for our general readers. . . .

Jay W. Stein, Librarian
Southwestern at Memphis College
Memphis, Tenn.

ing on the part of such individuals that they are not really being dishonest—a rationalization that this is sort of a game of wits that they are trying to beat.

Such an attitude and practice fails to strike at the objectionable law and strikes at the concept of orderly government instead. There is a big difference between fraud and the protest which is an essential feature of the republican system of government. Mr. Ward holds no brief for those who indulge in fraud. He advises scrupulous honesty in all tax matters, both as a moral and practical course.

The proposed solution here is the repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment and the substitution of a manufacturer's excise tax, levied and collected directly from the manufacturers or producers. The theory is that the erstwhile "income-poop" will be given a much larger measure of freedom of choice and will, moreover, find his private affairs no longer under the scrutiny of the federal government. With the proposed substitution Frank Chodorov would, no doubt, take exception—urging that if the federal government would relinquish all functions beyond those originally intended in the Constitution, such a substitute tax would be unnecessary. But that is another good subject for lively debate.

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS

(Continued from Page 26)

of broken-in shoes. Great leadership is not required, so its activities are not an avenue for personal aggrandizement. It needs no miracle, but the results of its use may well be miraculous. If it can cause the Patriot to become as persistent as the MISTAKEN, the cure is in sight. It needs to instill in the Patriot a willingness to abandon dignity—beg on the street when necessary for cooperation to save Freedom—break all public affairs programs with the most practical spot for commercials so they can be easily financed and to use subtle Freedom plugs in entertainment programs in the fashion which the MISTAKEN so effectively use traitorous plugs to undermine Freedom.

RESPONSIBILITY OF BUSINESS

The businessman has been propagandized into a false conception that he must take the public as he finds it. He is told that he had nothing to do with molding their opinions—that it is only a trend of the time—or he may attach the blame to the schools, churches, news channels, or whatever particular alibi he cares to select. He may assume an attitude for himself, and his organization, that it is their duty to get business regardless of its source, and believing that a great wave of feeling against the profit motive and free markets has changed the American people, he should not risk offending them by displaying symptoms of loyalty. The falsity of his reasoning is disproven by many well known successes in business and some in publishing, who have not temporized about Liberty.

But could we grant that he is right, then in a state of the MISTAKEN's dream, of what real benefit has been our striving to build up our communities, educate our children for a better life, lay up stores for our comfort and that of succeeding generations, if with heedless abandon we are throwing away the right to enjoy those very things we strive for.

In the MISTAKEN state, of what value are education, individual initiative, personal possessions, however simple or opulent? They are outlawed—they cannot be used—they cannot be possessed—they will not be allowed. Why then should we struggle, make sacrifices, if we care not for the future?

No doubt you are frequently requested to contribute to organizations which are to protect America from the inroads of communism as a part or all of their activity. In making your decision whether or not to comply, you need to know the score as well as you can. You need to know if the organization is feared and hated by the Communists who, needless to say, are the best judges of the effectiveness of their foes. You need to find the answer to one simple question—"Do the *Daily Worker* (New York), the *People's World* (Los Angeles) and other official Communist publications in the U. S. bitterly disapprove the organization or its personnel you are being given the opportunity to join?" This same applies to your favorite organization to which you now give of your time and funds. There could be no better test.

FEBRUARY POLL RESULTS

(Closed February 10)

% YES

- 8 Should we substitute an executive council for the presidency?
- 81 Does the U.S. need constitutional protection from Treaty Law?
- 83 Is communism gaining more in "cold war" than is possible in "hot war"?
- 74 Is it really un-American for press, radio and TV to suppress news?
- 64 Have we lost control of our government to unelected officials?
- 30 Should the public schools accept aid from the federal government?
- 49 Is calling our economic system "the free-enterprise system" a misnomer?
- 53 Can America defend itself without allies?
- 21 Will there be another stock market crash like 1929?
- 72 Should we blockade Red China as Sen. Knowland recommends?
- 8 Would "one-world" government prevent war?
- 67 Is foreign aid spending a part of the plan to destroy U.S.A.?
- 7 Did the recent Senate censure hearings change your opinion of Senator McCarthy?
- 83 Are Communists in the U.S. conniving to promote juvenile delinquency?

(See March Facts Forum Poll questions on Page 65)

'WORKER' OFF ROCKER OVER HARVEY

Comrades clap hands at Matusow tergiversation
(See also clinical note on Page 48.)

The psychiatry of communism was recently enlivened by the *Daily Worker's* delight over the Matusow case.

About a year ago one Clinton Jencks of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union was convicted in Federal Court in El Paso of having perjurally denied membership in the Communist party. The conviction was obtained in part through sworn testimony of one-time Communist Harvey M. Matusow that Jencks was in fact a Communist at the time when he signed a Taft-Hartley affidavit that he was not. Now Matusow says that he, Matusow, was a liar, that "there was no basis for my stating that Clinton E. Jencks was a member of the Communist party at the time I stated so in Court." Matusow declares he is anxious "to do what I can to remedy the harm I have done to Clinton Jencks."

It might be thought that the Communist party itself would be offended by either Matusow or Jencks, or both. Here is Matusow being contrite about having called Jencks a Communist, clearly implying that one ought not to be a Communist. Of course practically all Americans agree that it is terrible to be a Communist, but you would not think a Communist would agree to that. Not a Communist who goes on being a Communist, like the editor of the *Daily Worker*. It isn't something you can't help, like Boswell's having come from Scotland.

The *Daily Worker*, one would think, ought to rejoice over a man who would say: I am a Communist and proud of it! One would think the *Worker* would practically spit on the man who denied communism. There is no reason for any man to deny any cause unless (1) he is truly not of it, (2) he is cowardly, (3) he is a spy. But the *Worker* has repeatedly assured us that there are no Communist spies in the United States. It is also well known that all Communists are of an heroic degree of bravery, except for an occasional contemptible renegade informer. Thus Jencks must be really not a Communist and thus he must be, according to Communist theory, a traitor to the working class.

Matusow must be even worse. First he said Jencks was a Communist and said it under circumstances as to imply that that was a bad thing to be. Then he said he had lied, that Jencks was not a Communist, and that he was sorry for the harm he had done Jencks. In other words, Matusow changes his story about

Jencks, but he never changes implication that it is very bad to be a Communist. What a scoundrel! Would you not think so if you were a Communist?

But not being one, you do not know. The *Daily Worker* appears to be quite happy over the fact that Jencks may have an out from the grievous charge of being a glorious comrade, and though it continues to employ the contemptuous terms "informer," "stool pigeon," and "stoolie" in referring to Matusow, there is no heart in it, and in any case the opprobrium seems to derive from Matusow's having once called a bunch of Communists Communists, not from his making it a matter of apology that he called Jencks a Communist—notwithstanding that such an apology seems to involve a snide insult to the vanguard of the proletariat.

It is further worth noting that in this half-light of the mind, where the diabolical replaces reason, the *Daily Worker* believes that "Harvey Matusow's admission . . . throws new light on the outrageous nature of the plan of the Justice Department to arrest and imprison Eugene Dennis and the other Communist party leaders all over again when they finish their Smith Act terms in March."

In other words, the *Worker* seems to be saying, you simply cannot believe a lying stool pigeon who will go into court and swear that a Communist party leader is a Communist. It is part of "thought-control."

Obviously the thoughts of the *Worker* are quite uncontrolled. Will someone tell us again how it is "the intellectuals" who become Communists?

One more thing: the same intellectual issue of the *Worker* has a story on the plan of the Ford Foundation's "Fund for the Republic" to do "research into the extent and nature" of communism in the U. S. Recently, when the Reece Committee Report on Foundations appeared, the *Worker* denounced Rep. Carroll Reece with violence because he ought, they said, to have known "better than to believe that foundations bearing the names of Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie have promoted 'socialism.'" From a Communist paper, this acceptance as an axiom that anything named Ford cannot be socialistic ought to mean a complete distrust and ideological opposition to anything bearing the name Ford. Yet politely the *Worker* writes: "It would be presumptuous to predict at this time the detailed findings and



—Acme Photo

Harvey Matusow

opinions in eleven books scheduled for publication as part of \$250,000 study by the Fund for the Republic of 'communism and civil liberties' in American life."

Why would it be presumptuous for a Communist paper — which elsewhere in the same issue speaks with undisguised hatred of Judge Irving Kaufman (Rosenberg case) as the "hatchet man" of "bourgeois democracy and 'justice'" — to spare one drop of a plentiful supply of venom for the Fund for the Republic if it too is, as it must be if the *Worker's* scorn of Reece makes sense, irrevocably a bourgeois institution?

It is of the essence of communism to be mistaken, but even Communists don't have to sound so obviously idiotic.

NEW RADIO SERIES SCHEDULED BY FF

Facts Forum is scheduling a new 13-week radio series, THE INFIL-TRAITORS, 30-minute interviews designed to expose the infiltration of communism into various phases of American life.

The program will be aired over the Mutual Broadcasting System and will feature weekly guests who will relate first-hand experiences in the nation's fight against communism and subversion.

Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky are slated to appear on the programs along with Hardy Burt, who will serve as moderator.

Starting date for THE INFIL-TRAITORS will be announced in the near future.

Atomic Status of the Nation

A "Trial Balance" of the Atomic Energy Commission

By LEWIS L. STRAUSS, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission

Delivered before the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., January 11, 1955

THIS being the season of the year when businesses, having completed their year-end inventories, are setting up their balance sheets and writing the first drafts of annual reports to stockholders, it occurred to me to try and give you a "trial balance" of the AEC.

I don't mean by that to unload upon you a lot of figures and statistics. Instead, I thought you might be interested if I separated the debits and credits—the things accomplished, and the things undone, or muffed—as I see them from the marble sanctuary over on Constitution Avenue.

In order to be able to conclude by enumerating the good things—the assets—I will begin with the debits.

The first item, and most important of these, it seems to me, was the discovery that Malenkov wasn't talking through his hat about what we call "a thermonuclear reaction." The Soviets produced it, without any doubt, and it is unintelligent to decry their scientific competence.

Proficiency in the technology of nuclear weapons, and indeed of science and engineering generally, is not so much of an American monopoly as popular misconception once would have had it.

Of course, by contrast with our weap-

ons tests, Russian atomic weapons tests, according to them, are all benign. They remove mountains, change the course of rivers, and never, never have any dangerous aspects or any baneful effects on the world. Also, according to them, only the tests conducted by the United States are wicked, warmongering and horrendous affairs.

EFFECT OF PROPAGANDA

Artful Soviet propaganda has actually persuaded many people to this fantastic belief—even in our own country. At any rate, Soviet progress in weapons development is, or ought to be, a prime concern of free people. Many feel that it reduces the time within which the world has to work out a sort of *modus vivendi*.

Item 2 in the debit column is criticism of the personnel security program, which arose as a result of the case of Dr. Oppenheimer. Periodically, the personnel security program has given us grief since the beginning of the AEC. By 1950 we had evolved what we believed a very fair procedure to deal with security. It has been widely commended by both men of law and men of science.

It is a procedure that provides the individual against whom charges have been brought with every protection we

could think of. He has to be furnished with a written catalogue of allegations; he can resign or he can elect a hearing.

If he elects a hearing, he can challenge the persons selected for the special hearing board; he can be represented by counsel; he can attend all hearings himself; he can confront all witnesses, and he and his counsel can cross-examine all witnesses. He can appeal from an adverse decision to a board of review and, finally, he can absolutely control the issue of whether or not existence of the proceedings is to become known.

In spite of all this, there are those who feel that injustice is occasionally done—just as I suppose is true of losers in actions before a court of law.

Over the years, we have tried to see what, if anything, can be done to improve the procedures. To this end, I wrote to all our laboratory directors in November to say that we would ask them to meet with us here for an exploration of the subject. The meeting is scheduled to begin on Monday of next week.

I have had a considerable correspondence on this subject with individuals and organizations and no radically new ideas have come to my attention. We are, however, going into the meeting with an open mind.

Under present procedures, it has been possible to protect the security of the operations of the government as well as the rights of the individual, with due regard to the interests and privileges of both.

I think it will never be possible, however, to satisfy everyone, even under the long-established rules of jurisprudence. The recent records of protest, made after fair trials before juries in the presence of our press and the presses of other countries, I think demonstrated this point.

Item 3, also on the debit side, would be the misunderstandings about the Mississippi Valley Generating Contract—or the Dixon-Yates contract, if you still prefer it be called that—I suppose it always will be called that.

The contract itself should be listed among the assets. And, anticipating some questions about this later, I will not now say more about this contract or the two previous ones which were negotiated with private utilities under

(Continued on Page 55)



—Wide World Photo

Chairman Lewis L. Strauss (left) and General Manager Gen. K. D. Nichols of the Atomic Energy Commission, report to the Joint House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee.

UNIQUE ROLE OF ADMIRAL STRAUSS

by Medford Evans

Former Chief of Training, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission
Author of *The Secret War for the A-Bomb*

THE hard decisions that make history turn on lonely men who know what they have to do because no one else will do it. Uncertainty needs collusion or comradeship, but clear faith will go it alone, as David met Goliath, as Lindbergh flew the Atlantic. The original do not wait for the approval of others, because they are sure of eternal company.

Lewis L. Strauss is not an indispensable man, but he has done, alone, several indispensable things. The most difficult was simply putting in a word for the United States.

Strauss was a Truman-appointed member of the five-man Atomic Energy Commission from 1947 to 1950. As is now well known, he voted some twelve times against his colleagues in those years, always on matters involving the national security, and always resolving doubts in favor of national security. His last and greatest administrative battle as Commissioner was his dogged insistence that the United States must at least try to build a hydrogen bomb. The opposition he met cannot be measured merely by the AEC's 4-1 vote against him on all the security issues except the H-bomb, or the 3-2 vote on that (in which Gordon Dean joined him).

The American atomic energy project in those years between World War II and Korea was almost entirely dominated by a group of men of whom Robert Oppenheimer was the most energetic and intelligent. AEC Chairman David Lilienthal was their bureaucratic chief, Brien McMahon their spokesman in Congress, Dean Acheson their representative in the Cabinet. They enjoyed the support of an excellent administrative cadre, which included Carroll Wilson, Joseph Volpe, Jr., and Frances Henderson. Between Oppenheimer, Lilienthal, and Acheson was that nonpareil of intelligence and effective liaison—Herbert S. Marks.

Cooperation from press and radio was nearly perfect. William L. Laurence, Hanson W. Baldwin, and Walter Lippmann were particularly important, but the corps of journalists in general—except those on the *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Daily News*, and *Washington Times Herald*—was either solid for or silent on the subject of Lilienthal. Toward Oppenheimer they were obsequious. Their prompter was Eugene Rabin-

LEWIS LICHTENSTEIN STRAUSS

Born, Charleston, West Virginia, January 31, 1896. Lewis S. and Rosa (Lichtenstein) Strauss.

Educated, public schools, Richmond, Virginia.

Employed by Herbert Hoover, 1917-19. With Kuhn, Loeb and Co., 1919-46. Partner, from 1929.

Financial Adviser to Messrs. Rockefeller, 1950-53.

National Service:

U. S. Naval Reserve, 1926—; Rear Admiral, 1945—.

Member, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, 1946-50.

President's Adviser on Atomic Energy, 1953.

Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission 1953—.

Awarded: Legion of Merit and Gold Star (Navy), Oak Leaf Cluster (Army); Commendation Ribbon; Officer Legion of Honor (France). Sc. D. Medical College of Virginia; LL. D. Jewish Theological Seminary, N.Y.U.; L.H.D. Case Institute.

owitch, Editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, recognized by *Time* as "Voice of the Atom."

To challenge this voice and its echoes in leading newspapers and magazines was to risk sounding like a crackpot. When "the scientists who made the bomb" had spoken, what could a layman say? Science was supreme, and Science was international. Thus national considerations, such as the defense of the United States, were sordid. "The Commission," said Dr. Oppenheimer, "has balanced very carefully the requirements of security and the requirements of progress and humanity."

But Lewis Strauss did not accept an essential opposition between national security on the one hand and progress and humanity on the other.

Virginia-born, he inclined to take for granted what the Hungarian genius Edward Teller concluded analytically, that the security of the United States and that of all the freedom-loving people of the whole world are one.

"I am not an isolationist," Strauss told the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in 1949, "and have never been. As far back as 1916, I began my interest in the welfare of human beings ir-

respective of nationality. I served in the Belgian, French, German, Austrian, and Russian Relief. [He worked with Herbert Hoover.] I organized the relief fund for Finland when that country was attacked by Russia in 1939... *National security, however, as long as I am a member of this Commission, must be my paramount responsibility.*"

Of course no member of the Atomic Energy Commission could, even in 1949, have declared the contrary, but Strauss was obviously quite serious, and that was sometimes awkward.

"Chairman Lilienthal has testified," Strauss continued, "that there was only one Commissioner who had dissented, and... my recollection confirmed that the Commission has always been unanimous except in those cases when I found myself in the minority... *All of these dissents deal with aspects of security and national defense.*" Twelve such dissents were matters of record when Strauss gave this testimony during the hearings in June 1949 on Senator Hickel's charges against David Lilienthal of "incredible mismanagement."

Opinions might still vary concerning the particular issues which impelled Lewis Strauss to be, twelve times in two and a half years, a minority of one in a five-man Commission. But whatever the merits of those cases, there is no doubt that the independent judgment so tested and tempered developed in Strauss the toughness which carried him through the great H-bomb controversy. And if he had not been successful in that, the United States would be today considerably more vulnerable than it is. Nor is it at all clear that the "requirements of progress and humanity" would have been better met if Soviet Russia had had today by our default a monopoly of H-bombs.

II

In any great project of applied science, scientists and nonscientists are thrown together. For most of the nonscientists the scientists feel contempt or tolerance, but they quickly recognize a few natural enemies, to-wit: politicians, accountants, and security officers. Politicians rival scientists in influence, accountants limit their expenditures, and security officers interfere with their movements and talk. Such restrictions imply that Science is not sufficient. They must be removed.

In 1948 a young scientist at AEC's Brookhaven National Laboratory talking to Theodore H. White about Dr. E. U. Condon — called by the House Un-American Activities Committee "the weakest link in our atomic security"—said, "My God, no matter what the score on Condon could be, you just can't have a bunch of dumb jerks like that passing on the credentials of scientists." The credentials in question were not scientific. The statement means that scientists should in every way be above the criticism of members of Congress.

When AEC took over atomic energy from the Army in 1947, an initial problem was business accounts and audits of scientific operations. The "Loofbourow Report" suggested that scientists be held to a minimum of financial and property responsibility. About a year later the "Loomis Report" urged maximum pay rates and privileges for scientific personnel.

But the main fight centered on security. Here unwillingness to admit any check on Science was encouraged to the hilt by Communists and other pro-Soviet groups. Susceptibility of scientists to such influences has been noted by Richard L. Meier, former executive secretary of the Federation of American Scientists, who has written, "The physicist by nature is politically radical," and by C. P. Snow, English authority on scientific personnel, who in *The New Men* has discriminated between engineers and scientists: "...the physicists, whose whole intellectual life was spent in seeking new truths, found it uncongenial to stop seeking when they had a look at society. They were rebellious, questioning, protestant, curious for the future and unable to resist shaping it. The engineers buckled to their jobs and gave no trouble, in America, in Russia, in Germany; it was not from them, but from the scientists, that came heretics, forerunners, martyrs, traitors."

Oppenheimer in 1949 testified before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy about the advisability of exporting radioisotopes produced in American atomic energy plants and laboratories. Here, said Oppenheimer, "is one of the few areas in which we are free to act the way we would like to act, generously, imaginatively and decently; in the things that involve security we are inhibited from doing that..."

This emotional revulsion from security as not "decent" had a logical corollary. Dr. Oppenheimer told the Gray Board in April 1954, speaking of his association with sometime Communist David Hawkins, "I discussed security with him many times. His views and mine were in agreement."

Lewis L. Strauss had quite other views. On account of them he lost favor with an important segment of the Amer-

ican press which in 1946 had praised his appointment to the AEC. But he won the respect of Congress and of Eisenhower. He was appointed and enthusiastically confirmed as AEC chairman in the summer of 1953, after an absence of three years from the AEC executive offices at 1901 Constitution Avenue.

III

The severest criticism of Admiral Strauss is that of Joseph and Stewart Alsop, who have written: "We accuse Oppenheimer's chief judge, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Admiral Lewis Strauss, ... of venting the bitterness of old disputes through the security system of this country." This charge means, logically, either that Strauss ought to be impeached or the Alsop brothers convicted of libel. It is a serious charge against the honesty and patriotism of a man with a distinguished public record of honesty and patriotism.

The Alsops' accusation of Strauss obviously stems from their hysterical attachment to Dr. Oppenheimer. They see him on his return from Europe in 1929 with first-class training in the New Physics as "the bringer of a revelation." Such a point of view must be curious to Arthur Compton, 1929 Nobel Prize winner, and to E. O. Lawrence, Nobel laureate in 1939 for his earlier invention of the cyclotron on the same campus which Robert Oppenheimer appeared to the Alsops (but not to the Nobel Prize committee) to dominate.

The Alsops feel that the decision in the Oppenheimer case—a 7-2 decision at the highest levels—"did not disgrace Robert Oppenheimer; it dishonored and disgraced the high name of American freedom." They see hope that the "forces in America which have created the climate in which Oppenheimer was judged may... break their teeth and power on the Oppenheimer case."

IV

The Oppenheimer case is one of the great events of recent history. It is probable that from 1945 to 1952 Robert Oppenheimer was the most powerful man in the world. That is based on the assumptions, (1) that he was the most influential man in the U.S. atomic energy project, (2) that the Soviet atomic energy project was—to use Oppenheimer's own word—"imitative" of the U.S. project, (3) that the power relation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union was the great world issue of those years.

The U.S.-S.U. power relation is still the great issue, and the Soviet atom is still probably imitative of the U.S. atom. For that matter, Robert Oppenheimer still has a great deal of influence. But he no longer has an AEC "Q" clearance,

and he is no longer the most influential man in the project.

Strauss is by no means solely responsible for Oppenheimer's downfall. Harry Truman was the first official to act against Oppenheimer, whom he would not reappoint to the General Advisory Committee in 1952. And when the Commission came to vote in June 1954 it was not Lewis Strauss who was a minority of one. It was Henry Smyth, physicist. Against Oppenheimer and with Strauss were not only Joseph Campbell, but also Eugene Zuckert, often considered a Fair Deal administrator, and Thomas E. Murray, another Truman appointee, who has opposed Strauss on other issues.

Yet it can hardly be denied that if anyone except Lewis Strauss had been made Chairman in 1953 Oppenheimer would have retained till today his aura of infallibility.

Ordinary rules do not work in the Oppenheimer case. Conviction of perjury sent Hiss to jail and Alsopian accusation sent Paul Crouch to Coventry. Circumstantial rumors of extra-marital romance are ordinarily considered damaging to officeholders. But Oppenheimer, who has admitted adultery and admitted the most elaborate and deliberate lying in the most serious circumstances—quite over and above admitting the most involved, intimate, and prolonged association with Communists—is still called "seer and saint."

Mere astonishment, or outrage, is not an adequate response to this phenomenon.

Why *saint*?

That anyone can publicly call Oppenheimer a saint after all that has been published about him means that the psychology of Robert Oppenheimer may be a good deal less complex and mysterious than the psychology of the American public.

Yet he has had a great fall, and neither the king's horses, men, nor Edward R. Murrow can quite put his former reputation together again. Only, it is worth noting that the Humpty Dumpty who survives such a fall—cracked but recognizable—was hard-boiled in the first place.

Robert Oppenheimer may yet come all the way over. His life has been double so long. His two professorships simultaneously, one at Berkeley and one at Cal-Tech; his philosophic preoccupation with "complementarity," the principle by which logically antagonistic theories are both accepted in practice; his ambiguous relationship with Communists and communism, supporting the Party, favoring its members, befriending Bernard Peters, yet refusing to join, condemning its principles, and denouncing Peters to the Un-American Activities Committee—all this suggests that Wil-

William L. Borden who after some evident mental anguish of his own wrote to J. Edgar Hoover that: "more probably than not J. Robert Oppenheimer is an agent of the Soviet Union"—William L. Borden could have had excellent reasons for this statement, while at the same time excellent reasons existed for believing Oppenheimer to be a loyal American.

Perhaps, by the principle of complementarity, he was simultaneously a loyal American and a Soviet agent.

By ordinary rules that won't do. One hopes that it will not do for Robert Oppenheimer either. Perhaps his numerous admissions under oath and his Delphic revelations in public (he told UN Committee Two in April 1947: "I know this from experience. I know it is not enough to tell someone a secret; it is very hard to give away a secret. You have to work at it week after week after week because these things are complex." That is out of context, but the original context does not, and no context very well could, keep it from being a rather startling thing for Robert Oppenheimer to have said)—perhaps this continuing urge to tell (and surely no one has told so much) — perhaps the disease which Dr. Condon seemed to think was disease may bring him to full confession after all. And in the healing which might come of that the health and wholeness of the United States may be involved.

The Alsop brothers think, or profess to think, that Strauss felt personal hatred for Oppenheimer and that this hatred was based on wounded vanity. Oppenheimer, they believe, or affect to believe, refuted Strauss before the Joint Committee "with far too devastating brilliance." But the Alsops' account of this episode is garbled as to facts, and there is no reason to suppose that their psychological insight, or pretended psychological insight, is any better.

It would be surprising if Lewis Strauss had not felt for Robert Oppenheimer more love than hatred. Strauss is nine years older. Both are from the highest type of American Jewish stock. Both are intellectually brilliant. Strauss was an established great man in business and government; Oppenheimer was a brilliant star in science and public relations. What could be more natural than that the elder man should feel the patron's kindness for the protege?

But how shall the patron proceed if the protege is demonstrably not trustworthy? This does not turn love to hatred. But it does turn hope to disappointment.

Above all, Lewis Strauss is a patriot. In a now-historic meeting of the AEC in 1947 the minutes record that Dr. Robert F. Bacher stated that "The foreign distribution of radioisotopes is relatively a small matter when compared

with such major actions as the export of electric generators for use in connection with the Dneiperstroy Dam."

"Mr. Strauss responded," the minutes continue, "that the Atomic Energy Commission has no primary concern pertaining to the export of generators, but added that he felt that the government agencies that did have jurisdiction should prevent such exports."

Strauss is a formal man, vivacious but correct. His gratuitous opinion in Commission meeting that other government agencies ought to get on the ball reflects the deep concern of an American for American interests.

No one who knew as much about Robert Oppenheimer as Lewis Strauss did and was as devoted to the national interest of the United States as Lewis Strauss was could have been content in 1953 to leave the enormous prestige of Robert Oppenheimer undisturbed. Oppenheimer did indeed bestride the narrow world of science-politics like a colossus. But Strauss not only was no Cassius acting from dark motives, he was not a Brutus conspiring assassination from noble motives. Strauss simply discharged the responsibilities of his office in accordance with his oath of office, without regard to whatever personal feelings he may have had toward Robert Oppenheimer. Every legal procedure was followed. Every means of determining the facts, interpreting the law, and utilizing the judgment of men of learning, experience, and high reputation was employed. If ever there was a case where the decision was ineluctable, where no personal bias could offset the great weight of the evidence, such was the Oppenheimer case.

It is hardly decent—to use a word much loved of the Alsops—to consider too curiously the personal emotions of the figures in this national event. Yet speculations about these emotions have been thrust before the public. It is therefore fair to observe that the outcome of the Oppenheimer case almost surely involved for Lewis Strauss the tragic sense of compassion in victory—and the understanding that so far from being able to act upon two complementary codes of loyalty, it is so hard to live by one that in order to do it a man may have to cut off his right hand.

V

It is by no means time to write the story of the development of atomic power. Much has been written and little said on this subject. The atom-powered submarine *Nautilus* has been built, ground has been broken at Shippingport for an atomic power plant, and other milestones have been passed. The most significant announcements have been made under Strauss's chairmanship.

Edward Teller, in this as in the H-

bomb, was in the record early. In August 1947 Teller wrote to Lawrence Hafstad: "The main thing is to prepare a few concrete plans, decide on one after proper consultation with people like Fermi, and then go ahead. This, I think, could be done in a few months. After that, one should go ahead with that one model even if it should turn out to be in the long run not the very best possible. The experience so gained will make up for any deficiencies.

"Perhaps I am overenthusiastic but I think that we have lots of good long-range plans—what we really lack is the push toward short-range objectives, of which there was so much during the war, and of which there is so little now.

"The reason I am writing this letter, as you can guess, is my dismay brought about by this situation: I see five Navy men, unusually intelligent, and interested in a detailed, concrete and down-to-earth plan (if down-to-earth is a proper Navy objective), but when I asked them when and how will they proceed, I am met with hesitation that seemed to me to indicate that the whole thing is not at all approved as yet, and that it is perhaps being put in the same class as some of the projects which in more ways than one are way up in the clouds."

Compare the attitude of Robert Oppenheimer in June 1949 just ten days after he had testified before the Joint Committee in praise of David Lilienthal's management and in derogation of Lewis Strauss's judgment on isotopes. In an interview with the Oakland, California, *Tribune*, Oppenheimer "termed the prospects of civil atomic power extremely remote and from any viewpoint extremely unimportant.

"Nuclear power for planes and battleships is so much hogwash. I think the difficulties have been underestimated."

"Civil power will take a long time, enormous investments of money and the all-out cooperation of industry, he said, adding 'if we can't get there in twenty-five years we might as well take it easy.'"

Like the H-bomb, atomic power at the end of World War II seemed to a number of experts to be just around the corner. But then for a number of years it seemed to get farther off rather than nearer. Most discussions of atomic power in the years 1945-52 were like the K-25 plant at Oak Ridge—gaseous diffusion in a great vacuum.

The statement was frequently made that security was the emergency brake we had left on, and that so long as we had it we could have no atomic power. This was a special form of what has often seemed the most telling argument against security—the contention that it obstructs scientific progress. This

(Continued on Page 47)



Atomic Power and the China Doll

MYSTERIOUS CASE

OF
JOAN HINTON

IN our one world of danger, the United States cannot afford to be mistaken. The current drama in China might be a feint to divert attention from Europe, as the Berlin blockade in 1948 diverted attention from China.

But China is important. The ingredients of catastrophe might fuse there. Mistakes have been made in the past. Generals Hurley, Wedemeyer, and MacArthur have represented one side. John Carter Vincent, John Stewart Service, John Paton Davies have represented another. One side has been mistaken; in either case it represented us.

Even yet, American policy in the Far East is ambiguous, like the status of Owen Lattimore—called the architect of that policy, twice indicted for perjury, twice largely exonerated in the opinion of Judge Luther Youngdahl.

In our one world of danger no threat is too remote to be domestic. There is in the vast, exotic, and formidable obscurity of Asia an American woman with the plain name of Joan Hinton who confounds probability not only by having lived seven years in Inner Mongolia, but also by being an experienced Los Alamos scientist with atomic know-how more surely available to Soviet use than that of Pontecorvo or Fuchs. She has been a friend of Owen Lattimore and a friend of Robert Oppenheimer. Her sister has been a friend of Gregory Silvermaster. Her brother is a world traveler who in 1953 returned to the United States from Peking by way of Moscow and Prague. In 1954 he testified before the Jenner Committee, with frequent recourse to legal counsel and the Fifth Amendment.

It is indeed one world of danger, where this precocious daughter of a Vermont school principal may be a *femme fatale* with a vengeance, where this Mata Hari trudges in Mongolian mud to the dairy barn—nuclear cross sections in her mind and quantum mechanics “part of” her—interrupting these thoughts with the assessment of her Chinese friends, “They are not afraid of America. If she must fight, China will show that she is made of steel”—reflecting with evident satisfaction, “the Chinese people have a will so strong that nothing America can do will ever stop it.”

There is an American girl—a mentally brilliant representative of good stock, with superior advantages—particularly educational advantages. Something is wrong.

* * *

The known facts about Joan Chase Hinton are as follows:

1. She is an atomic scientist of some importance. How important relative to other scientists is hard to say, nearly all her work having been done at secret Los Alamos or in top-secret Red China, where she is now. Her name is signed to at least one Los Alamos Technical

Report. Like a by-line in a metropolitan paper, this confers status.

2. At Los Alamos she worked on a nuclear reactor called the “water-boiler.” This device has since the war been declassified. It was for some time the only “homogeneous” reactor in the United States. L. R. Hafstad, AEC Director of Reactor Development, has called it “the smallest and most economical type of chain reactor.” Joan Hinton also, according to AEC, “participated in critical assembly weapon work and attended weekly scientific colloquia, which gave her access to other classified information.” (Inside Los Alamos, scientists have always exchanged information freely even though they might be on different assignments. The matter of security “compartmentalization” was discussed in testimony of General L. R. Groves and of Dr. E. U. Condon, printed in *Facts Forum News* for January, 1955.)

3. Joan Hinton left Los Alamos in December, 1945. In Washington, D. C., she participated in the scientists’ lobby to influence legislation. In Chicago she was a student at the University and a part-time assistant to Dr. S. K. Allison, one of the foremost atomic scientists. Joan Hinton was offered employment in China in December, 1947, by the Communist “China Welfare Fund.” In 1948 she went to China. There she married an American exile named Sidney Engst or Erwin Engst. She is now employed, according to her brother, on a dairy farm, located, she has written, in Suiyuan Province, Inner Mongolia, near the Russo-Chinese border. Unconfirmed reports indicate an atomic installation in the area.

4. In September, 1951, the Chinese Communist radio broadcast, and the Chinese Communist English-language press printed, a letter which Joan Hinton had written to the Federation of American Scientists, 1749 L Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. In this letter she described the United States as a place where, “No matter where you turned, you were faced by war, secret work, the Navy, the Army, and madmen locked in their laboratories thinking up new and better methods of total destruction.” In contrast, she wrote, “The people of China want peace.” She urged the Federation of American Scientists: “Use your strength, use whatever you can to work actively for peace and against war.” At the same time she spoke of “the irresistible strength of New China,” which, said Joan, “will not tolerate any high-handed action against her sovereignty.”

5. In October, 1952, Joan went from Inner Mongolia to Peking where as a delegate to the “Asian and Pacific Peace Conference” she expressed “a deep sense of guilt and shame” for American use of the A-bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. “The audience gave a prolonged

standing ovation to Joan Hinton's stirring remarks," said the Communist Peking radio.

6. Joan Hinton's brother, William H. Hinton, has been an employee of the Red Chinese government. He worked for that government four or five years in China. Since the beginning of 1954 he has written and lectured in favor of Communist China in the United States. He was subpoenaed by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and testified July 27, 1954. He invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked, "Are you a Communist now?" and when asked if he had met his sister Joan when they were both in China.

7. Joan Hinton has a sister named, confusingly enough, Jean. In 1943 Jean, then employed in the Department of Agriculture, received an efficiency rating of "Excellent" from her supervisor, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, named by Elizabeth Bentley as head of a major Soviet spy ring. Jean Hinton's former husband, William Greene, has testified that he and Jean visited Silvermaster's home for dinner "in the order of ten times, anyway." Jean and William's own home, at 1739 Harvard Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., was visited by Silvermaster "infrequently," and about once a year by "successive air attaches" from the Russian Embassy, the first one being Colonel, or Major, Berezin.

8. Joan Hinton's mother is Carmelita Hinton, head of the Putney School in Vermont. Owen Lattimore has lectured there. Lattimore's son, David, went to school there, and with Mrs. Hinton and a Putney School group in 1947 went to Prague, Czechoslovakia, to attend a World Youth Festival.

9. Joan Hinton, her mother, and other members of her family were, one summer during World War II, given the use of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's New Mexico ranch, Perro Caliente.

* * *

The preceding list of facts is meager enough. Most even of this knowledge has come to light only recently. A few rather brief American newspaper accounts of the case of Joan Hinton were published in September, 1951, following the publication in Peking of her letter to the Federation of American Scientists.

The text of this letter was entered in the record in March, 1952, when Owen Lattimore appeared before the McCarran Committee, then investigating the Institute of Pacific Relations, and was questioned, among other things, about his acquaintance with Joan Hinton.

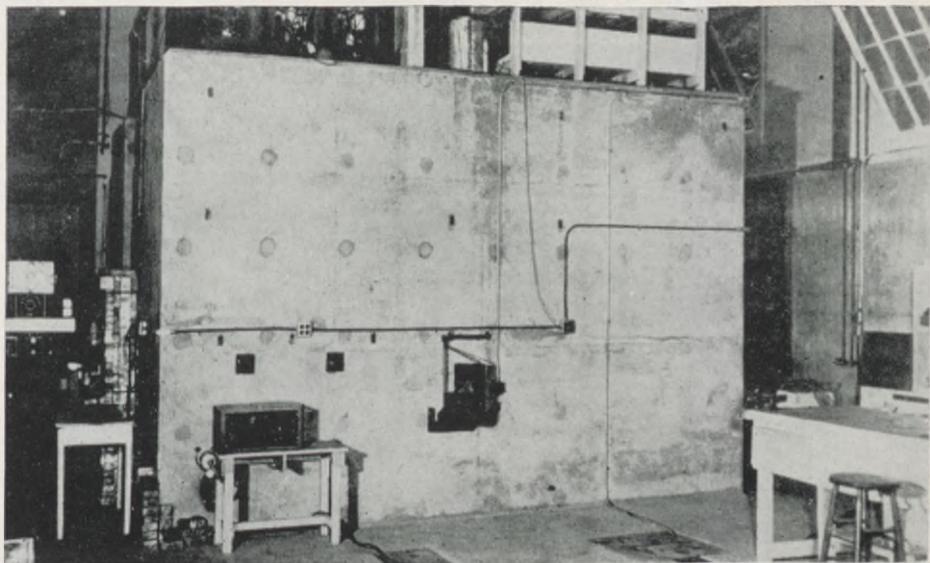
The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* was requested by Norman Bauer and Leonard T. Pochman (brother-in-law of David Hawkins, administrative aide to Oppenheimer at Los Alamos) to publish the Joan Hinton letter, but apparently never did so.

In October, 1952, after Joan Hinton had appeared at the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking, sketchy, and even misleading, statements were published in the United States. It was misleading, for example, to say—as the *Washington Star* of October 16, 1952, reported "an AEC spokesman" as saying—that "Miss Hinton held only a minor position at the Los Alamos lab and that she had nothing to do with the actual bomb." Of course her position was "minor" compared to that of a "name" scientist or a division chief, but she was a scientist, not a technician nor a laboratory assistant. She could sign a Technical Report. Oppenheimer called her "a staff member": That, at age 24, is success. She "may have been," wrote Oppenheimer, "a member of the team"

that assembled the first bomb at Alamogordo. AEC's official statement in July, 1954, that she "participated in critical assembly weapon work" corroborates Oppenheimer's recollection that Joan could very well have been present at Trinity, and corroborates her own boast at Peking that she had "touched with [her] own hand the very bomb which was dropped on Nagasaki."

Admiral E. M. Zacharias, famous Naval Intelligence officer, wrote an article about Joan Hinton, "The Atom Spy Who Got Away," published in *Real* magazine in July, 1953.

In July, 1954, the Jenner Committee (formerly the McCarran Committee, now—1955—the Eastland Committee) questioned William Greene and William H. Hinton, respectively brother-in-law



—Wide World Photo

View of the Los Alamos homogeneous reactor (water boiler) showing concrete shielding which surrounds the reactor on all sides except the front.



—Wide World Photo

This photo was released by Senator McCarthy (R-Wis.) who said it shows Owen Lattimore (right) and Philip Jaffe (center) at Communist headquarters in Yanan, China, in 1937. McCarthy's office identified the man at left as T. A. Bisson. The two women are not identified.

and brother of Joan Hinton. The record of this hearing is the principal source of information now available on Joan Hinton.

* * *

Joan Hinton is herself important and her connections are important. In the scanty publicity given her is a suggestion that there may have been some kind of "cover-up" in the case. The author of the suggestion later appeared to be of another mind. Perhaps it was felt once that the Joan Hinton case was being suppressed because of her connection with Oppenheimer, and that breaking it might break the Oppenheimer case, discussion of which was then taboo (especially in periodicals devoted to free, open, and fearless discussion of controversial questions). Now

be a very good thing. I think that, for instance, if in China, where I understand we are prepared to help with the generation of power in the Yangtze Valley, it were possible and sound to establish atomic power, it would be a very good thing to do that through the UN commission."

In the same month Frank Oppenheimer participated in a round-table conference in San Francisco on atomic energy sponsored by the Institute of Pacific Relations where "a scientist who had worked on the bomb" suggested that the United States "might supply atomic power plants to nations who do not now have the needed power to develop their raw materials. One operating uranium pile in China," he continued, "might be convincing testimony to the Chinese as well as the rest of the



—Wide World Photo

Robert Oppenheimer

Forum News presents a compilation of authoritative material on Joan Hinton.

* * * * *

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Owen Lattimore's testimony before the Senate Subcommittee investigating the administration of the Internal Security Act and before the Institute of Public Relations hearings. The following are questions of the hearing March 1952. Replies are by Lattimore.

Q. . . . reading of the name assures that the witness has had some dealings with the person. If not, the witness requested to so state when the name is read. Then the question is: In your dealings with this person, or in any other way, did you ever know or have any reason to believe that this person is a person under Communist discipline who had voluntarily and knowingly operated or collaborated with Communist party members in furtherance of Communist party objectives? Mr. Lattimore, do you understand that as applying to each name as we go down the list?

A. That is right.

Q. The next name is Joan Chase Hinton.

A. The answer is "No." I knew her very slightly.

Q. Do you know any other members of her family?

A. Yes, I know her mother.

Q. Who is her mother, Mr. Lattimore?

A. Her mother is the head of a school in Vermont.

Q. What is her name?

A. Carmelita.

Q. Are you a member of the board of that school, Mr. Lattimore?

A. No; I don't think so.



—Wide World Photo

Three Red army officers at Camden, S.C., to observe First Army maneuvers in 1941. Shown inspecting a U.S. Army plane, left to right, Major Paul Baraye, Col. Ilia Sarayev, and Col. Paul Berezin.

that the Oppenheimer case has been opened up, perhaps it is felt that the Joan Hinton case, which might have served as a lever, is no longer needed.

But the Oppenheimer case is not fully settled, thanks to Joseph and Stewart Alsop among others. The Lattimore case is not settled. The nature and extent of the power of Communist China are not settled.

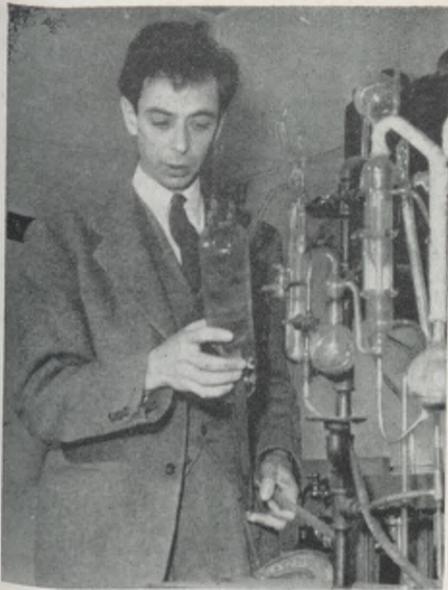
Robert and Frank Oppenheimer were thinking about atomic power in China in 1945. In the hearings on the McMahon Bill, in December, 1945, Senator Brien McMahon asked Robert Oppenheimer: "Have you considered the possibility of a UNO ownership of such power plants as might be developed?" Oppenheimer replied: "I think it would

world, that we do not intend to monopolize atomic power for our own selfish national interests."

There is the basic idea of the Atoms-for-Peace Plan presented at the United Nations meeting December 8, 1953, by our President, at the original instigation of Robert Oppenheimer.

But it was not necessary to wait for official, legal motions to be made in order to do something about "one operating uranium pile in China." Only, since it was Joan Hinton who would go to China, instead of a uranium "pile" it might be a "water-boiler," and that, as the AEC Director of Reactor Development said later, was the "most economical type of chain reactor."

In the succeeding columns, *Facts*



—Wide World Photo

Frank Oppenheimer

Q. Have you ever been a member of the board of that school?

A. No; I don't think I have. Let me ask my wife. I don't think so, no.

Q. Have you ever lectured or taught there at any time?

A. I never taught there. My son went to school there, and once or twice when I was up there I spoke at school gatherings.

Q. On how many occasions?

A. Maybe a couple.

Q. In what connection did you meet Joan Chase Hinton?

A. As Mrs. Hinton's daughter.

Q. Do you know any other members of the family?

A. I met her brother, who was at that time farm manager of the school.

Q. What is his name?

A. William.

* * *

Q. You have a son, David Lattimore, have you not?

A. That is right.

Q. Did he attend the World Youth Festival in Prague in 1947?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. Did you aid him in making plans to attend that?

A. Yes. Well, actually, he went with a school group, and the plans were made through the school.

Q. Was the World Youth Festival, as far as you know, a Communist project?

A. No, we didn't understand it to be so at the time. There were delegations from all kinds of non-Communist countries.

Q. Have you subsequently found out that it was a Communist project?

A. No. The Communist delegations were very active at the time, but I wouldn't be able to characterize it as a Communist project.

Q. Do you know who accompanied David on that trip?

A. Several people from his own school.

Q. Who were they, and what school was it?

A. The school was Putney School in Vermont, and the head of the school, Mrs. Hinton, also went to Czechoslovakia that summer.

Q. Who was Bertha Hinton?

A. Her daughter.

Q. Do you know whether Bertha Hinton was the one who was the identifying witness who gave the State Department, when he applied for his passport, gave him an affidavit of identification?

A. No, I don't know that. Bertha Hinton was a daughter-in-law of Mrs. Hinton, not a daughter.

Q. How was she related to Joan Hinton?

A. Joan Hinton was her daughter. They were sisters-in-law.

* * * * *

Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws, July 27, 1954. Senator William E. Jenner (R-Ind.), Chairman. Alva C. Carpenter served as committee counsel.

Testimony of William H. Hinton.

Q. Where do you reside, Mr. Hinton?

A. My permanent residence is Putney, Vermont.

Q. And what is your business or profession?

A. I have always been in the field of

agriculture, as an agriculture technician and farm manager.

Q. Are you in that field now?

A. At the present time, I am doing some lecturing and speaking.

* * *

Q. Where were you born, Mr. Hinton?

A. I was born in Chicago, Ill., on February 2, 1919.

Q. Where did you attend school?

A. Well, I graduated from high school at Putney School, Putney, Vt. I attended Harvard University for two years, starting in 1937. I then transferred to Cornell University and graduated from Cornell with a degree in agriculture in 1941.

Q. Prior to going to school, did you have occasion to travel in the Far East?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Were you employed in the Far East, in Japan?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. What was the nature of your employment?

A. I worked there as a news reporter on a newspaper called the *Japan Advertiser*.

Q. And who was the sponsor of that newspaper?

A. I never heard of a sponsor.

* * *

Q. What year was that?

A. If I recall correctly, it was in 1937.

(Continued on Page 40)



—Wide World Photo

William H. Hinton shown as he testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Q. Then you went to college after returning from Japan?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. And you graduated from Cornell?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. Where were you employed after leaving Cornell?

A. I was employed as the farm manager at Putney School in Putney, Vt.

Q. And how long were you in that employment?

A. Approximately one year.

Q. Who was your supervisor at the Putney School?

A. I believe the business manager was my supervisor.

Q. And when you left that employment, where did you go?

A. I was drafted, and I was sent to a CBS camp. I was at that time a conscientious objector.

Q. A conscientious objectors' camp where?

A. At Weston, N. H.

Q. And some time later you left that camp?

A. I applied for military service and was rejected.

Q. And how long were you in that camp?

A. Oh, about a year and a half, I believe, if I remember correctly.

* * *

Q. To whom did you make application when you joined the OWI?

A. I don't recall any specific person, sir. I applied for a job with the OWI and got one.

Q. And you went to China with the OWI in what year?

A. I believe it was 1945.

* * *

Q. What was the nature of your work with the OWI?

A. My title, when I was employed, was propaganda analyst.

Q. What background did you have for that particular type of work?

A. Previous employment as a newspaper reporter in Japan.

Q. Where did you go in China with the OWI?

A. I was first sent to Kunming, later to Chungking, and then I worked in the Hankow area, and also—well, I was in Shanghai before I went home. I didn't have any work there.

Q. Mr. Hinton, did you go to China alone, or with someone?

A. I went alone.

Q. Was your sister, Joan C. Hinton, there at the time?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. No, she was not.

Q. Did she come later?

A. Joan Hinton went to China later.

Q. And you met her there?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. She is working now on a dairy farm in the city of Sian.

Q. I asked you if you met her there?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. On the grounds of the Fifth Amendment, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Q. You do not care to tell us whether or not you met or conversed with your sister on either of the trips to China?

A. The same answer.

Q. You claim your privilege on that, Mr. Hinton?

A. The same answer for the same reason.

Q. Would you care to tell us what your sister was doing in China, if you know?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. She was working on a dairy farm.

Q. She worked on a dairy farm all the time?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I decline to answer that question, on the same grounds.

Q. On what grounds, Mr. Hinton?

A. On the grounds of the Fifth Amendment.

Q. That your answer might tend to incriminate you?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Hinton, are you familiar with a magazine called *People's China*, published September 16, 1951, in Peking, China, in which Joan Hinton wrote an article entitled, "Why China Wants Peace"?

A. I decline to answer on the same grounds. Look, Senator. I got a letter from your committee inviting me to come here to talk about my experiences in China, and I have prepared to do that. I should like to have a chance to read my statement.

* * *

Q. You did know, however, that your sister was a young American scientist formerly employed at Los Alamos? And then I think she went into Chicago?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Chairman: Mr. Hinton, when you are asked a question by any member of this committee or counsel, it is perfectly all right for you to consult your counsel before you reply, but please, Mr. Friedman, let the witness make his own answer.

Mr. Friedman: I take it, Senator, it has not been suggested that I haven't followed that procedure, has it?

Chairman: I notice that the witness turns to you sometimes before the question is fully stated, and you converse. I would like for the question to be stated, and if he wants any advice from you, it is perfectly agreeable with this committee that he confer with you, and that is our procedure.

Mr. Friedman: I know.

Chairman: But please let the witness testify, and not you.

Mr. Friedman: Of course.

Q. Mr. Hinton, you knew your sister to be a member of the Federation of American Scientists, did you not?

A. I decline to answer that, on the same ground.

Q. And if the testimony is produced here at this hearing or subsequent hearings showing that your sister was an eminent scientist studying in the atomic field, it is your testimony now that she is milking cows over in China. Is that correct? Or working at a dairy, I think you stated.

A. That is correct.

Q. What is she doing at that dairy?

A. She is working there, helping with the dairy farm, with the production of milk.

Q. Common labor?

A. No.

Q. What type of work, Mr. Hinton, if you know?

A. I am not aware of her exact duties there.

Q. General duties, I take it, around a dairy farm.

A. Correct.

Q. And she is not engaged in any scientific research at the dairy farm?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. No, she is not engaged in any such work.

Q. Mr. Chairman, at this time, as part of my cross-examination, I would like to ask you to admit, by reference, into evidence a magazine called *People's China*, Vol. 4, published in Peking, "Why China Wants Peace." As the second exhibit, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask you to introduce by reference a reprint of that article which was printed January, 1952, in a magazine called *New World*, published at 114 E. 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y.

* * *

Q. And what was the exact work you did there in China?

A. It was the analysis of Japanese propaganda and the writing of a weekly summary of all the things which the Japanese were saying at the time. And I turned this over to my superiors.

* * *

Q. And were you there when the war ended?

A. I believe I was, sir.

Q. And you did work after the war ended?

A. Yes; I worked for a few more months after the war ended.

Q. What was the nature of that work?

A. Well, I helped to finish off the work of the United Nations Picture News Office, which was an OWI project. I helped to wind up that work. I took a mobile movie-showing team through some of the provinces. And I believe

that is the two jobs I had after the war ended.

Q. Then you returned to the United States?

A. Soon after that, yes.

Q. And were released from OWI?

A. Yes.

Q. And then where did you go?

A. After the OWI, I worked for a number of months as an organizer for the Farmers Union, northeastern division.

Q. And what year was that, and month?

A. Well, that was in the summer and fall, if I recall correctly, of 1946.

* * *

Q. And who was the president of that northeastern division at that time?

A. Mr. Archie Wright.

Q. Did you know Archie Wright as a Communist?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I decline to answer that, on the basis of the Fifth Amendment.

Q. Did you have instructions from the Communist party to seek employment with the Farmers Union?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I decline to answer that, on the basis of the Fifth Amendment.

Q. Did you report to the Communist party in connection with your relations with the Farmers Union?

A. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Q. Are you a member of the Communist party?

A. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Q. Were you a member of the Communist party when you were in Japan in 1937 working on the *Japan Advertiser*?

A. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds, and I want to say right here that I think that the committee is very improper to ask any questions of this kind. I believe that it is an invasion of the rights of a citizen for a question of this kind to be asked, particularly as I was called here to talk about my experiences in China.

Chairman: Mr. Hinton, you must realize that the Communist conspiracy is a conspiracy to overthrow and destroy this government by force and violence. We, being a duly constituted committee of the United States Senate, feel that we have a responsibility to this nation. We think it is a very proper question. Now, you have your rights under the Constitution not to answer, under the Fifth Amendment, and you have exercised that right. We want to extend to you every courtesy. But we do not want you to argue with this committee on what its duties are and what they are not.

* * *

Q. You say you traveled considerably

there in northern China, from east to west, and north and south.

A. Yes.

Q. And that was during the period of the Korean war was going on; is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see American prisoners of war while you were in that section of China?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I decline to answer that question, on the same ground as stated before.

Q. On the ground of the Fifth Amendment?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have occasion to interrogate any American prisoners of war while you were in China?

A. I decline to answer that question, on the same ground.

Q. Mr. Hinton, do you mean to say that you, as an American, being over in this country, having had an opportunity to see one of our own boys who was a prisoner of war, feel, having been asked the question whether you talked to him or saw him, that if you should answer that it might tend to incriminate you if you told the truth?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. Just now I claimed the Fifth Amendment on that question, because it seemed to me we were getting into an area of linking me with Americans who have been under attack. But in thinking this over, I would rather answer that question. I saw no American prisoners in China.

Q. You saw none at all?

A. No.

* * *

Q. Mr. Hinton, maybe we can get at it this way. Did you see other Americans there in that area that had seen American prisoners?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I decline to answer that.

Q. You decline to answer that question under the Fifth Amendment; that your answer might tend to incriminate you?

A. Yes.

* * *

Q. Are you married, Mr. Hinton?

A. Yes.

Q. To whom are you married?

A. My wife's name is Bertha Hinton.

Q. And when were you married?

A. 1945.

Q. How many children do you have?

A. I have one daughter.

Q. Where are your wife and child now?

A. Well, the last time I saw them, they were in Peking.

Q. When was the last time you saw them?

A. I haven't seen them since I have

been back in America. It has been almost a year.

Q. Almost a year. You left them in Peking?

A. To the best of my knowledge, they are in Peking.

Q. Why do you say "the best of my knowledge"? Don't you know where your wife and daughter are?

A. Well, I have been away a year.

Q. Don't you hear from them?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. This is a personal question, which involves my marital relations, and I don't think that this is pertinent to this.

Q. We are certainly not trying to probe your marital relations, but certainly if you asked any American where his wife was he could surely answer.

A. Well, I answered it to the best of my knowledge.

* * *

Q. What have you been doing since you returned to the States?

A. Well, I have been giving a series of lectures on my experiences in China.

Q. On your own, Mr. Hinton? Or are you working for some organization?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. Yes; I am lecturing on my own as a free-lance lecturer to any audience that cares to hear.

* * *

Q. I hand you, here, an article entitled "Travelogue: Yenan to Mongolia," from the *Daily People's World*, Friday, January 8, 1954, author William Hinton, and I ask you if you are the author of that article.

A. I would like to see it.

Q. You may.

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel at length.)

Chairman: I call to the attention of the people at this hearing that congressional committees have been under some fire for their method of handling hearings, but in no court of law would a witness be permitted to sit and visit with his counsel before he responded to a question. It is being permitted in this hearing. It would not be permitted in a court of law.

A. This appears to be a reprint of something which I wrote while I was in China, and I am not sure whether it is accurate or whether it is in full what I wrote.

* * *

[Testimony follows which includes the reading of "about the author" material from the "Travelogue: Yenan to Mongolia" article as follows: "About the author: William Hinton is a United States agronomist who has spent the last several years in China. This article describes a trip he took to visit his brother-in-law, Sidney Engst, at a livestock experimental farm in Inner Mongolia."]

(Continued on Page 43)

Jenner Traces Hinton Pattern

Senator William E. Jenner, Internal Security Subcommittee Chairman, last September summarized the William Hinton testimony as follows:

Two months ago, one William H. Hinton appeared before the Subcommittee on Internal Security.

He returned to the United States in August, 1953, after a stopover in Moscow. Since his arrival in this country, he has been propagandizing on behalf of the brainwashing, soul-killing Red Chinese, whose soldiers were torturing and slaying Hinton's fellow Americans at the very moment he was on Red China's payroll.

The Subcommittee on Internal Security never scrutinizes participants in the Communist world conspiracy as mere individuals. None of them are mere individuals. They are cogs in a machine, threads in a fabric, figures in a pattern. It is the machine, the fabric, the pattern which we always seek to uncover and explain to the American people. So we looked at the pattern around William Hinton. Here is what we found.

To begin with, there is his family. One sister, Jean, was a friend of the notorious Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and worked under him at the old Farm Security Administration. Another sister, Joan, was an atomic research assistant at the Los Alamos project, where she had access to classified material. Like her brother, William, Joan also went to China and stayed there after the Communist triumph. She got a job through another American, Gerald Tannebaum, who was executive director of the China Welfare Fund headed by Madame Sun Yat-sen, one of the world symbols of Chinese communism. We shall hear about Tannebaum, the China Welfare Fund, and Madame Sun as these hearings progress.

In China, Joan married Erwin Engst, who was . . . an old UNRRA man. Today the Engsts are somewhere in the depths of Inner Mongolia, serving the Communist cause. Joan came out of obscurity long enough to make a bitterly anti-American speech at the Communist-inspired fraud known as

the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, regarding which the subcommittee also expects to reveal a great deal.

The Putney School, which is run by William Hinton's mother and where he himself was employed, is a story in itself. One of its faculty members was Edwin S. Smith. Smith later became a registered propagandist for the Soviet government. He distributed photographs attempting to prove that the United States practiced germ warfare in North Korea.

Another person closely associated with Putney was Owen Latti-



Senator William Jenner

more. The subcommittee found, after a 15-month inquiry, that Lattimore was a "conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."

Lattimore built the Pacific Operations Branch of OWI, for which Hinton later worked in Chungking. John K. Fairbank was at the top of OWI's Chinese organization. Benjamin Kizer ran the Chinese branch of UNRRA for which Hinton also worked.

Lattimore, Fairbank, and Kizer all were key figures in the Institute of Pacific Relations. All three were named as Communists in sworn testimony before us. All three denied the charge, but when counsel for the subcommittee asked Hinton about his connections with Lattimore and Kizer, he said it might incriminate him to

give a true answer to the question.

It was extremely interesting to learn that Hinton went on duty in Chungking at the end of World War II. He had some strange predecessors. There were, for instance, the political advisers assigned by the State Department to Lt. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, who was chief of staff to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek after the removal of General Stilwell. This choice little State Department group included John Stewart Service, John Paton Davies, Raymond Ludden, and John K. Emmerson.

"If I had followed their advice," General Wedemeyer said in testimony before the subcommittee, "communism would have run rampant over China much more rapidly than it did."

Gen. Claire Chennault, who saw this group in action, told our subcommittee that its members "functioned as a public relations bureau for the Yen-an Communists."

John Carter Vincent was on duty at Chungking during part of the war period. So was Solomon Adler.

The Loyalty Review Board found that there is a "reasonable doubt" about Vincent's loyalty to the United States. As for Adler, he was the chief Communist agent in China of Harry Dexter White.

Davies, in the unanimous opinion of the subcommittee, "testified falsely" when he appeared before us in 1952. According to Joseph Alsop:

John P. Davies, Jr., once seriously accused the Generalissimo of traffic with the Japanese on the odd authority of the vice-chairman of the Chinese Communist party, Chou En-lai.

So that is a picture of the original American group in Chungking, which cleared the path for the ultimate Communist victory.

What other Americans replaced them? Where are they now? What are they doing to aid and comfort the bloody cause of Red China? Who else and what else is in this pattern around William Hinton? What can we do to rip it apart? These were the obvious questions which confronted the subcommittee after Hinton appeared before us. These are the questions that must be answered, for the sake of America's safety.

HINTON TESTIMONY

(Continued from Page 41)

Q. Is that an apt description, Mr. Hinton? Would that identify you?

A. That certainly could well refer to me. I have written about a trip in China, but I certainly had no knowledge of its being printed in this paper.

Q. Where was that article published, that you wrote?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I wrote an article about that subject for the *China Monthly Review*.

Q. Do you have a brother-in-law by the name of Sidney Engst, E-n-g-s-t, who works at a livestock experimental station in Inner Mongolia?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. Yes, my brother-in-law goes by that name. I mean, he has that name.

Q. He goes by that name?

A. That is his name.

* * *

Q. Was he given that name by his parents?

A. Yes, as far as I know.

Q. He is married to your sister Joan?

A. Yes.

Q. Does she still go by the name of Joan Hinton, or does she take her husband's name?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. She goes by the name of Joan Hinton.

Q. She does not take the married name?

A. No.

* * *

Q. You did visit your brother-in-law, Engst, in Inner Mongolia?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I decline to answer that, on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment, as previously.

Q. Did you visit your sister in Inner Mongolia?

A. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Q. Did you visit anybody in Inner Mongolia?

A. I respectfully decline to answer that.

Q. You decline to answer whether you visited a shoe shop, a drugstore, or anything else, or the proprietor thereof?

A. I respectfully refuse to answer that.

Q. Now, Mr. Hinton, for the record, will you tell the committee how you arrived home, what mode of travel you followed?

A. I came by plane, train, and ship, and car.

Q. Where did you take the train?

A. I took the train from Peking across Siberia, the Trans-Siberian Railroad to Prague, Czechoslovakia. From there I flew by plane to London. From England I took a ship to Quebec, Canada.

Q. You did pass through Soviet Russia, then, did you not?

A. I traveled through the whole of it.

Q. And you had a stopover in Moscow?

A. I changed trains in Moscow.

Q. Did you have any conferences or conversations or meetings with anybody in Moscow?

A. I decline to answer that question, on the grounds previously stated, the Fifth Amendment.

* * *

[As testimony progressed, the committee's research director pointed out that the *Daily People's World* has been characterized by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of 1948 as "the West Coast mouthpiece of the Communist party."]

Q. On what kind of a passport did you travel when you went through Russia to Prague?

A. At that time, my United States passport was invalid, because it had run out, and I did not use it to travel, and I could not renew it in China because there were no American diplomatic representatives in China. So I traveled to Czechoslovakia with a Chinese exit permit.

* * *

Q. Did you know a Mildred Price?

A. I decline to answer.

Q. Madame Sun Yat-sen?

A. I met her.

Q. Did you have any dealings with her in connection with the Communist party?

A. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Q. Did you know a Gerald Tannebaum?

A. I decline to answer that question, on the same ground.

Q. Did you know Israel Epstein?

A. I decline to answer.

Q. Frederic V. Field?

A. I decline to answer.

Q. T. A. Bisson?

A. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Q. Talitha Gerlach?

A. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Q. Solomon Adler?

A. Same answer.

Q. Evans F. Carlson?

A. Same answer.

* * *

Q. Are you a brother of Jean Hinton, who was married to William Greene?

A. Jean Hinton is my sister.

Q. Did you visit at the Greene home? (Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I decline to answer that question, on the same grounds.

Q. Did you ever have occasion to stay at the Perro Caliente Ranch in New Mexico owned by Mr. Robert Oppenheimer?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Q. I have here a telegram from Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison, attorney for Mr. Oppenheimer, and I would like this to be placed in the record at this time relative to Joan Hinton.

It reads as follows:

Confirming my telephone call to you the passage from Dr. Oppenheimer's cable to his secretary responsive to your inquiry in the Hinton matter reads as follows: "We gave permission to Joan Hinton, mother and family, to use our ranch Perro Caliente in Upper Pecos for some weeks during wartime summer, probably 1945. Joan Hinton was niece of Sir Geoffrey Taylor, prominent and most helpful at wartime Los Alamos." Rest of Dr. Oppenheimer's cable dealt with matters at the institute unrelated to your question. I trust that so far as your inquiry concerning the Hinton matter is concerned, the information supplied is adequate. If you require anything further, please let me know.

Q. Did you know Geoffrey Taylor?

A. I decline to answer that, on the same basis.

Q. Is Geoffrey Taylor a relative of yours?

A. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Q. Did you attend the Peking Peace Conference in October of 1952?

A. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Q. Did you hear your sister, Joan, speak at that conference?

A. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Q. Was your sister there?

A. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Q. Under the Fifth Amendment?

A. On the same basis.

Q. I hand you, here, a copy of the *National Guardian* and a picture appearing there, and ask you if you recognize that as your sister Joan's picture. That is at the Peking Peace Conference.

A. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

* * *

Q. Did you hear her attack the United States at the conference?

A. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

* * *

Q. I have just received a cablegram from Robert Oppenheimer, which reads as follows:

Joan Hinton was a staff member of the Los Alamos Laboratory when I was its Director. She worked in one of the groups of the Physics Division. I would have written her a letter of appreciation after the war, as I did all members of the laboratory. I recall no other recommendation for fellowship or position nor serving as character witness on any occasion. She probably called at our home in Los Alamos infrequently. We gave her mother the use of our Upper Pecos Ranch in our absence some weeks one summer, probably 1945. Joan Hinton probably visited there then in our absence. She was not my guest at Alamogordo, but may have been a member of the team that worked there. I do not recall this. Do not believe I have seen her article in *People's China* or know its contents. Have not been in communication with Joan Hinton since she left for China. Should add that if asked to recommend Joan Hinton in 1945 would have known no reason not to.

ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

* * *

Q. I have a letter here from the United States Atomic Energy Commission, dated July 26, 1954, as follows:

This is in reply to your letter of July 23, 1954, which asked that we furnish the service record of Joan Hinton at the Los Alamos project and advise on the extent to which she had access to classified information.

Manhattan engineer district records show that Hinton worked as a research assistant at Los Alamos from February, 1944, to December, 1945. Most of her work at Los Alamos was in the development of the water boiler, a low-power reactor which has since been declassified. She participated in critical assembly weapon work and attended weekly scientific colloquia, which gave her access to other classified information.

Records show that Hinton enrolled as a student at the University of Chicago in March, 1946, and terminated at the end of the 1948 winter quarter. From April, 1946, to July, 1947, she was a part-time assistant to Dr. Samuel K. Allison of the Institute of Nuclear Studies.

Joan Hinton has never had AEC security clearance and did not have access to classified information after she left Los Alamos at the end of 1945. She has never been employed by the AEC or its contractors.

Sincerely yours,

R. W. COOK

(For K. D. Nichols, General Manager.)

Q. Do you not think it rather strange, Mr. Hinton, that your sister, with all this scientific background and experience, would be working on a dairy farm in Communist China at this time?

A. Mr. Chairman, I think that you invited me here to ask me about my experiences in China. I came three thousand miles at the taxpayers' expense. And it seems that this turns out that you are conducting an investigation about my sister and trying to get me to use against my sister.

Q. Mr. Hinton, we think it would be very valuable to this committee — this committee is charged with a duty. We are known as the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate. That is part of our responsibility.

Now, you have knowledge, I feel, that

you are not giving us. You said awhile ago that you were a good, loyal American. Why do you not help this committee?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. I am here to answer all proper questions, and that is all I will do.

Q. Well, it is a proper question for this committee to inquire why your sister, if you know, who had this vast experience in research in the Los Alamos project, a very sensitive project in this country, would now be devoting her work to a dairy farm in Communist China? Is that a proper question?

A. I have told you that that is her work, and I am certainly sure that that is what she is doing.

Q. How did she get to China?

A. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Q. You refuse to answer how your sister Joan got to China?

A. On the same grounds.

Q. I have here a letter to Miss Joan Hinton from Gerald Tannebaum, executive director of the China Welfare Fund:

CHINA WELFARE FUND
SHANGHAI, December 12, 1947.

Miss Joan Hinton,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MISS HINTON:

This is to notify you that you have been hired as fieldworker to the welfare work of the China Welfare Fund. We would like you to arrive in China to take up your duties as soon as possible.

The China Welfare Fund will be responsible for your housing while you are in China.

Very sincerely yours,

GERALD TANNEBAUM

Executive Director.

* * *

Q. Did Gerald Tannebaum invite you to China?

A. I decline to answer, on the same ground.

[Here the interrogator asked the committee's research director to "characterize the China Welfare Fund," to which he replied, "I will read an excerpt from a letter of the China Welfare Appeal, which says:

Dear Friend:

The China Welfare Appeal, which supports hospitals, schools, nurseries, and numerous cultural and educational projects in China, is going to send a special token of friendship to the Chinese people at this time in the form of hospital supplies. A gift will be sent through the China Welfare Fund, of which Madame Sun Yat-sen is the chairman in China."

The research director went on to add that "on April 1, 1954, the Attorney General cited the China Welfare Appeal, Inc., as subversive."]

* * *

Q. How long were you with the Putney School at Putney, Vt.?

A. I was employed there at two different times, each time for about a year.

Q. At that time were you a member of the Communist party?

A. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

* * *

Q. Did you know Owen Lattimore?

A. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Q. Wasn't he a member of the board of trustees of that school?

A. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

* * *

Q. Your mother was the founder of that school; was she not?

A. The founder and director.

* * *

Q. Were you a member of the Communist party when you were at school at Harvard and Cornell?

A. I decline to answer, on the same ground.

Q. Were you a member of the Communist party when you attended the Putney School?

A. I decline to answer, on the same ground.

Q. Were you a member of the Communist party when you worked for the Putney School?

A. Same answer.

Q. Were you a member of the Communist party when you were employed by the Putney School?

A. Same answer.

Q. Are you a member of the Communist party as of this moment?

A. Same answer.

Q. Have you ever engaged in espionage while a member of the Communist party?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

A. As for the question about the Communist party, the answer is the same. As to whether I ever engaged in espionage, that certainly is a very serious charge. Do you mean that you have a charge of that kind against me?

Q. This committee makes no charges, sir. We only seek information about the internal security of this country as a basis on which to pass legislation to protect the security of this country. We are not making any charges.

Can you answer the question or not?

A. I just want to make it clear that that is a pretty serious charge.

Q. It certainly is a serious charge.

A. Of course I have never engaged in espionage.

Q. Have you ever engaged in research for members of the Communist party?

A. Same answer.

Q. Same answer as what? The last answer?

A. I decline to answer.

Q. You mean your answer would tend to incriminate you, and you decline under the Fifth Amendment?

A. I decline under the Fifth Amendment.

(Continued on Page 47)

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GARET GARRETT's long and distinguished career included membership on the editorial council of the New York Times, and the position of Executive Editor of the New York Tribune. He became editorial-writer-in-chief for the Saturday Evening Post. His many books include *The People's Potage*, *The Bubble that Broke the World* and *The American Omen*. He died in November, 1954, lamented and honored.

Facts Forum
Dallas, Texas
Gentlemen:

I am enclosing \$7.90 for two copies of Dr. Medford Evans' book *The Secret War for the A-Bomb*. . . I want to pass it along to my friends . . .

Lewis H. Brereton, Jr.
7732 Old Chester Road
Bethesda, Maryland

* * *

A friend of Facts Forum relayed to us the following:

Thanks for . . . the interesting book, *The Secret War for the A-Bomb*. I am now engaged in reading it, and I find it intensely interesting. In fact, I wish you would let me know where I can order some more of these books, and the price of same, and I will send them to some of my friends.

Clifford Mooers
P. O. Box 417
Arcadia, California

PATRICK J. HURLEY
507 HOLLAND AVENUE
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

OFFICE PHONE 3 7891
RESIDENCE PHONE 2 9710

October 27, 1954

Dr. Medford Evans
c/o McMurry College
Abilene, Texas

Dear Dr. Evans:

I feel that I should apologize to you for having delayed so long before reading your book *THE SECRET WAR FOR THE A-BOMB* which you sent me.

The book as you will recall was inscribed to me by you at the suggestion of our mutual friend, Dr. Harold G. Cooke, President of McMurry College.

Your book is to my mind the greatest yet written showing the success of the Communist conspiracy in the United States. It is also the most lucid on the moral, social and political attributes of the atomic energy development. It is altogether a great book.

Aside from the contents of the book, the form and the presentation of your argument are both pleasing and convincing. The introduction by James Burnham is excellent.

Your book should be brought more generally to the attention of the American people. It should be read by everyone who still believes in the American system of individual liberty, regulated free enterprise, self-government and justice.

Sincerely,

Patrick J. Hurley

PJH:gw

The keynote to Evans' book is his impressive documentation. Were it not so massive, well chosen, and thoroughly applied, the startling thesis of the author might well strike the average reader as incredible.

Boiled down, this thesis is simply that it is not at all improbable that the Soviets possess some twenty A-bombs (either assembled or ready to assemble) within the continental limits of the United States. Planted in key positions, they would be already "delivered" and simple to detonate whenever the fateful decision on all-out war was made.

In support of his startling theory, Evans very reasonably shows that the U.S.S.R. is quite incapable of producing the finished materials of atomic bombs in any real quantities. Then he shows the ease with which these materials could have been quietly stolen from our plants and laboratories, particularly Oak Ridge (preparation of U-235) and Los Alamos (finished materials).

—F. W. FOSTER GLEASON
in *Ordnance*, March-April, 1954.

UNIQUE ROLE OF ADMIRAL STRAUSS

(Continued from Page 35)

argument, as usually put, overlooks the fact that from the point of view of the United States it is of the essence where the scientific progress in question takes place. Scientific progress in Soviet Russia would be scientific progress, but the results of it might well be injurious rather than beneficial to the United States. The point is so elementary that it may appear strange that there ever was any confusion about the matter. Yet in fact there has been much confusion, and the claim has repeatedly been made that the United States should lift security restrictions in order that scientific progress in general—thus including hostile as well as friendly nations—might be made more rapidly.

It has been customary for adherents of this position to state or imply that Strauss, like security-conscious men in lesser positions, has impeded progress. The *Atlantic Monthly* for September 1953 observed that "During his previous service on the AEC, Strauss became known as a great dissenter, often constituting the sole opposition within the commission. He had a passion for secrecy, as evidenced by his fight to prevent the shipment of medical radioisotopes to Sweden. [They were non-medical isotopes to Norway, but it doesn't matter.] Strauss was an exemplar of a sort of scientific isolationism, though no one ever challenged his knowledge or technical competence."

The challenge that has been made consists of the implication that Strauss as an American nationalist with tough ideas about internal security is willy-nilly interfering with "Achievement."

The slogan "Security by Achievement rather than Security by Concealment" implies that concealment is fatal to achievement. If it were so we should have nothing to fear from the Russians, as their concealment is just about perfect.

But the slogan is not true. Nor is the normal bureaucratic extension true—Security by Achievement and Achievement by Expenditure.

Concealment and Achievement in the international atomic competition are two phases of one job as surely as sales and collection are two phases of commerce. A special effort was made in 1950 to document the belief that security interferes with achievement, but the results were negative.

Lewis Strauss has contributed to the United States Atomic Energy Commission both Security and Achievement.

HINTON CASE CONTINUED from Page 44

THE JOAN HINTON LETTER

The reader is cautioned that the following document is of Communist origin, and was prepared to serve as Communist propaganda.

This article appeared in the PEOPLE'S CHINA of September 16, 1951. It was written from Communist China and carried this preliminary introduction:

Joan Chase Hinton, a young American scientist, witnessed the first atomic bomb explosion in the New Mexican desert. A graduate of Bennington College, Miss Hinton took up graduate studies in physics at the University of Wisconsin and at the University of Chicago. From 1943 to 1945, she was a research assistant at the atom bomb project at Los Alamos. An active member of the Association of Atomic Scientists, Miss Hinton was opposed to the secrecy and government control which became attached to all work on atomic research. She came to China in 1948. In 1949 she married and is now working with her American husband in an animal-breeding farm in Inner Mongolia.

With the publication of this letter, readers are given the opportunity to know the impressions of a young American scientist, living and working with the Chinese people, joining with them in their great work of peaceful construction.

FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS
1749 L STREET NW.,

WASHINGTON 6, D. C., U.S.A.

DEAR MR. WOLFE AND THE FAS:

Yesterday I received your application for re-membership in the Federation of Scientists. As I am just now almost directly under your feet, in Suiyuan Province, Inner Mongolia—where it takes two weeks for mail to arrive by donkey from the nearest railroad—I must say I was rather surprised and pleased to receive your application, and in two months' time at that.

You asked, "What has been happening to you since you were an FAS member?" As it was just the FAS and the questions with which it deals which drove me to China, I thought I would take the opportunity to write to you, though I should have told you long ago why my dues stopped coming.

As you probably do not remember me, let me begin by telling you a bit of my history. From as early as I can remember, I was determined to become a scientist. Even in grammar school, I can especially remember forcing the teachers to let me study Faraday's *The Candle* instead of taking Latin. In high school I concentrated on chemistry, oblivious to all my other courses. Finally, in college, I settled on physics, building a Wilson cloud chamber in my sophomore year and spending as much time as I could getting in the way of the

cyclotron boys at Cornell. From college I went to Wisconsin where I studied as a graduate student for two years. As people became more and more scarce, disappearing to secret places, I became restless, too, and finally ended up at Los Alamos where I worked another two years on the "W.B."

Then came the bomb and Hiroshima and the mass migration of atomic scientists to Washington. I first joined the association of Los Alamos scientists, and then spent some six weeks in Washington working for the FAS. Your pamphlet mentions the "enthusiastic if inexperienced emissaries" now flocked to Washington. I am afraid both these statements applied to me above anybody else—especially the inexperience. I will never forget my chagrin when I went to a certain Senator's office to get some information and the secretary condescendingly looked up at me asking, "Is this in connection with school work?"—me, an atomic scientist, coming to Washington to fight for scientific freedom and world peace—the very nerve of her! Well, my heart was in the right place anyway.

From Washington I went to Chicago as an assistant in the Institute for Nuclear Studies, and later as a Fellow. By 1948, I had about one more year to go for my degree. In physics I could not have dreamed of a better opportunity for studying—I loved it. I was just beginning to get the feel of quantum mechanics—as though it were a part of me instead of something strange in textbooks. I was devouring Dirac and what I could get hold of on statistical mechanics. Yet the better things became for me in physics, the more depressed I became. Ever since that morning when we sat on a hillock south of Albuquerque and felt the heat of that bomb 25 miles away, something had started to stir in me. It forced me to Washington. Then I forced it down and left for Chicago, but it refused to stay down. The Truman doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the stagnation of the Atomic Energy Commission in the UN—how could one just sit still in a laboratory and ponder in the depths of statistical mechanics. The memory of Hiroshima—150 thousand lives. One, two, three, four, five, six... 150 thousand—each a living, thinking, human being with hopes and desires, failures and successes, a life of his or her own—all gone. And I had held that bomb in my hand.

Could I sit and ponder Dirac? What was science for? For the sake of science? That is what I had thought

(Continued on Page 60)

COLUMNTATOR LAUREATE

Lynn Landrum is the highly original columnist—"columntator" is his word—of the *Dallas Morning News*. He customarily prefaces his racy prose with a slug of verse. Without anticipating the judgment of posterity it is a safe observation that Columntator Landrum lives up to his column title, which is "Thinking Out Loud." Poems from selected columns follow.

ON MARTIN DIES

I like a man who's not
Afraid of anything,
Whose back is spined with bone
And not a piece of string.

I like a man who speaks
His mind out plain and loud
And stands his ground instead
Of trailing with the crowd.

I like a man who dares
Refuse to go along
To get along a while
With compromise and wrong.

I like a man who spikes
His colors to the mast
In weather fair or foul.
A captain to the last.

ON THE LATTIMORE CASE

Who is partly loyal
And yet is partly not
Seems to pose the problem
Which building men have got:
Partly solid timber
That still is partly rot.

AGAINST SUBSIDIES

Skillet and rifle,
Powder and shot—
These were sufficient,
Grandfather thought.

Subsidy handed
Down from above
Now is the ticket
Citizens love.

Subsidize renters,
Subsidize cows,
Subsidize ranches
Out where they browse.

Borrow the money
Paid to the farm—
Deficits never
Did any harm.

Pile on the taxes,
Shoveling out
Treasury money
Freely about.

Skillet and rifle,
Powder and shot
Could be returning
Sooner than thought.

Crouch Contrasts With Confused Confession of Commie Cooperator

(See also Matusow Story on Page 31)

Harvey Matusow has said you must believe (1) that he is a liar, (2) that he is now telling the truth, (3) that no particular statement of his is a lie. If this is confusing it is no doubt intended to be. Matusow adds, dialectically, that since he cannot be trusted neither can Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz, Manning Johnson, nor Paul Crouch.

In contrast with this fey approach, Paul Crouch is in process of defending his own veracity by flatly charging Drew Pearson with "unmitigated falsehood."

On the ABC network February 20 Pearson declared: "Paul Crouch has been found to have lied twenty-eight times."

Ex-Communist Crouch, formerly a Consultant of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service issued the following statement from Volcano, Hawaii:

"Drew Pearson's statement on the ABC network that I lied twenty-eight times is a complete and unmitigated falsehood. He knows that I was the government's first witness in five Smith Act trials and a major witness in a sixth, and also in the perjury trial of Harry Bridges. On all of these occasions the Communists made frenzied attacks on my testimony. And in all of these cases, after evaluation of my testimony on direct and cross-examinations, the juries brought in verdicts of guilty. Drew Pearson thinks he can succeed where the Communist party failed. He thinks he can make the most fantastic and false charges with audacity and impunity because he has unlimited publicity channels, and he is confident I cannot get a forum to present the facts to the country.

"I do not believe Pearson would have the courage to face me on television, repeat his lies and give details, then permit me to reply in full and show the country the documented refutation of his fabricated and completely false charges.

"Pearson, of course, failed to mention the fact that a libel suit for \$500,000 was filed in New York State Supreme Court many months ago against the *New York Herald-Tribune* for publishing and distributing attacks on me written by Joseph and Stewart Alsop. In December, a libel suit was filed in New York against the Communist party and the *Daily Worker*. The December 14 issue of the Communist daily carried a large headline: STOOPLIGEON PAUL CROUCH SUES DAILY WORKER

SMOOT REVEALS HIS TRUE SENTIMENTS IN EL DORADO SPEECH

The following editorial is reprinted from the Eldorado, Arkansas, *Daily News*.

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 fundamentals.

He departed in part at least from his practice on the radio and TV of discussing both sides of issues. Those who have heard him know that he does such a good job on each side that it is difficult to decide just how he feels.

Tuesday night there could be no doubt that he stands for all of the things that have helped to make America the greatest land in the world.

He made a great plea for America to fight for freedom.

In speaking of the great responsibility, Smoot declared:

"We need to revive and keep alive the philosophy of government which has made this nation great."

He called the idea of collectivism the greatest villain of the 20th century, and asserted:

"America can and will discharge her responsibility in the world today if we do not remove the ancient landmarks which our fathers have set."

In his freedom plea, Smoot said:

"The black shadow of total slavery covers half the earth and is inching relentlessly, like an ice cap, over the rest of the world—if we permit freedom to go out in America, the darkness will be total."

We think these remarks give plenty of food for thought for all Americans, and at the same time serve to clear the atmosphere as to the aims and purposes of the organization which he represents.

FOR \$150,000. The next day, December 15, I was the target of Drew Pearson in his syndicated 'Merry-go-Round' column, with libelous and completely untrue statements about me.

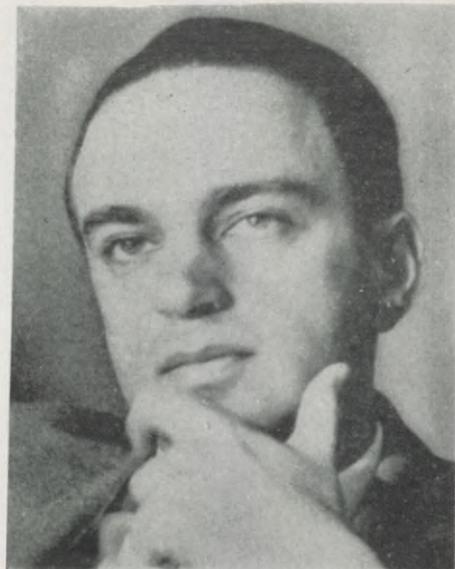
"I have written to Drew Pearson and to the American Broadcasting Company, demanding a complete retraction of Pearson's false statement about me on the network Sunday. I have advised them that if such a retraction is not made that libel suits will be filed against them for not less than one million dollars."

ROY COHN

and the

ATOM SPIES

Cohn's historic interrogation of David Greenglass sent Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to the chair. The Rosenberg case became world-famous in 1953 when Communists sought clemency and wanted publicity, but at the time of the trial in 1951, it was lost in the glare from the Kefauver hearings. *Facts Forum News* begins serialization from record of trial.



—Wide World Photo
Roy Cohn questioned Greenglass.

Selections from the testimony of David Greenglass, with Roy Cohn as interrogator, March 9, 1951.

Q. Your sister is the defendant Mrs. Ethel Greenglass Rosenberg; is that correct?

A. That is true.

Q. And another defendant, Julius Rosenberg, is your brother-in-law?

A. That is true.

Q. Now, in 1943 did you enter the Army of the United States?

A. I did.

Q. Now, am I correct in stating that during the next year, July, 1943, to July, 1944, you were stationed at various posts, Army posts, throughout the United States?

A. I was.

Q. Now, in July of 1944, did you receive a new assignment?

A. I did.

Q. To what location? At what location?

A. To Oak Ridge, Tennessee, the Manhattan Project.

Q. When was that?

A. It was July, 1944.

Q. Did you at that time know what the Manhattan District Project of the United States Army was?

A. I did not.

Q. You know now it was the project in charge of construction of the atomic bomb, is that correct?

A. I do.

Q. Now, when you were out at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, in July of 1944, how long did you stay out there?

A. About two weeks.

Q. Now, during that period were you given any security lectures?

A. I was.

Q. Did they concern the new duties you were to undertake?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. Were you told anything about the

nature of those duties and the nature of the work at Manhattan Project?

A. I was.

Q. What were you told?

A. I was told that it was a secret project.

Q. Were you told at that time what was going on at that project, what was being constructed?

A. No.

Q. You were told nothing about that, is that correct?

A. Nothing at all.

Q. Was the Espionage Act mentioned to you in connection with revealing any information as to what was going on in the Manhattan Project?

A. It was.

Q. After your two weeks' orientation at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, were you then assigned to report to some other place in the United States?

A. I was.

Q. Where was that?

A. Los Alamos, New Mexico.

Q. How did you go out there?

A. Train all the way.

Q. About when did you report at Los Alamos?

A. August, 1944.

Q. When you reported at Los Alamos were you given certain instructions concerning the duties you were to pursue out there?

A. I was interviewed for a job.

Q. Did there come a time when you were told that you would work as a machinist in the shop?

A. That is right.

Q. Were you told at that time the nature of the work being done at Manhattan Project?

A. No.

Q. Was the fact that it was secret reaffirmed to you?

A. It was.

Q. Were you told just how much you

were to know about what was going on at Manhattan Project?

A. I was told I was to know as much as was necessary to do my job.

Q. And nothing more?

A. Nothing more.

Q. Now, would you tell us at this point when it was that you learned for the first time that the Manhattan Project District was the district of the United States Army concerned with the construction of the atomic bomb?

A. When my wife [Ruth Printz Greenglass] came to visit me in November, 1944, she told me that Julius had said that I was working on the atomic bomb. [Emphasis supplied.]

Q. And that was the first you knew of it?

A. That was the first I knew of it.

Q. You had never been told that by anybody in an official capacity of the United States government?

A. No, sir.

Q. During the first few months you did not know just what was being done at Los Alamos?

A. That's right.

Q. Now, I think you said you were assigned to work as a machinist?

A. I was.

Q. And where, physically, was your work done?

A. It was at a shop called the "E" building shop or the "student shop" in the technical area at Los Alamos.

Q. Did the "E" group have a head or a leader?

A. It did. His name was Kistiakowski.

Q. Is that Dr. George B. Kistiakowski of Harvard University?

A. That's right.

Q. And do you know what his professional standing is, in what field he is known?

A. Yes, I do. He is a thermodynamics man.

Q. Thermodynamics?

A. Physical chemistry.

Q. In general terms, what was group "E" concerned with?

A. With high explosives.

[At this point in the testimony, Greenglass explains that after certain personnel changes, he became assistant foreman of the Los Alamos machine shop and in late 1945 or early '46 he became shop foreman for several months prior to his honorable discharge from the Army as sergeant T/4 in February, 1946.]

* * *

Q. Now, going back to the time when you undertook your duties as a machinist at this "E" shop out at Los Alamos, would you tell the court and jury, in general terms, just what your duties were—what you did over the period of time you were working in the machine shop, as a general proposition?

A. Well, the shop itself took jobs from various scientists and made apparatus whenever they needed it; and there were two methods of jobs coming through the shop. When a scientist needed a piece of apparatus, he just sent it through procurement and it was sent to either one of the three shops in the technical area.

That was one way; and they would be distributed according to how much work each shop had. The other way was go directly to Fitz [Fitzpatrick, who was in charge of procurement and the machine shop of "E" group at one time] and say, "How about getting this job done?" And usually it was put through, or the sketch or piece of paper or the scientist talking to one of us machinists to do it.

Q. In other words, it was your job to machine this particular apparatus or product that the scientist required in connection with his experimentation on atomic energy; is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. Now, did the physical location of



—Wide World Photo

David Greenglass as he testified at Federal Court, New York, March 12, 1951.

your "E" shop remain the same during your entire stay at Los Alamos?

A. No, it didn't. In the fall, 1944, we had a building built and the whole procurement section moved into that building. It was called the "Theta" building.

Q. Did you continue to do work such as that which you have described to us until the time that you left Los Alamos?

A. I did.

Q. You have told us about the security talks you had at Oak Ridge and about what was told you concerning the secret nature of your work when you got out to Los Alamos. In addition to these oral instructions, were you given any written material containing security regulations and telling you just what you were at liberty to disclose and what you should not disclose?

A. I was given such a book.

Q. I might read just a few brief portions to the jury. The exhibit itself is marked "Restricted." The word on the beginning of the first page is "Security." The first two paragraphs read as follows:

This handbook has been designed to provide members of the technical area staff and their families with a concise summary of existing security regulations. It should be understood that to obey these regulations is a minimum requirement. There is a further obligation on the part of everyone to maintain a constant and intelligent interest in the prevention and reporting of all incidents whose occurrence endangers the security of the project. It is a basic policy of the project that everyone working here should know whatever is required for doing his job well. It is therefore of greatest importance for each person to understand that he is in a position of trust with regard to all such information and also with regard to information which he may accidentally gain about other confidential matters.

There is further descriptive material. On page 2 there is a section entitled "Communication."

(A) There must be no conversation outside the technical area, or in the presence of unauthorized persons, and no information in personal letters, conveying any of the following kinds of information:

1. The purpose of the project.
2. The general problems being worked on.
3. Technical data connected with 1 or 2 above.
4. The scheduling or general progress of the work.
5. Any over-all account of the personnel employed on the project.
6. The procurement or presence here of essential materials and installations.

By "unauthorized persons" are meant persons whom you do not know to have the permission of their group or divisional leaders or the director to receive the information in question.

(B) There must be no conversation outside the post, or in the presence of unauthorized persons, and no information in personal letters, conveying any of the following kinds of information:

1. The professions or former connections of persons working in the technical area.
2. The name of the contractor under whom the project is being run.
3. Affiliation of this project with other war projects.

4. The size of the project or post, or other significant features, such as water supplies, fire-protection installations, etc.

5. The general kinds of work going on in the technical area. We are engineers; the technical area should be called only "the technical area."

By "unauthorized persons" are meant persons who do not live in or have access to the post, or who, living here, have no reason to receive the particular class of information.

6. Your address, P. O. Box 1663, Santa Fe, New Mexico, may be given to family, friends, and in private business dealings. Do not use Los Alamos stationery in private correspondence.

Q. By the way, were badges worn out there?

A. They were.

Q. Having different significance?

A. They were.

Q. How did they go, by color?

A. By color.

Q. What did a color represent?

A. A white badge was authorized to go to the seminars and be let in on all the information that was available on the bomb.

Q. Were there any other colors?

A. There was a red badge which allowed the bearer to get all the information necessary to be able to do his job; and then there was a blue badge which allowed — well, it allowed the bearer to go into the tech area to do various jobs like steamfitting or ditch-digging, but not to be around any of the equipment or to see any of the experiments.

Q. Now, I assume that is what this regulation refers to when it says that you are to report any person wearing the wrong badge to the authorities?

A. That is right.

Q. When observed in a certain area?

A. That is right.

Q. Did you yourself have a badge?

A. I did.

Q. Now, specifically, you told us that Dr. Kistiakowski was out at Los Alamos and was in fact the leader of Group "E."

A. Right.

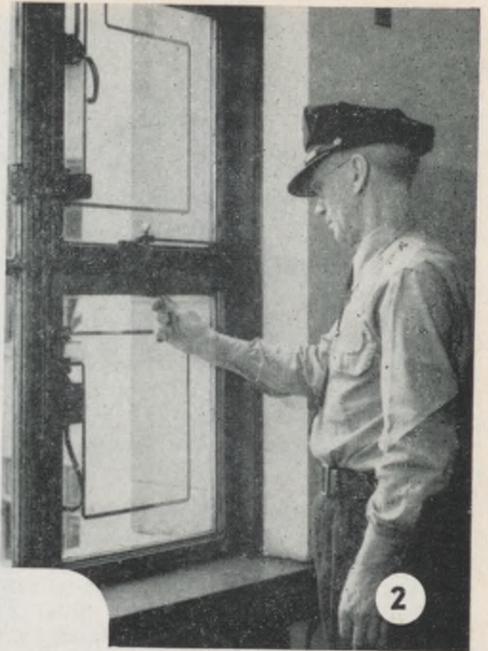


—Wide World Photo

Atom spy team Julius and Ethel Rosenberg



1



2

AEC Security

is serious business at Washington HQ (photos 1 and 2) and Los Alamos. System worked against Nazis. Commie penetration was inside job.

1. Armed guards face toward entrance while another escorts visitor to elevator. Signs remind all visitors about security.

2. Guard examines window marked by tape which carries electric current. Attempt to open window would sound alarm.

3. Los Alamos workers living off the premises are shown being checked in "by numbers."

4. Inspector checks maintenance truck at gate. To obtain entry, a pass is needed.

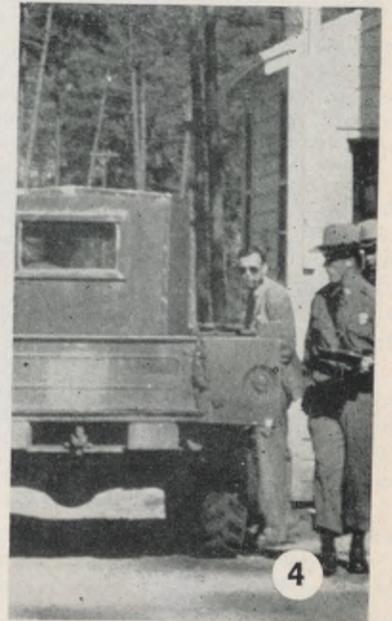
5. Men of the Los Alamos Security Service learn how to use a half dozen different kinds of weapons. Lt. Herbert Hurt examines target after shooting. Out of eleven visible holes, seven are bulls-eyes.

6. At Los Alamos, in simulated raid on criminal hideout, one guard searches for weapons while another holds gun in readiness.

—Wide World Photos



3



4



5



6

Urey Cites Role of Roy Cohn In Conviction of Sobell

CHICAGO, Feb. 13.—Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize scientist, expressed the belief here last night that "injustice had been done" to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and that

many others in the U. S. today are similarly threatened.

Speaking at a banquet of more than 700 guests in his honor, the distinguished physicist pleaded for people to "try to do something about this series of doubtful trials or quasi-judicial procedures that threaten our security as individuals living in a great free country."

Dr. Urey declared that Morton Sobell, convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage and serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz, "was not properly tried" and that "the verdict and the sentence were not justified."

The testimonial to Dr. Urey was held under the auspices of the Chicago Sobell Committee at the Hamilton Hotel. Mrs. Helen Sobell, wife of the imprisoned man, presented the scientist with a bound volume of scrolls inscribed with a tribute to Dr. Urey from

prominent persons throughout the world. Among the signers were Robert M. Hutchins, educator, and Arnold Toynbee, British historian.

In a detailed analysis of the Rosenberg-Sobell case, Dr. Urey declared:

"If proper trials cannot be secured for unpopular people, then it will become impossible to secure justice for other somewhat less popular people and so on until no justice is possible at all."

Dr. Urey criticized the use of the professional informer by the Department of Justice and congressional committees and cited the recent statements by Harvey

Matusow that he gave false testimony and that Roy Cohen was in complicity with him. While saying that Matusow's accusations against anyone could not be relied upon, Dr. Urey pointed out that



UREY

Roy Cohen was assistant prosecutor against Sobell and the Rosenbergs.

He pointed out that Sobell had been convicted on the word of an admitted perjurer who hoped for

leniency in testifying against Sobell.

"The concern with our basic security as a country," he said, "has led many people, often in high places, to look for a scapegoat, that is, an easy way to solve our difficulties. That scapegoat has been spies, espionage agents, subversives in government. I do not condone such agents but if all Communists and Communist sympathizers should quietly die, the fundamental insecurity of this country would be the same as it is now."

"This very well justified concern for our security in a modern, dangerous world has led us to do things which will undermine our way of life, our form of government and our freedom."

Dr. Urey cited the Oppenheimer hearings, Dr. Condon's clearance problems, the Lattimore case, passport problems and visa problems.

Other speakers included Carey McWilliams, author and editor, and Prof. Harry Kalven, of the University of Chicago. Stephen Love, Chicago attorney, was dinner chairman.

Q. And that his reputation is in the field of physical chemistry?

A. That is right.

Q. Thermodynamics?

A. That is right.

Q. While out at Los Alamos did you come to learn the identity of any other scientists who were present and working on atomic energy?

A. That is correct.

Q. Would you name one or two of those?

A. I did get to know a number of scientists and some of world fame, for instance, Dr. Oppenheimer, whom we knew as the head of the project.

Q. J. Robert Oppenheimer?

A. That is right, and there was Neils Bohr, whom I first knew as Baker.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. It was a pseudonym to keep his identity secret.

Q. And you were told he was Dr. Bohr, is that correct?

A. That is right. In passing, one of my colleagues said, "That's Baker, and he is Neils Bohr."

Q. You knew that the information as to who Dr. Bohr out there was was a secret?

A. I did.

Q. As a matter of fact, I think that this very security pamphlet states that the identity of scientists out there and their former occupation was not to be discussed by any unauthorized person, is that right?

A. That is right.

Q. I assume as a practical matter that one's former occupation in a particular field of science would be a clue to the particular work he might be doing?

A. That is correct.

Q. Is that the reason for this regulation?

A. That is the reason for it.

Q. In addition to Mr. Baker whom you came to know as Neils Bohr and Dr. Oppenheimer, may I ask you specifically, did you know that Dr. Harold Urey was connected with the Manhattan Project?

A. I did.

Q. About what point after your arrival at Los Alamos did you learn that fact?

A. Oh, it must have been about December or so.

Q. When did you learn about Dr. Oppenheimer? I do not think you told us about that.

A. That was almost at the beginning of the time I was there.

Q. And there were other scientists there; is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. Whose identities you had learned?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, was one of the scientists who was present at Los Alamos and whose name and presence you came to know, Dr. Walter Koski?

A. That is correct.

Q. Did you do any work at any time in connection with apparatus that Dr. Koski required in the course of his experimentation on atomic energy?

A. I did.

Q. Did you specifically work on the machining of a flat-type lens mold and other molds which Dr. Koski required in the course of his experimentation on atomic energy?

A. I did.

Q. Now did there come a time when the first atomic explosion took place?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that?

A. July, 1945.

Q. Where?

A. Alamogordo, New Mexico.

Q. In the course of your employment

at Los Alamos did you hear discussion concerning this atomic explosion?

A. I did.

Q. Was that after the explosion or did you hear about the anticipated explosion?

A. I heard of an explosion to take place at Alamogordo.

Q. Was that before?

A. I heard that before. Afterwards I heard of the atomic explosion that took place at Alamogordo.

Q. Now am I correct in stating that during the entire period of your stay in Los Alamos, 1944 to the time you were discharged in 1946, you worked in the machine shop and in the Theta shop on apparatus and equipment in connection with experimentation on atomic energy?

A. I did.

Q. Was that work pursued in the manner you have described here from sketches supplied and verbal descriptions by the particular scientists out there who required the apparatus?

A. I did.

Q. I think you have told us, Mr. Greenglass, that your sister Ethel was a number of years older than you are; is that correct?

A. She is.

Q. How much older is she?

A. Six years older.

Q. Do you remember the year in which she was married to the defendant, Julius Rosenberg?

A. 1939.

Q. Had you come to know Julius Rosenberg before your sister married him?

A. I did.

Q. Was he around your house?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. And you were 17 years old at the time they were married; is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. Did you have any discussion with Ethel and Julius concerning the relative merits of our form of government and that of the Soviet Union?

A. I did have such discussion.

Q. Over what period of time, roughly?

A. From about 1935 to about 1945 or 1946. [Discussion with Julius began about 1937.]

Q. Were those discussions numerous?

A. At the beginning, yes.

Q. In the early period how frequently would they express their views regarding the relative merits of the two countries?

A. I would say two or three times a week.

Q. Did the conversations run along the same line over a period of years?

A. Well, roughly, they did. The conversations on the merits of socialism over capitalism I think in the beginning were more vehement.

Q. Talking about socialism over capitalism, did they specifically talk about



—Acme Photo

Morton Sobell, convicted with the Rosenbergs of atomic espionage, is now serving a 30-year term in Alcatraz. The Communist DAILY WORKER keeps up a running fire of propaganda for his release.

socialism as it existed in the Soviet Union and capitalism as it existed here?

A. They did.

Q. Did they prefer one over another?

A. They preferred socialism to capitalism.

Q. What type of socialism?

A. Russian socialism.

Q. Now, you say in the early period these conversations were to your knowledge two or three times a week?

A. Yes.

Q. That is your best estimate?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did they take place?

A. At my mother's home, 64 Sheriff St., [New York City].

Q. What do you describe as the early period? It started in 1935.

A. Well, I would say before 1939.

Q. Before the Rosenbergs were married, I assume these conversations took place in the home of your mother. I suppose after that they took place some place else and after that some place else, but these conversations continued until 1945 or 1946 and all along the same lines?

A. They did.

Q. Mr. Greenglass, when you went out to Los Alamos, was your wife out there with you?

A. No, she wasn't.

Q. I think you told us she went out there in August of 1944; is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. When after August of 1944 did you see your wife?

A. She came to visit me on our second wedding anniversary. It was November 29, 1944.

Q. For how long a period of time was she out in Los Alamos?

A. I got a three-day pass plus a two-

day weekend, which made five days.

Q. Where did she stay? Was she out at Los Alamos?

A. No, she stayed at Albuquerque.

Q. Where—at an apartment, hotel?

A. In a hotel.

Q. You had five days off and joined your wife at the hotel in Albuquerque?

A. That's right.

Q. Was there any time during those five days when you had a conversation with your wife concerning the atom bomb?

A. I did.

Q. When during that five-day period was that conversation had?

A. In the latter half of the furlough. We went for a walk out on Route 66, past the city, Albuquerque city limits, and not yet to the Rio Grande River, and my wife started the conversation.

Q. Will you tell us, Mr. Greenglass, what your wife said and what you said.

A. My wife said that while she was still in New York Julius Rosenberg invited her to dinner at their house at 10 Monroe Street. She came to dinner and later on there was a conversation between the three present—my wife, my sister, and my brother-in-law.

It went something like this: Ethel started the conversation by stating to Ruth that she must have noticed that she, Ethel, was no longer involved in Communist party activities—that they don't buy the *Daily Worker* any more or attend meetings, club meetings.

And the reason for this is that Julius has finally gotten to a point where he is doing what he wanted to do all along, which was that he was giving information to the Soviet Union.

And he then went on to tell Ruth that I was working on the atomic bomb project at Los Alamos, and that they would want me to give information to the Russians. [Emphasis supplied.]

My wife objected to this, but Ethel said—

Q. Is this what your wife told you? Did your wife use the word "object"?

A. She told me that she didn't think it was a good idea and that she didn't want to tell me about it.

But they told her that I would want to know about it and that I would want to help, and that at least—the least she could do was tell me about it. So that was the conversation.

At first—she asked me what I thought about that—at first, I was frightened and worried about it and I told her that I wouldn't do it. And she had also told me that in the conversation Julius and Ethel had told her that Russia was an ally and as such deserved this information, and that she was not getting the information that was coming to her. So later on that night after this conversation, I thought about it; and the follow-

(Continued on Page 62)

Could the United States 'Go It Alone'?

(Continued from Page 11)

period since the war, nuclear weapons have been the primary deterrent that has prevented the Soviet Union from completing the conquest of Eurasia.

I think that if we maintain our technological superiority and follow a really intelligent military policy, we will be able to continue to hold them back in that way. Under the cover of this nuclear armament, it seems to me that we have the opportunity of maintaining a far more dynamic political policy aimed at the breakup of the Soviet empire than we have so far been doing.

Q. What are the chances of the United States being forced into a position where we would have to "go it alone"?

(GARRITY): Well, we've been "going it alone," to a degree. The Korean example of dropping those 120 thousand casualties over there is what I call an example of "going it alone," with lip service from other people.

Now the thing I dread is the breakup of the American spirit from within. In other words, if this country can be torn apart and made weak and softened up for the Russians from within—that's the thing we must stop at all events.

I think that we will only be forced to "go it alone" when it is too late. I think if we follow what Jim Burnham has said by using intelligent diplomacy, particularly toward our Latin American friends whom we have done nothing but insult for the past twenty-five years (ever since Herbert Hoover made a good-will tour down there), we have practically made enemies of all the decent people down there as we've encouraged their left-wing group and dissident groups down there. All we have to do is to be intelligent about making friends.

Regarding the possibility of the United States being forced into a "go it alone" position, I think the chances are very good, if the present tendencies continue. I think they're very poor if we change our present tendencies and become intelligent in our world diplomacy.

Q. What are the chances of the Soviets taking over great areas of the rest of the world either through infiltration or active outright aggression?

(COMBS): I think we are in some danger now of bringing this catastrophe down on our own heads. I think that we are incurring it through a reduction of our military establishment, through the curtailment of our defense setup.

I think we are in danger of it through the growing tendency toward isolation-

ism in our country. I think we are in danger of it as a result of the unwillingness of many Americans to recognize the nature of the economic problem abroad and to make adequate provision to rehabilitate and sustain certain shattered European and world economies.

I think we are in danger of it because we don't understand the dimensions of the threat—nor do we understand the calamitous nature of the accomplished event. The Eurasian land mass, to which Africa is an appendage, would inevitably hold the preponderating strength in any world situation. Therefore, our policy (and I go along with Mr. Burnham in this) must be a more dynamic one than it has been, but as a postulate of that I would certainly assume the creation of a larger rather than a reduced military establishment.

U.S. HAS SOME FRIENDS

(BURNHAM): I wonder if it would make sense for me to put it in this way—that the best way to avoid having to "go it alone" in practical, technical, and military terms is to go a good deal more alone in terms of policy. As a matter of fact, the United States has some real friends in the world—friends who are ready to stand by no matter what happens.

We saw that in Korea. It was the Turkish brigade, for instance, that I understand fought the best of all except, perhaps, the American soldiers. Some say they fought better than some of ours.

Greece is with us; Spain is with us. I know from my own experience in Europe that the common people of Europe, the ordinary citizens, not the intellectuals in the cities and some of the political groups that have been corrupted by cynical and materialist philosophies, but the ordinary Europeans—they also are with us.

CHINESE ARE WITH US

The Chinese in their bulk are with us. Where we get into trouble is that instead of having a policy that boldly proclaims our own principles and our own destiny, we tend to subordinate it to the worn-out European politicians in some of the older European countries—the countries precisely the weakest so far as we are concerned.

Q. Is it significant that you did not mention France and Italy in mentioning the countries that are with us?

(BURNHAM): They were very deliberately omitted, very deliberately indeed. Both France and Italy have mass Com-

munist movements internally. In my opinion, it is a law of contemporary history that no country having a mass Communist movement can possibly remain firm against the Soviet Union.

Assuming the Communist movements of France and Italy continue on the scale that they are now operating, any idea that France and Italy would fight the Red army is an illusion. And if the Pentagon is counting on that, it's going to have a terrible awakening.

Q. You mentioned that we cannot count on the support of France and Italy. If we lost France and Italy, would we not quickly lose the support of the rest of the nations?

(HODGES): That's just where I want to come in. I think we cannot afford to take a defeatist attitude about any country in the Western orbit at this time, and I believe that no battle is lost until the Communist flop has taken place.

OUR FATAL BLUNDER

Also, I would go along with your cautious attitude toward overreliance upon either France or Italy, but I don't think that you have any defense of the West unless we can so sell democracy once again to these people that they will come back into the picture. That's where I think our fatal blunder is—we can't write them off, Burnham; we've got to work with them.

(GARRITY): We've been selling democracy for five years over there to the tune of half a billion dollars, and we've come from the most loved nation in the world when we're in there with a conquering army (not as democrats) to the most hated nation in the world with all of this democracy nonsense that we've been handing out.

(COMBS): What do you mean by "democracy nonsense"?

(GARRITY): Just that; specifically that!

(COMBS): I thought so; I thought so—that's implicit in your whole approach to these matters.

(GARRITY): We are telling—

(COMBS): Democracy is nonsense.

(GARRITY): It is as we dish it out to other people.

(COMBS): And apparently as we practice it at home.

(GARRITY): No, no, as we dish it out.

(HODGES): I believe in the first place that you don't "dish" these things out. I think that you work together, and I believe that the very process of working together through democratic organization in the West—NATO, for instance—could go much further in this direction—quite apart from the military activity.

I think that we have to do these things, otherwise you're simply surrendering Italy and you're surrendering

France without a fight, and it makes your problem of liberation that much harder, my friend.

U.S. NOT MOST HATED NATION

(BURNHAM): May I pick up one remark of Devin Garrity's? I don't at all believe that we are the most hated nation in the world in any of these countries.

(HODGES): Good!

(BURNHAM): I went to Europe for six months this year with precisely that question in mind. I think we're hated only if we listen to these left-wing correspondents—to these Socialists and semi-Communists and often hidden Com-

munist who are pretending to speak with the voice of Europe, or our own half-Communists who are pretending that they represent the American observation of Europe.

I went over eight thousand miles; I saw hundreds and hundreds of towns in Europe, and everywhere that we went driving along through these small towns and villages, we found friendship and a warm regard for America. These people in Europe had cousins and uncles and grandfathers who had come here, got married, had their children, made their fortunes—become construction workers who finally began running construction

firms, become lawyers, gone into Congress, and so on.

We have a bulwark of goodwill throughout the world that propaganda from the top is unable to touch. If, instead of orienting our policy on the corrupt elements of the European cities, we turn more to the people about whom I'm talking, to speak and to speak confidently and to speak in terms of a positive policy, then I think we'll find again—I repeat my paradox—if our policy is more alone, based on our strength and our own vision of the future, we'll find that we will not be alone.

Atomic Status of the Nation

(Continued from Page 32)

the preceding administration, except that primarily the MVGC contract is different in two main particulars:

"GRASPING AT STRAUSS"

First, it is smaller than either of the other two, and second, it had the misfortune to occur in a year when issues were scarce.

As my friend, Roscoe Drummond, said, they were grasping at Strauss.

Well, they got me. I don't know what will come out of the SEC hearings on the capital setup, but I do know that the MVGC contract is a better one than its uncriticized predecessors because we benefited from our experience with them. And I know also—and this is important—that AEC is not a part of any cabal or conspiracy to use the contract to hurt the TVA.

My own background makes me a strong believer in free, private enterprise and in the doctrine that, generally speaking, that government governs best which governs least. But I have no private war, cold or hot, with the TVA and no connections, material or sentimental, with any private company engaged in the production of electrical power, now or in the past.

NOTES ROLE OF CHAIRMAN

Debit item number 4 might be the uproar over the positions of the chairman and the commissioners. This issue is dead, as far as I am concerned, but it was a liability during the early months of the past year, and I might be thought evasive if I did not mention it in a totting-up like this.

When the new Atomic Energy Act was being drafted by the Joint Committee,

they took note of the fact that the original McMahon Act was silent as to the duties and responsibilities of the commissioners and the chairman.

This fact produced difficulties from the very outset, so the committee draftsmen attempted to solve this by making the chairman "the principal officer." When I first saw this, I think it was about the eighth of April, I wrote to Chairman Cole [of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy] to ask what the words meant because I didn't know and I thought that the language might be ambiguous.

Well, just about then the storm broke and I was depicted as a power-mad autocrat, and a lot of other not very complimentary things. I have since been able to add to that collection and now have some columns in which I am described as a wire tapper, an eavesdropper, a blackmailer, a short, natty promoter and, believe it or not, an anti-Semite.

But I do not think our auditor will let me set up these epithets on the balance sheet since, if debits, they are mine, not the AEC's.

At the end of the debit column I would note that none of these liabilities has adversely affected the work of the commission, and none of the harassments which are personal to me has slowed the output of weapons, the development of power, or crippled the effectiveness of our enterprises in mines, mills, chemical plants, reactors, laboratories, and hospitals, as the credit side of the balance sheet will show.

The credit side of the ledger is pretty good.

Item 1, on the credit side, of course, is the state of the weapons program,

which is AEC's paramount responsibility.

Naturally, I can't go into much detail about it. It has never been stunted by the Congress. It has had the devoted efforts of absolutely top-flight teams of physicists, chemists and engineers from the very beginning, and we still have these men on the job. It has had the breaks in invention and in inspired ideas, and it has enjoyed the co-operation of all branches of the armed forces who, from the kickoff, have put their first teams of brilliant officers into this assignment.

The result is that our stockpile of weapons is large, is growing rapidly, is diversified to suit the needs of the services and the particular tasks they are to accomplish in the unhappy event of war.

U.S. AHEAD OF ANY COMPETITION

Those of us who served on the commission in its early days never imagined anything like it—I had better modify that to say that, at least, I didn't. It is my honest belief that we are well ahead of any competition at this time.

Item 2 on this side of the ledger is power. Electrical energy from the atom has been the dream of the engineer since the first chain reaction. Even back in 1946 we knew that as a stunt we could light a few lamps with the heat from a pile. But as recently as the spring of 1953 we thought it would be some years before private industry would risk any amount of private dollars in this development.

However, already, last Sept. 6, President Eisenhower broke ground at Shippingport for what we call the PWR—the pressurized water reactor—which by 1957 would be delivering 60 thousand

What they're saying . . .



about **FACTS FORUM**

I would like to congratulate you on the January issue; it is the best yet. After doing a full year of research for the Anti-Subversive Committee of the American Legion, I was very pleased to see what has taken me a year to learn all summed up in one issue of *Facts Forum News*. Knowing the importance of getting the facts before the public, I would like to help in my little way. . . .

Mrs. Marjorie McHale
Box 193, Dewitt, N. Y.

. . . . The six-months gift subscription . . . [is] sincerely appreciated. The first copy that has arrived has been read with a great deal of interest and is now in the hands of our social studies instructor. It will eventually be placed in our library. If the social studies department is as pleased with it as I am, we shall undoubtedly be making it a part of our library subscription list. . . .

C. O. T. Wieden
Aroostook State Teachers College
Presque Isle, Maine

I have recently subscribed to your magazine and I find it so interesting and informing that I have highly recommended it to family and friends.

Mrs. Joseph Estenes
45 Park Ave., Freehold, N. J.

I read your splendid paper and applaud your program. *Expressed public opinion shapes the destiny of our country.*

Constance Brown
4548 45th Ave., S.W., Seattle 6, Wash.

For the past six months I have received *Facts Forum News* and wish to tell you those six months now seem to be the most informative period of my life. I now have a better basic knowledge to help me in evaluating the events of each day.

Olive G. Scherf
Rt. 1, Rockville, Ind.

. . . . Your program on Sunday evenings is the center of attraction for myself and my family. . . .

Nancy H. Williamson
5817 N. Ninth Rd., Arlington, Va.

. . . . Your broadcasts are very much appreciated; you are doing a fine service to our country. I look forward to each one of them and am urging people to listen to them. The time has come for all of us who believe in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" to stand up and speak out. The word "patriot" must be revived.

Lee L. Caldwell
Superintendent of Schools
5935 Hohman Ave., Hammond, Ind.

kilowatts into the grid of the Pittsburgh area, and which represents a large investment of private capital.

This is the first of what we hope will be at least one reactor a year for the next several years in the endeavor to get the cost of electricity so generated down to a competitive basis with power from the conventional fuels. Of course, there are places on the world map where, even today, such power as we can now produce would compete with energy from the burning of coal and oil.

You know of course about the Nautilus, and as soon as her defective piping is replaced—nothing that has to do with her nuclear insides—she will be ready to join the fleet. The packaged power reactor which we are developing for the Army should be a reality by 1958.

All in all, we are in the power development field with vigor.

THE NEW LAW

Item 3 would be the new legislation. The effect of the new law is one of great relaxation from the monopolistic provisions of the old statute. American ingenuity, through American business, can now enter the forbidden portals of atomic energy and, with the proper safeguards, develop it not only for the public benefit but for profit. We will be on our way back to the American patent system.

Details of licensing and pricing have been under study and, as they are approved by the commission, will be announced—as was done in part yesterday.

Another effect of the new law has been to facilitate atomic co-operation with our military allies on a realistic basis. We had already arranged in the autumn of 1953 to exchange information with them about the effects of atomic weapons so that they might better protect themselves in the event of attack. Now, under the new law, we will be able to give them certain other information as specified in the act, which will intensify our value to them as allies and theirs to us in the event of war.

Item 4 would be the results of always interesting and sometimes spectacular progress in the use of radiation in the arts and sciences—in medicine, biology, agriculture, chemistry and metallurgy, to name but a few. These advances would require a list much too long even to catalogue. The semi-annual reports of the commission—a new one is due to go to the printers shortly now—are specific and detailed on these unclassified points.

SECURITY OF INFORMATION

Item 5. We have greatly expanded the areas of free information. Less and less one hears the commission criticized for its policies on security of information.

We have published or released for

publication a veritable flood of technical information. Yet at the same time that we have relaxed security in areas where it is no longer justified by the nature of the material, I am convinced we have maintained and even intensified our surveillance over the security of data which, under no circumstances, should ever be permitted to fall into enemy hands.

It used to be fashionable to scoff at our information security procedures. I believe that climate has materially changed. But, of course, you are the court of last resort.

Item 6. The most hopeful asset on the balance sheet is the President's proposal of atoms for peace. I worked on this with the President and his staff for months before he was ready to announce it as he did in his great speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations in December of last year.

And we have worked on it during the vicissitudes of Soviet delays and double-talk. As a start, we have allocated to the plan one hundred kilograms of fissionable material, not of weapons grade, and the United Kingdom has allocated another twenty kilograms.

Under other provisions of the new Atomic Energy Act, this material may be used, following bilateral agreements between the United States and other countries, to provide the full elements for research reactors in those countries. Or it may await the formation of the international agency, as also envisaged in the act and as proposed by the President in his United Nations speech.

BENIGN CONFERENCE TO BEGIN

Ancillary to the President's plan is the International Scientific Conference on the benign uses of atomic energy, which I proposed last April, and which is now definitely scheduled for this summer. The advisory committee to the Secretary General of the United Nations, comprising representatives of twelve nations, will meet in New York next Monday to consider the detailed plans and agenda for the conference. I naturally feel very good about this.

I find that I can extend this list of assets beyond the bounds of time appropriate to remarks at this luncheon.

But in order to make the balance sheet analogy complete, there ought to be an item of "good will," and I think such an item exists. For I believe that to a greater extent than we realize, the free world knows that we are very strong and that, unlike other strong nations in history, power has not intoxicated us—that, on the contrary, we have been humble in the face of the realization of our potential for great good or for great evil.

This, gentlemen, is the report to stockholders with, shall I say, the Scotch auditor's admonitory conclusion, E. and O. E., "errors and omissions excepted."

Thank you.

CONTEST RULES

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS:

Write letters of 150 or less words to your favorite paper about any subject of national interest. If you need more than 150 words to express your views, divide the material into two or more letters. Letters must have been published in newspaper or magazine, and clipping sent for entry. First award, \$25 cash plus 75 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS for persons specified by winner; second award, \$10 cash plus 50 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, 30 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS, with a token award of 5 records containing 10 Dan Smoot talks, for all other letters which Facts Forum publishes. Decision of judges will be made four days prior to closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month.

FIRST HALF OF 1955 CONTEST:

The letters submitted by you for the monthly contest will be held in competition for the half-year contest ending June 30, 1955. A judging committee different from the monthly contest and not used heretofore will be selected for this contest. First award, \$300; second, \$200; third, \$100.

SLOGAN:

An award of \$32 will be given for the best slogan adopted for use the following month. Closing date is four days prior to the closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month. Each person is invited to keep one slogan only in this competition. Entries may be changed at any time.

POLL QUESTIONS:

Ask a \$64 question! Facts Forum offers prizes of \$64, \$32 and \$16, respectively, for the first, second and third best questions submitted by readers for the monthly Poll. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces, so as not to exceed one line on the Poll Card. EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN THE CONTEST. Your questions may be published in the Facts Forum Poll even though they do not win a prize. Questions will be judged for their current interest, fairness and conciseness. Keep questions "unloaded." Questions must be worded so that they can be answered Yes or No.

SUBJECT FOR PROGRAM:

Send questions to be answered on the ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS program to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. Those who send questions which become the subject of a broadcast will receive a \$100 bond.

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTERS' ROUNDUP:

Send questions for this program to REPORTERS' ROUNDUP, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The best three questions submitted will receive Cyma dual-purpose clocks.

PROVOCATIVE PROSE:

Send quotations worth reading and remembering. Be sure to list authors and sources. Persons sending in excerpts printed in FF NEWS will receive one-year subscriptions to FF NEWS. If winners are already subscribers, they may in turn designate someone whom they want to receive the award subscription. In case of duplication of entries, the one with the earliest postmark will be used.



LETTERS to the EDITORS

1st Award MIDDLE OF THE ROAD

To the *Amarillo Daily News*:

The middle-of-the-road politician reminds me of the middle-of-the-road driver who is out to take advantage of every opportunity at whatever cost, even if it means damage to other motorists; hence, he is a dangerous nuisance on the highways.

The middle-of-the-road politician is out to get the votes if he has to play both sides—America's friends and its enemies. He is most concerned about being elected even if it means damage to his country. We are either for our country or against it. We can't play both sides and make it work. We can't be neutral and be true to America. How about it?

J. Kent
Electra, Texas

* * * * *

2nd Award OUR 'UNBRAVE' WORLD

To the *Minneapolis Star*:

We never had a more dramatic and convincing demonstration of what an "unbrave" world we live in today than the soft-pedaling of the fact that over 900 American servicemen are languishing in Chinese prison camps.

In the January issue of the magazine *The Freeman*, the editors quote Robert Ingersoll as stating on Sept. 21, 1876: "The flag that will not protect its defenders is a dirty rag that contaminates the air in which it waves. The government that will not defend its defenders is a disgrace to the nations of the world."

It appears high time that the American people wake up and demand that their government heed Ingersoll's advice.

Hans Kruger

P. O. Box 425, St. James, Minnesota

* * * * *

3rd Award BAIT

To the *Los Angeles Examiner*:

What powerful forces in this country are trying to destroy America as a sovereign nation?

These forces are using the threat of atomic warfare and the calculated propaganda of atomic blasts, evacuation and complete devastation as groundwork for scaring Americans into world government through the "atomic pool" and "world disarmament."

After 22 years of nothing but tragic results from secret talks with Russian

leaders, our officials are again engaged in secret talks with these same leaders regarding "atoms for peace."

Secret talks in Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Berlin, and Geneva have placed 812 million helpless people into Communist slavery. How can our leaders expect these same Communists, devoted to the same program, to honor any agreement, secret or otherwise?

One hard blow can destroy America. That blow is not atomic. It is the well-aimed, insidious blow that will destroy our Constitution, the strength and life of America.

Mrs. Robert Papsdorf
1210 Harvard, Claremont, Calif.

* * * * *

4th Award AS LENIN SAW IT

To the *Toronto Globe & Mail*:

Canada's National Newspaper has now unequivocally declared in favor of recognition of Communist China, "Mao Is No Transient." The address before the Canadian Club of "a man who could not be suspected of Communist sympathies" was nicely timed; together with the Hon. Mr. Pearson's statement from Ottawa hinting at UN recognition.

The Communist aim stated by Lenin was creation of a Red China as a necessary prelude to a Red Asia, then a Red Pacific, prior to assault upon America. This will include Canada no matter how our foreign policy may presently differ from that of the United States. Communist strategy will always be to split and splinter its opponents.

Stopping Communist expansion with the alibi of raising the standard of living of the Asian masses is a delusion. The high standard of living on this continent is not preventing the growth of pro-Communist sentiment as the latest moves indicate.

Andrew Glen
Glenbrook Farm
Locust Hill, Ontario, Canada

* * * * *

5th Award QUOTES GENERAL

To the *Sacramento Bee*:

One of our distinguished generals who fought in Korea was giving a lecture on communism. A listener asked him the usual question: What do you think of McCarthyism?

He answered: "I do not recognize anyism but Americanism. I do not know

McCarthy but as you have just heard I do know communism. I have seen American boys tied with their hands behind their backs with bullet holes in the back of their heads. The only thing to do with a Communist is get him before he gets you. That is what he is ordered to do.

"You cannot argue with him because his mind is closed. You cannot out-talk him. He can out-talk you. It is fatal to appease him. It is fatal to trust him. So I am for anybody who hunts them. If that includes Senator McCarthy, then I am for Senator McCarthy."

Mrs. B. Leonhardt
819 6th St., Modesto, Calif.

6th Award DEFENDING KNOWLAND

To the Ft. Worth Star-Telegram:

It seems the *Star-Telegram* has taken particular pains recently to demean Senator Knowland and his efforts to bring back to America's protection the 11 American boys we sent out to defend us.

A Dec. 3 editorial suggests that Senator Knowland should "step down" for daring to recommend a naval blockade as a means of forcing Red China to return our citizens. The front page of the same edition reports President Eisenhower as considering the 11 U.S. boys the responsibility of the United Nations.

Mr. Editor, you probably have children, too; but I have a boy six years old. I have no desire to send him out, 12 years from now, to defend a country which will entrust his safety to the vote of 60 foreign nations.

Like Senator Knowland, I believe that America should defend Americans.

Don't you?

Wayne Stokes
1922 Windsor Place,
Fort Worth, Texas

7th Award TRIBUTE PAID TO POSTAL MEN

To the Dallas Times Herald:

Federal employees are often criticized and accused of being inefficient parasites by the misinformed, or uninformed. In view of this, I would like to pay tribute to a group of the most efficient workers in the world, the U.S. Postal Service.

Several weeks ago, Mr. E. S. Samuelson, Seagoville, Texas, received a letter addressed to him with Samuelson, Texas, as the address. This letter was mailed in New York City. Last week, this writer received a magazine from Tunbridge Wells, England, and it was addressed to him with this address: Seagoville, Box 263, U.S.A. Somewhere, some postal clerk had marked "Try Texas" and to Seagoville, Texas, it came. Where can you beat that for efficiency?

Garnet Hill
Box B, Seagoville, Texas

8th Award SOFT UNCLE SAM

To the Dallas News:

One of our leading dailies recently printed a cartoon depicting Uncle Sam, very grim and determined, facing a leering Red Chinese across a body of water, while stripping his kid gloves from a fist as big and hard-looking as a petrified ham.

I'm afraid the cartoonist has committed criminal libel against the gentleman. Back in the rough-and-ready days of buckskin chaps and Teddy Roosevelt that might have been true.

But in these days of feather dusters, striped pants and top hats, the old man has learned the blessings of tolerant magnanimity, especially with the Communists, anti-anti-Communists and One-Worlders.

The *News* of Woonsock, S.D., remarks, "People come in three sorts: the few who make things happen, the many who watch things happen, and the overwhelming majority that don't know what happened."

Leslie A. Shaw
122 East Ave. 45,
Los Angeles 31, Calif.

9th Award LOANS, NOT GIFTS, ABROAD

To the Long Beach Press-Telegram:

Your calling for letting our Senators and Congressmen know how we object to such waste as has occurred in the past should be heeded by all who desire honest economy in the use of taxpayers' money.

Also, in the matter of handouts to foreign nations, I submit that it is about time that making them gifts should be stopped, especially as our past lavish giving seems not to have won us many good friends, while it has imposed a far too heavy burden upon the taxpayers.

From now on, why not provide needed financial help to deserving nations in loans, at low interest if necessary, but repayable in equal monthly installments, beginning within 90 days and extending over not more than 20 years? Then, probably less would be asked for, and the money, having to be repaid, would be more carefully spent.

Walter W. Strong
5801 Garford St.,
Long Beach 15, Calif.

10th Award FAVORITE PROGRAMS

To the Washington Post & Times Herald:

In Laurence Laurent's column, December 26, he suggested 10 television programs which he would like to exchange for something better. Two of these 10 were "Superman" and "Facts Forum."

Contrary to most programs dealing in

crime which children watch, "Superman" stands for traditional American ideals. His motto, "Strength, Courage and Justice," inspires the children to follow so they will become useful American citizens and have the foundation for building a good character.

Facts Forum, contrary to Mr. Laurent's opinion, does present both sides of various controversial questions and does it quite thoroughly. The aim of Facts Forum is to arouse the public's interest in current events and to stimulate individual participation in the shaping of public policy. Since, according to the Constitution of the United States, the people are sovereign, Facts Forum feels the people should be well informed. Many of us feel Facts Forum is doing a good job.

Elizabeth H. Osth
126 S. Church St., Berryville, Va.

11th Award CONFIDENCE

To the Los Angeles Examiner:

What have we in America to fear? AMERICA, the land of energy, skill, courage, vitality and plenty;

AMERICA, where the human heart is as big as a mountain, tender as a snowflake and vital as sunshine, where busy people freely give their time, energy and talents toward collecting funds for care of the afflicted;

AMERICA, where people are prayerfully concerned about the welfare of a man trapped in a mine, a child lodged in a well curbing, or lost in the wilderness; where men by the hundreds lay aside their work, volunteer their services, and risk their lives in attempted rescue;

AMERICA, where people are so concerned for the welfare of unfortunates the world over, as to share with them their plenty;

AMERICA, where people leave their loved ones and challenge hazards in the remotest parts of the world to carry the Gospel.

What have we in America to fear?
McClellan Patterson
536 No. Hargrave, Banning, Calif.

12th Award CREEPING MILITARISM

To the Dallas News:

Have you taken a good look at the new national reserve plan? Looks like something copied verbatim from the Hitler Youth Movement. How can this happen in a democracy? And why?

Our young men shouldn't be compelled to spend long years in a reserve program where, if they miss meetings, they can be all but jailed and given disciplinary action such as dishonorable discharge for not remaining active in the program for six years after spending two years on active duty. Even so they would be called back in case of war. Won't able-bodied men have to go in case of major war?

THE JOAN HINTON LETTER TO THE FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS

(Continued from Page 47)

before. But we all pondered over Dirac and then suddenly 150 thousand people were killed. Were we to blame? We were only studying science, finding out how the world was put together. Was the government to blame—really? Do we not have any say as to what our life work is to be used for? Are we puppets or human beings? Can we not vision the world of tomorrow? Will it be a world of destruction and misery, agonizing death by radiation—or will it be a world where mountains are moved by atomic bombs to change the course of deserts and make rich green land out of deserts? Where is our imagination?

By 1948 I could not stand it any longer. My friends all seemed to be going back into secret work. Were they crazy? Were we who studied physics to spend all our lives thinking up means of mass extermination? Even my fellowship money came from the Navy. We were doing nonsecret work at the time. We needed some deuterium for our accelerator. In the room where I studied there was only a little space in the corner for a desk; the rest of the room was piled with cases of heavy water right up to the ceiling for the Argonne. We asked for some. Nowhere in America could we get any. Finally we sent to Norway, and two little bottles were sent back to us with a picture of a Viking ship and a little note saying, "I thought you had civilian control."

In Washington, a friend of mine had asked me to go to China. I had refused. I was determined to become a physicist. But the idea kept gnawing at me. It would not let me go, until finally I felt like I was being caught in a horrible trap. No matter where you turned, you were faced by war, secret work, the Navy, the Army, and madmen locked in their laboratories thinking up new and better methods of total destruction. Suddenly, I made up my mind and left. But it was not easy. The love of science and physics was pretty strong. Of all my notebooks and books I only had room for two in my trunk. I sat for a long time looking at those books, then took Joos and the handbook of physics and chemistry and set out for China alone with a terrible emptiness in my heart. I had broken away from everything I ever had desired or known. I broke away because I had to. I had to find out what was going on in the world outside of physics. What was happening to the peoples of the world—so I came to China, to see America from the outside

and to understand the tremendous upheaval going on inside Asia.

WHAT I LEARNED IN CHINA

And what have I learned in the three years since I have been in China? Perhaps the main thing is that the people of the East do not want war. That the peoples of the East are not interested in America. They are occupied with building up their own countries, pulling them out of their centuries of feudalism, changing them as fast as possible into modern, industrialized lands with abundance for all—lands where beggars cease to exist, and slums and "Maxwell Streets" are things of the past that the children read about in history books.

Everything is for peaceful production, for building, for life, for the people—and I learned something else—that these people can get along perfectly all right without America. I used to think that American aid would mean a lot to China. A country so backward—how could she develop without American help? But where there is a will there is a way, and the Chinese people have a will so strong that nothing America can do will ever stop it. They will think of plenty of ways, and they will develop fast. The only obstacle to their development would be a war. They are not afraid of America. If she must fight, China will show that she is made of steel—but China will never start a war; war is against her every interest.

I know that you may ask, "How do you know? They are just filling you with propaganda, you fool!" So I will not talk any more in generalities. I will only tell a few things from my experience. The first is the conditions I found in Kuomintang, China. I spent a year in Kuomintang territory, and all that time it never ceased to amaze me why we (America) should be giving millions of dollars of aid to such a stupid, corrupt, conceited, useless government as the government of the Kuomintang. Just one example will suffice (though anybody who lived in Shanghai for just a few months at that time could cite countless examples). That is, the business of the "gold yuan."

For the fun of it, I kept a logarithmic plot of the inflation, and it was a fairly straight line. I have forgotten just now what the period was, but the line was pretty steep. It was steep enough so that towards the end, prices would double or even triple in a day.

I remember especially how carefully

I had to plan to buy a jackknife. I went to a certain place (of which kind Shanghai was teeming) early in the morning with a briefcase to cash one American dollar. The briefcase having been duly loaded full of Chinese notes, I tore as fast as I could to the store and emptied them out on the counter before the price could rise. A briefcase full of notes for a jackknife? The poor storekeepers were in a terrible fix. They had to either not count the money and get stuck short or hire several extra hands just for counting money and lose that much in wages anyway.

And the banks were in an impossible state. The cost of shipping and counting money was far beyond the value of the money. In fact, it was not even worth the paper it was printed on. The clerks in the banks were peering out from behind heaps of bills piled up to the ceiling. "Money, money everywhere, but not a crumb to eat." And so, of course, in order to stay alive one had to put one's wealth into something besides paper money: in silver dollars, American dollars or goods, and the barter system flourished.

Then the government announced its "currency reform." Under penalty of death, all gold, silver, American dollars, and hoarded goods were to be turned in to the banks and exchanged for the new stable "gold yuan." Every day the paper had pictures of people being shot for disobeying their order. Houses were searched. Anybody found guilty was dragged off to prison. Thousands upon thousands of ordinary folk turned in the little bit of savings they had in return for paper "gold yuan."

For a week or two, as I remember, prices remained stable. Then whisperings began in the black market—and soon they broke—the "gold yuan" fell off its pedestal. To where? Right smack on the extrapolation of the exponential inflation curve which I had been plotting all year. What did this mean? Only that the government had previously printed this tremendous excess of notes, had held them out of circulation for a week or two until as much gold and silver, etc., as could be collected from the people was taken in, and then let go, leaving the whole population with nothing but worthless scraps of paper. Thousands upon thousands of people left without a cent of savings—the biggest, most cold-blooded mass robbery in history or ever dreamed of. And the gold and silver was pocketed by the "Big Four"—the ruling families of China—and shipped to America and other safe places as fast as possible before liberation. At the time I was too stupid to realize what was happening. I naively assumed that this time maybe the government was finally really planning to do something about the inflation. It was only after that point fell so perfectly on

my curve that the truth began to dawn. But even then, it took me a long time to really realize the treachery, the calculated cold-blooded intent of these criminals who called themselves a government. And it was these crooks to whom America was sending millions of dollars worth of "aid"—guns, bombs, tanks, trucks, and a trickle of powdered milk.

Enough for the Kuomintang. Perhaps the next thing I might mention is the liberation of Peking. American papers always implied that the Chinese Communists were supplied by Russia. So I rather expected to see Russian weapons as the People's Liberation Army marched past. But in the whole parade which I watched for three or four hours, I never saw a single Russian weapon. A few old Japanese guns, but mostly new American trucks, cannon, tanks, guns, and trucks with "United States Army" written on the side in white letters as plain as day. The soldiers laughed when you asked them about it and said, "Uncle Sam sends them to Chiang and Chiang sends them to us."

Then again, people told me that foreigners would never be allowed to travel alone in the liberated areas. That the Communists would keep a pretty close eye on the travelers and be sure only to let you see what they wanted you to. In the back of my mind, I thought perhaps this might be true, too. I was all prepared to have an escort wherever I might choose to go, and in the beginning I was given one.

I wanted to go and visit a friend of mine who was staying at a place about one hundred miles away, so I was supplied with a guide and went. But on coming back, my friend explained that I was used to traveling and could find the way back by myself, and without further ado, I was left to go back alone. So again, the American press was wrong. Nobody was watching me; they were only helping me. I was free to look at whatever I liked. That was the first time, and it has been that way ever since. When I go to a new place, someone is always ready to help me out to find the way. Once I have become familiar with the place I am left completely free.

My first job was working in an iron factory packed away in the mountains of Shensi. What were they making there? They were melting up American-made hand grenades, shells, wings from crashed planes sent from America to Chiang, steel and aluminum of weapons sent by America to kill them and making them into cooking pots, ploughs, and hoes. They were transferring these things of destruction into useful tools to build up a new and prosperous China, making wagon wheels and pumps and gates for irrigation canals.

Americans would probably not even

realize it was a factory, and they would laugh at it when told so—not even a lathe, nothing but the hands of the people. Everything was made by hand. But Americans might do a little thinking, too. The Chinese with their bare hands are building up a new nation, while the Americans with their tremendous industrial strength are preparing to destroy mankind.

The Chinese are not afraid; they are just sorry. If America were not preparing for war—if she were not threatening China at every point—China could put even more effort into construction, into building better homes for her people, into eliminating floods, into stabilizing crops, into bringing in machinery and transforming their land from one of despair and poverty into one of prosperity, enlightenment, a nation of scientists working for the enrichment of mankind. But America seems bent on war. So China will continue her construction despite America. She will keep on putting all she has into the betterment of the living conditions of her people. But at the same time, she will never stop watching America. She will not tolerate any high-handed action against her sovereignty. She is not afraid, and her people know how to fight and know what they are fighting for. Anyone who came to work at that factory could not help but learn this. The irresistible strength of New China seemed to permeate everything, even the silent walls of the caves at night, waving black shadows and crimson reflections from the furnaces outside.

Since then all of China has been liberated, and she now has more regular factories day by day. Skilled mechanics and engineers are being trained. Though some places still work by hand, others are forging ahead still faster with machines while others are using machines to make machines. It will not take her long.

At present I am working on an animal-breeding farm in Inner Mongolia. Of what I have learned here I will only say the following: that I was amazed to hear Acheson—a responsible representative of the U.S. government—say that the Soviet Union was "annexing whole territories" of Northeast China and Inner Mongolia to herself. I have lived here two years. So far I have only seen one thing Russian, that is, ten Soviet stallions given to our farm for breeding purposes, along with apparatus for artificial insemination. What are we doing with these stallions? We are breeding the farmers' horses and the Mongolian ponies, improving the horses of Mongolia. The farmers come for miles around to get their horses bred.

The stallions were given to China under the Agreement signed last year—an Agreement of friendship and mutual

assistance between China and the Soviet Union. The Chinese are free to use them where and as they see fit. The Soviet Union does not interfere. To the peasants here, the Soviet Union is symbolized by these stallions—sleek-haired, refined, bigger than anything they have ever seen before and with no stud fees. The silent eyes of these ten stallions tell more to the Mongolian horsemen than any amount of insinuating speeches that Acheson ever could. If this is what is meant by being annexed by the Soviet Union, then they would just as soon! They are not afraid of words; they only believe in what they see. And what do they see as far as America is concerned? Again, it is not empty words of friendship which impress them. It is bombing planes, guns, and tanks given to the Kuomintang. In our farm's cornfield are two old craters from American-made bombs. No amount of speeches from American diplomats can erase these holes, and the people do not easily forget.

CHINA WANTS PEACE

The people of China want peace. The people of the world want peace, including the people of America. Though I suppose I have been away too long to still be considered a member of the American scientists, yet I personally still feel as though I am one of you. I have written you to let you know at least the story of one of your members. One person refusing to work on secret projects, refusing to work on war, of course, does no good. But all of you at home united together have a very special strength in your hands. I only want to say to you: Use your strength, use whatever you can to work actively for peace and against war. As long as there is war, science will never be free. Are we scientists going to spend our lives in slavery for madmen who want to destroy the world?

At home one gets frightened. Listening to so much war talk one begins to believe that if we do not prepare for war the other side will, and then we will be destroyed. But now I have been living on the other side for some time and know for sure that this is a lot of lies, that China wants peace and is working for peace with all she has. She will never attack America, nor will any of her allies. If you people would only believe this, if you could only see for yourselves as I am seeing, then, I am sure you would not hesitate for a minute to work for peace with every ounce of strength you have.

So long for now and remember me to whomever is there that I might know.

Sincerely,

(Signed) JOAN HINTON,
People's China

June 4, 1951.

ROY COHN and the ATOM SPIES

(Continued from Page 53)

ing morning I told my wife that I would give the information.

Q. Does that complete the conversation to the best of your memory that took place between you and your wife?

A. That's right. Then when I had told her what the conversation was—I mean, I told her I would do it, she asked me for specific things that Julius had asked her to find out from me.

Q. You mean specific information about the Manhattan Project?

A. That's right.

Q. Would you tell us, as you recall it, what your wife asked you?

A. She asked me to tell her about the general layout of the Los Alamos atomic project, the buildings, number of people, and stuff like that; also scientists that worked there, and that was the first information I gave her.

Q. You say she asked you for that information, is that right?

A. She asked me for that information. When I gave it to her, she memorized the information.

Q. Do you know whether she wrote this information down or not?

A. She did not write the information down.

Q. Did you have any conversation with her as to whether she was going to write it down or not?

A. She told me that she was instructed not to write it down, but to memorize it.

Q. Instructed by whom?

A. Instructed by Julius.

Q. In giving to your wife the names of the scientists working at Los Alamos on that occasion, can you now recall any of the names which you furnished to her?

A. I gave her Oppenheimer's name. I gave her Bohr's name and Kistiakowski's name.

Q. Did you tell her about this Bohr-Baker situation.

A. I did.

Q. You say you gave her a general description of the layout at Los Alamos, is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. How about the number of people there, the personnel, did you give any estimate of figures on that?

A. I gave her an estimate of how many people there were in the technical area.

Q. After you furnished this information to your wife, did your wife return to New York?

A. My wife returned to New York, and I had told her that I would be in New York in January on furlough. So

she left for New York knowing that I was going to be there.

Q. Did you actually have a furlough in January?

A. I arrived home January 1, 1945.

Q. How long was your furlough?

A. It was a 15-day furlough with travel time.

Q. How long was that as a practical matter?

A. About 21 or 22 days.

Q. When you say you arrived home, where were you and your wife then living?

A. 266 Stanton Street in Manhattan.

Q. After your arrival in New York, did there come a time when you saw the defendant Julius Rosenberg?

A. Yes, he came to me one morning and asked me to give him information, specifically anything of value on the atomic bomb, whatever I knew about it.

Q. Where did this conversation take place?

A. In my home at 266 Stanton Street.

Q. Did you say this was in the morning?

A. This was in the morning and he told me to write up this information at night, late at night, and he would be back the following morning to pick it up.

Q. About how long after you had arrived in New York did this conversation take place?

A. A few days after I arrived.

Q. And did he outline to you in any further detail the information he wanted?

A. He asked me what I was doing out there, and I told him I was working on lenses, H. E. [high explosive] lens molds.

Q. That is the lens molds in connection with Dr. Kistiakowski's work that you told us about?

A. That is right.

Q. What else?

A. And he told me to write it up, to write up anything that I knew about the atomic bomb.

Q. Anything else?

A. He gave me a description of the atom bomb. [Emphasis supplied.]

Q. Did you do any writing at that time?

A. I wrote up the information he wanted that evening. It included sketches on the lens molds and how they were used in experiments.

Q. Anything else?

A. Plus a description of it.

Q. Anything else?

A. Plus a list of scientists who were on the project.

Q. Do you recall the names of any of these scientists?

A. Yes, I gave him the same ones I had given him originally, plus, I gave him a scientist, Baker. I also gave him a scientist by the name of—well, there was one Hans Baker.

Q. Do you know what his field was?

A. Yes, his field was theoretical physics.

Q. Did you furnish that information?

A. I gave that information, too.

Q. And you say there were some other scientists whose names you do not recall?

A. I don't recall at this moment.

Q. Was this information turned over to Rosenberg?

A. It was, the following morning.

Q. Where?

A. At my home.

Q. You turned that information over to Rosenberg the following morning in your home at 266 Stanton Street, is that right?

A. Yes.

[At this point, U.S. district court session was adjourned. Greenglass' testimony resumed again March 12, 1951, with Mr. Cohn continuing the questioning.]

Q. Mr. Greenglass, before we adjourned Friday afternoon, I think we were at the point where Rosenberg had returned to your apartment to get this information on the atom bomb that he had asked you to write down; is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. Will you tell us again—first of all, did you in fact furnish him with written information concerning the atom bomb?

A. I did.

Q. Will you tell us just what information you furnished him with on that day?

A. I gave him a list of scientists who worked on the project. I gave him some sketches of flat-type lens molds, and I gave him some possible recruits.

Q. What kind of recruits?

A. For Soviet espionage.

Q. What did Mr. Rosenberg say about recruiting scientists or recruiting anybody to help?

A. He said he wanted a list of people who seemed sympathetic with communism and would help furnish information to the Russians.

Q. And you furnished him with such a list; is that correct?

A. I did.

(To be continued in the April issue of *Facts Forum News*.)

Next month's installment of David Greenglass' testimony will cover the visit to New Mexico of Harry Gold, link with Klaus Fuchs.

Income Tax Amendment

(Continued from Page 3)

of its parts. The key to national prosperity and a high standard of living is the total national income, not the income of just a few men. The great objective is an expanding national income, more equitably distributed. This can be possible only if devices such as the graduated income tax and the tax on inheritances are used to prevent a few men from monopolizing a dangerous portion of the national wealth.

The income tax has discouraged dangerous accumulations of private wealth. When great wealth and power are concentrated in a few hands, democracy vanishes. Private wealth, when uncontrolled, tends to concentrate; and economic despotism results.¹⁷

Such tyranny of a small financial oligarchy has been at least partially averted by our heavy death and gift taxes and by the progressive income tax system.¹⁷

During the last twenty years we have experienced a great leveling process in America. We are nearer now than ever before to the national ideal of equality for all Americans.

TO EACH HIS FAIR SHARE

The graduated income tax is necessary if everyone is to get his fair share of the national wealth.

The federal government is the only institution which represents all the people of the nation. Hence, it is not safe for us to permit vast concentrations of



—Wide World Photo

President Eisenhower shown signing into law a bill cutting excise taxes by 999 million dollars. The President said he believed the legislation would help stimulate business.

economic power anywhere except in the hands of the federal government. One of the chief services of the income tax is to break up concentrations of economic power and transfer that power to the federal government where it can be used for the benefit of all.

It is true that some very wealthy men

have used their fortunes for charitable purposes which have been of great benefit to others. But history does not bear out an assumption that a society which fosters great accumulations of wealth in a few hands is the best society. It depends on what kind of hands. A nation's wealth should be widely distributed at a moderate level. The American economy has been moving toward such broad distribution.¹⁵

Our present income tax is fundamentally American because it curtails the development of a privileged class. By progressive taxation, we level off the peaks and valleys in our economic and social terrain and compel a more even and equitable distribution of the national wealth.

An unforeseen benefit arising out of the Income Tax Amendment has been its value in suppressing crime. Everyone knows that some of our most notorious and vicious criminals have been clever enough to escape conviction for their crimes but have been imprisoned for evasion of the income tax. This law operates to require criminals to reveal their dishonestly gained income or risk imprisonment for evasion of the income tax.

The opponents of the income tax say that the government should spend less. They conveniently ignore the fact that most of the expenditures of the federal government go to defend our country against communism. Their only answer to this is isolation—which in the modern world would mean national suicide.

Today we could not even pay the interest on our national debt if we did not have an income tax, because today the interest on our national debt costs us more than the entire operations of government used to cost.¹⁸

Without an income tax, what would we do about veterans' benefits; about the construction of a modern, adequate highway system; about the expansion of a health program to aid those who cannot afford needed medical care?

NO PARITY PAYMENTS?

How could the government make parity payments to farmers if we did not have an income tax? How is the industrial worker to be assured a continuance of steady employment if the government does not have sufficient revenue to pay for the vast quantities of products it requires?

The Employment Act of 1946 requires the federal government to use all practical means to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power. The government could hardly be expected to perform this service and to regulate and stabilize the national econ-

omy if tax rates were frozen into the Constitution. It would seriously limit many of the services now demanded of government by the taxpayers and would throw upon the state and local governments the burden of performing these services.¹⁹

A constitutional tax limitation would be detrimental to the individual states in another way. It would curtail the government's grants-in-aid to states and communities, which now total about three billion dollars a year. For instance, the President's ten-year plan for a better highway system contemplates a total expenditure of 50 billion dollars, 26 billion of which will be contributed by the federal government. Should the income



—Wide World Photo

Candling process used in inspection of eggs helps internal revenue collectors to detect checks overlooked by clerks who remove tax returns from the envelopes. Here a collections officer makes use of a converted pinball machine which each day turns up about ten checks that have gone unnoticed.

tax be discontinued, or drastically limited as has been proposed, the full burden of just such programs as this one would fall on the individual states, and the poorer states just could not meet such large obligations. The program would have to be reduced in the very states where it is most needed.¹⁹

It is significant that only one governor — Governor Lee of Utah — has come out flatly for repeal of the Income Tax Amendment.

While it is true that the states could take over some of the services now rendered by the federal government, experience has shown that central coordination is necessary if the people of all the states are to receive benefits equally. We have worked out a partnership of federal, state, and local governments which promotes equality throughout the nation, preserves economic freedom, and maintains a high level of prosperity.¹⁹

Forty-eight separate states could not use the taxing power to temper inflationary booms and to cushion depressions. Only the federal government can do this; and if the taxing power were limited, this service would be jeopardized, if not destroyed.

Proposals to repeal the Income Tax Amendment come only from right-wing extremists. These people claim to be anti-Communists, but they would destroy the first line of defense against Communist Russia—the financial base of our enormous defense effort.

How could our government finance its vast programs of assistance to needy and needed allies against communism all over the world without an income tax?²⁰

AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY

America has an enormous responsibility of leadership in the free world community of nations. The conduct of foreign policy is reserved to the federal government by the Constitution. The United Nations is the greatest hope for peace. As the wealthiest nation in the world, we must bear our fair share of the expense of operating this organization. We cannot meet these moral obligations without adequate federal revenues.²¹

Communism feeds on poverty and want in the backward areas of the world. We must promote conditions which will discourage the spread of communism. Revenue to meet these needs is essential for our own self-defense. Nearly every step we take to check the spread of communism is dependent upon the income tax for revenue. Without the income tax we could not have had the Marshall Plan which saved many European countries from communism. The President's new Asian aid program could not even be considered, were it not for the income tax. We could not have fought the war against communism in Korea without an income tax. We



Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah



—Wide World Photo

On the lighter side of the tax picture (left), a Miami Beach resident tries to dig in as his tax problems get knottier but finds his headache follows right along. At right, Georgia Tech students hope engineer can solve their income tax return problems on the A.C. Network Calculator installed on the school campus.

could not have fought World War II against the tyranny of fascism without the income tax. We couldn't even have fought the first world war to make the world safe for democracy without an income tax.

When we adopted the Income Tax Amendment in 1913, we paved the way for converting our government from a do-nothing government to a do-something government.²²

We had to wait twenty years for a great humanitarian statesman—Roosevelt—who had the courage to utilize the enormous taxing power which the Income Tax Amendment made possible.

Roosevelt was a pioneer in using the government's taxing power to regulate the national economy for the benefit of the nation.

Truman and Eisenhower continued and developed this new American system until today the American economy is the marvel of the modern world.

Abandoning the modern, progressive taxing system which has been developed through years of harsh experience would create chaos and bring upon the nation conditions even worse than those we experienced during the depression.

* * * * *

There, in quick review, are both sides of a Facts Forum question: "Should the Income Tax Amendment be repealed?"

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Radio & TV Schedule

(Continued from Page 59)

Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon	8:30
	KFIZ‡	1450	Thurs	8:30
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon	8:30
	WJPG‡	1440	Thurs	8:30
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon	8:30
La Crosse	WLCX†	1490	Mon	8:30
	WLCX‡	1490	Thurs	8:30
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	8:00
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	To be announced	
Sturgeon Bay	WDOR*	910	Sun	8:00
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced	
WYOMING				
Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:30
Cheyenne	KFBC-TV*	5	Sun	6:30
Cody	KODI*	1400	Tues	6:30
Lander	KOVE†	1230	Mon	7:30
	KOVE‡	1230	Thurs	7:30
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	7:30
	KPOW‡	1260	Thurs	7:30
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	7:30
	KWYO‡	1410	Thurs	7:30
Torrington	KGOS**	1490	Tues	7:30

THIS MONTH'S SLOGAN

Put America **FIRST** To Make America **LAST**

Submitted by **MARY SMITH, Decatur, Illinois**

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

(Closes March 10)

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Yes | No | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1. Should we let the Chinese fight the Reds? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2. Do U.S. servicemen lose U.S. protection when fighting under the UN? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. Is a raise in pay for our congressmen justifiable? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Will our decision to defend Formosa be tempered by coexistence policies? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Are our Supreme Court Justices keeping faith with our Constitution? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. Is every increase in government authority a step toward Socialism? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7. Should Congress establish a medical insurance plan? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8. If China was represented in the UN would it promote peace in Asia? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9. Can petitions to our government help in the deciding of important issues? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10. Is reciprocal trade really reciprocal? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11. With today's missiles, do you favor construction of "Super" air-carriers? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12. Should American History be a compulsory course in all of our colleges? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 13. Will U. S. lose Japan to Communists in economic trade war? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 14. Would a nationwide curfew curb juvenile delinquency? |

NAME (Please Print)	NO. AND ST.	CITY AND STATE
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* 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 29 for Results of February Poll

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What they're saying ...



about **FACTS FORUM**

... We have found this magazine to be a valuable aid, particularly in the areas of government and economics. ... May we thank you again for the thoughtful gift.

Mamie Wilkerson, Librarian
Fayetteville State Teachers College
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We watch your wonderful program **FACTS FORUM** every Sunday evening. In our estimation, it's the greatest program on TV. ...

Mr. and Mrs. George Brennan
Twin Oaks, Box 190, Rt. 4, Hayne Blvd.
New Orleans, La.

... I appreciate the fact that both sides of public questions are presented in the same issue. ...

Charles S. Deteveiler
1172 Roslyn St., Denver, Colo.

... I cannot express by the written word how much we enjoy your programs. ...

Mrs. Joseph M. Armstrong
730 Sec St., Warrenton, Va.

... Enjoy listening to both sides so ably presented by Dan Smoot.

Florence Turner
Tacoma, Wash.

Will you please thank the group responsible for our twelve-month subscription ...? I am sure that this magazine will be read with interest by our students.

Minnie Marsden Ward, Librarian
Western Maryland College
Westminster, Md.

... I greatly admire the way highly complex problems are presented in the *Facts Forum News* and broadcasts—problems that are being more and more realized as of vital concern to every American citizen.

E. Tolles Chamberlain
223 S. Catalina Ave., Pasadena, Calif.

Yours is a worthy project, for an informed public can better govern itself. I believe Facts Forum is helping to generate interest and enthusiasm in national affairs.

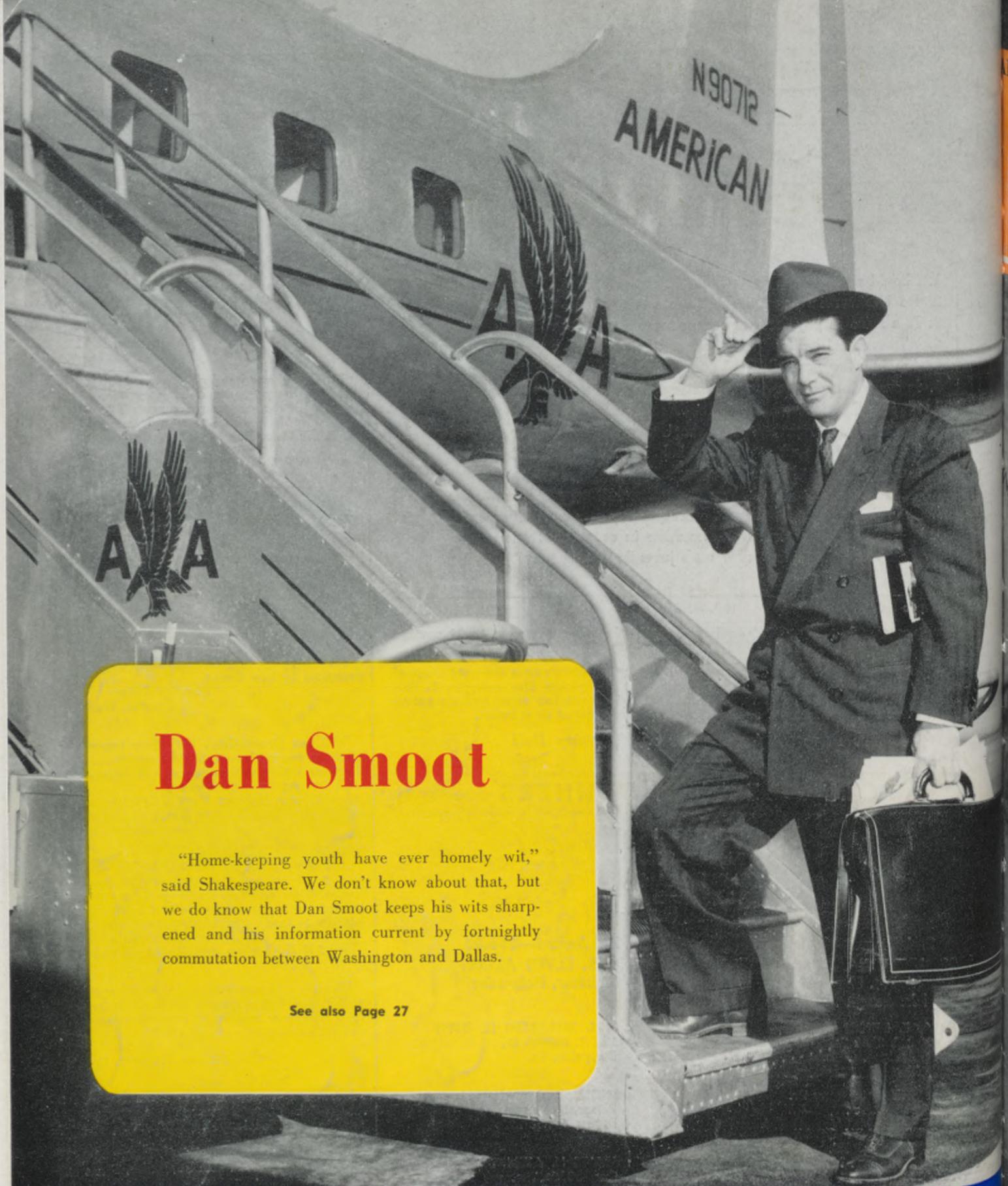
Charles Brown
4560 Jackson St., Gary, Ind.

I feel a deep obligation to Facts Forum. ... I think Facts Forum is the greatest American educational institution in existence.

Ed. H. Patton
518 W. 12th St., Dallas, Texas

... It is with great pleasure we accept the year's subscription. ... After thoroughly checking the articles and reading some of them, I know this magazine will be of great interest to our student body and faculty. ...

Dorothy Reichard, Acting Librarian
State Teachers College, California, Pa.



Dan Smoot

"Home-keeping youth have ever homely wit," said Shakespeare. We don't know about that, but we do know that Dan Smoot keeps his wits sharpened and his information current by fortnightly commutation between Washington and Dallas.

See also Page 27

What they're saying about Dan Smoot

I haven't had a minute's peace since my husband . . . heard your program on TV last week. He was spellbound at the speech Dan Smoot made about foreign trade; he said, "That is one of the most remarkable young men of our age."

Mrs. C. J. Seitz
Hillcrest Estate,
Punxsutawney, Pa.

Mr. Smoot, I feel that you are all doing a great job for America. It is very slow work, but without it this republic will not survive. . . .

Adolphe Menjou
722 N. Bedford Dr.,
Beverly Hills, Calif.

. . . . We heard an address by Dan Smoot . . . We were almost spellbound by . . . his fluency of expression, his convincing argument, his array of facts (which we know are facts). . . .

R. C. Pape
P. O. Box 8,
Garland, Ark.

I wish to express my gratitude especially to Mr. Dan Smoot. I have superbly met a need of our times — the need of good citizenship and full adherence to Christian principles.

Margaret L. Fisher
2900 Connecticut Ave.,
Washington, D. C.