

APRIL 1956

PRICE 25c

# FACTS FORUM

NEWS

*America's Most Thought-Provoking Magazine*



**EZRA TAFT BENSON**  
*Secretary of Agriculture*

## DOWN TO EARTH on the FARM PROBLEM

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## UNESCO—Good or Bad Influence?

**The Pro and Con of Public Housing  
and Urban Renewal**



# READERS REPORT

## May Day — The American Way

The American answer to Communist celebrations of May Day has been provided by Mrs. Albert Grande, 913 S. Lincoln Avenue, Park Ridge, Illinois, who in 1954 instigated the observance of May 1st in Park Ridge as United States Loyalty Day. Other towns and cities have followed suit, and in March, 1955, President Eisenhower signed a bill which had been passed by House and Senate proclaiming May 1st Loyalty Day and a legal holiday.

Mrs. Grande has written us outlining the activities of Park Ridge, now known as "the City of Flags," in celebrating this patriotic occasion. Park Ridge now has 197 street flags — the Junior Chamber of Commerce has sponsored the sale of three thousand home flags, turning proceeds over to the Retarded Children's Home — five thousand lapel flags were procured and distributed to school children last May Day. "Buy Them — Fly Them" is the slogan to which local newspapers have given the fullest publicity.

This year Park Ridge's Loyalty Day ceremonies will center around a flag-burning ceremony depicting the proper method for retirement of tired and tattered American flags. The program is being planned to include fullest participation of school children since, asks Mrs. Grande, "who ever heard of a youngster (or adult) being delinquent, or turning to anything anti-American or unconstitutional if he feels a depth of patriotic devotion?"

Our hats are off to Mrs. Grande and to Park Ridge, the City of Flags, as well as to the other patriots whose unceasing efforts have resulted in making May 1st a day for patriotic celebration.

Let's all "Buy Them and Fly Them" on May Day, U. S. Loyalty Day!

## Congressional Gold Mines

Mr. C. J. Morrissey, 324 Streamside Drive, Harvey, Illinois, asks that we let our readers know that the Government Printing Office has recently made available the new *Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities*, complete through January 20, 1955 (1344 pages — price, \$3.50). He also informs us that a small reprinting of the report of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 82nd Congress, 1st Session, dating from April, 1951, entitled *Soviet Atomic Espionage*, has been ordered by the Government Printing Office to determine if there is still a public demand for this document. This report, which was out of print for a half-year, gives information on the Fuchs case, the Greenglass case, the Gold case, the Basil N. May case, and the Pontecorvo case, as well as minor cases such as Hiskey and Nelson. (Price from Government Printing Office, 50c.)

A later letter from Mr. Morrissey mentions that interest has mounted this year in the reprinting of the Dies Committee reports, *Appendix I* (967 pages) and *Appendix IX* (over 1650 pages), and urgently requests that readers write to their representatives in Congress indicating what Dies Committee volumes they need to complete their library files.

"Hon. Martin Dies himself states that he

has been unable to locate a copy since his return to Congress," writes Mr. Morrissey. "Your immediate interest and assistance are needed in the drive to gain additional support for the reprinting of these valuable documentary exposés of communism. If nothing else, fight for the reprinting of *Appendix IX* of 1944 on Communist-front organizations."

## Americanism

This column in September offered plaudits to several newspapers for their printing of the "Primer for Americans." This booklet is rich in the principles of freedom which built this country, and each of our readers may wish to obtain a copy or copies for their own personal use. These may be obtained at ten cents each from Young & Rubicam, Inc., 285 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Lloyd and Leila Whitney's booklet, "If You Can Keep It," is also highly recommended for all patriotic Americans, and may be obtained by writing The Whitneys, 827 Wilson Avenue, Chicago 40, Illinois, enclosing ten cents to cover mailing costs.

Some excellent patriotic recordings have been prepared through the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Whitney, among them "The Flag of the United States of America," an original reading of the Whitneys which appeared in the September, 1955, issue of *Facts Forum News*. Other recordings include "The Gettysburg Address."

Titles and prices are available on request from the Whitneys (address shown above).

## Young Americans for the Republic

In September, 1955, the Broad Ripple Post of the American Legion, Marion County, Indiana, held a seminar to which student representatives from all high schools in the county (22) were invited.

After hearing such speakers as Senator Jenner, Dean Clarence Manion, Dr. E. Merrill Root, Mrs. Frances Lucas, national president of the DAR, Richard Ahrens, Karl Baarslag and Charles O. Blaisdell, these young people decided to form the organization Young Americans for the Republic.

The aims of this organization are stated in the Preamble to their Constitution:

We, the Young Americans for the Republic, are proud of our heritage and believe that our form of government offers the greatest opportunity for individual freedom, development of ideas, and the pursuit of happiness. We dedicate ourselves to the understanding of the historical documents of the United States of America which were prepared by our forefathers, who, wishing to insure for themselves and all future generations the God-given rights of free men, gave us a completely new form of government.

Article 1. Recognizing Almighty God as the author of all human rights, we pledge ourselves to oppose atheistic philosophies and materialistic ideologies.

Article 2. We pledge ourselves to uphold, protect, and preserve our American Independence, our Flag, our Constitution and Bill of Rights — the freedom for which they stand.

Article 3. Realizing that no peoples desiring freedom can be helped by a weakening of the government of the United States, we pledge ourselves to defend the full national sovereignty of our country.

Article 4. We pledge ourselves to uphold the Constitution of the Young Americans for the Republic.

In observance of United States Day, October 23, 1955, the Young Americans for the

Republic presented to all of the city, county and parochial high schools in Marion County, large copies of the Declaration of Independence to be hung in every history and government classroom.

Mr. and Mrs. Frederick S. Ballweg, 2292 Wynndale Road, Indianapolis 8, Indiana, who are among the parent sponsors of this group, write: "You are all busy people, but I hope that, after you read this, you will give serious consideration as to how this 'small candle' lighted here by these young people can grow into a very bright light all over our country. We will be happy to answer questions, to have your suggestions; we would like your help and approval."

## Charity Begins at Home

While Mrs. Birdie Flanakin, 1105 Harper Poplar Bluff, Missouri, has no fault to find with U. S. plans to send greater amounts of our surplus foods abroad, she asks, "Is it possible for us to use some of these foods to help our Indians — those like the Navajos especially?"

Mrs. Flanakin enclosed reproduction of a letter written at Christmas, 1954, by Fr. Emmett, O.F.M. Cap., St. Labre Indian Mission, Ashland, Montana, thanking a friend for cigars which had been sent him, but stating that it would have made him much happier if the donor had sent some food or clothing for his beloved Indians.

Fr. Emmett's letter continued, "You simply cannot imagine the bitter suffering of the Cheyenne until you live among them. The Sisters found some children on Christmas night who didn't have any dinner or supper on Christmas day. They were starved."

Asks Mrs. Flanakin, "Is our government doing anything to correct these conditions? If not, why not? How can I help?"

## "Nightmare in Red"

Congratulations to both the National Broadcasting Company and Armstrong Circle Theatre for performance of a true public service in their television presentation of the documentary film, "Nightmare in Red," presenting an unforgettable history of the growth of communism in Russia up to the time of Stalin's death.

Congratulations also to Mr. Heron Salomon, who created this gripping production, requiring the careful, painstaking compilation of thousands of feet of motion picture film collected from sixty-four different sources all over the world, including movie hideaways, private collections, and foreign archives, some of which may not even now be revealed.

Some sections of the footage of "Nightmare in Red" had never been seen publicly before; some had not been viewed for decades. The earliest of the material dates back to 1895; the latest was made as recently as the construction of the Iron Curtain after World War I.

It is to be hoped that this will be shown again and again, until everyone in the country has had an opportunity to see it.

"Our country, right or wrong —  
BUT — our readers' right to write!"

What would you like to see in this column? Constructive suggestions for education, recognition of patriots, who are connected with the news — all are welcome, including illustrative photographs or news shots. Place your orders by writing to Readers Report, *Facts Forum News*, Dallas, Texas.

R.S.V.P.



# FACTS FORUM NEWS

America's Most Thought-Provoking Magazine

Volume 5  
Number 4  
April, 1956

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### TO ORDER FACTS FORUM NEWS REPRINTS

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	Less than 100	100	500	1,000	5,000 or more
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OFFICIAL PUBLICATION of Facts Forum, Inc., 1710 Jackson Street, Dallas 1, Texas. Published monthly in the interests of Facts Forum participants and others concerned with dispelling public apathy. Second-class mailing privileges authorized at Dallas, Texas. Printed in U.S.A.

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES in the U.S. and U.S. possessions, \$2 per year, \$5 for three years. All other countries, \$3 per year. To subscribe, see page 64.

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FACTS FORUM is a nationwide public education organization dedicated to arousing public interest in important current events and stimulating individual participation in the shaping of public policy.



May

We tell you about  
the next issue of

## Facts Forum News

### "Dear Congressman:"

If you have not used the above salutation recently, you may wonder whether letters to Congress are worthwhile. Perhaps you are one of the many who, according to a recent survey, do not even know the identities of their congressmen!

The white light of clarity will be thrown on this subject next month by an article proving that letters to Congress ARE important — that many single letters have resulted in beneficial action and legislation.

You'll want to save the index of Senators and Representatives, showing the areas each represent — also the listing of Senate and House Committees and their chairmen, — a personal *Congressional Directory* in miniature!

### Are "Right to Work" Laws Right?

YES . . . say those who believe that all should have the right to join labor unions, but not be compelled to do so, pointing to the eighteen states which now have Right to Work Laws. The economy of many of these states, they claim, has advanced steadily in most fields that usually indicate general prosperity.

NO . . . say the opponents of Right to Work Laws, claiming that through them business is hampered rather than helped. Such laws, in their opinions, result in a restricted economy, lower wages and less purchasing power for the consumer.

### Response to RFE Series

Each mail brings to *Facts Forum* more letters both complimenting and condemning the publication in our January through March issues of articles dealing with Radio Free Europe, many on each side bearing the "mark of authority."

In order that a full presentation may be included, it is necessary to postpone the publication of these letters. They will appear in our May issue, rather than in this issue, as originally planned.



# DOWN TO EARTH



Any solution to the farm problem must, of necessity, consider not only farmers, but urban dwellers as well—taxpayers all. President Eisenhower advanced what he considered a fair and equitable plan in his message to Congress. The plan is outlined below.

**P**RESIDENT Eisenhower's Nine-Point Farm Plan most likely has been cussed and discussed by any number of informed and uninformed farm operators, as well as by legislators, housewives and businessmen. Doubtless it has also become a matter for much discussion to the staunch chew-and-spit crowd who congregate on street corners.

Farmers, in all likelihood the greatest individualists in America, are always sensitive to a shift in the wind of governmental interference. A panacea offered for the agricultural barometric disturbance was Eisenhower's Nine-Point Farm Plan. Some farmers are no longer sure of their "ground," for the Hydra-headed farm plan presents problems peculiar to certain areas, and its many ramifications are not always discernible per se.

To some farmers it seems a veritable lifeline; to others it appears to be a strangle hold unequalled in modern times, marketing quotas notwithstanding. Additionally, the President is said by some to be assiduously wooing a rustic maid in order that he may marry the rural vote.

Election campaign hoopla to the contrary, the truth of the matter is that the farmer, who generally operates out of the limelight, has become, hyperbolically, the cynosure of all eyes. And now the farmer regards those eyes, perhaps with some justification, as too often astigmatic and myopic.

Undeniably, the farmer's difficulty is no Johnny-come-lately thing; it is a problem of long standing. He is caught in a squeeze play — squeezed between rising prices for the things he buys, and declining prices for the things he sells. Furthermore, it has long been a matter of record that as the agricultural economy goes, so goes our entire social order — economically speaking, that is.

Two of our greatest farm problems are the utilization of pre-existing stock, and a sensible way to diminish output. If these two problems can be dealt with concurrently,

perhaps the farmer will no longer be getting there (to the bank) "latest with the leastest."

President Eisenhower, in his message on farm problems sent to Congress on January 9, 1956, stated that critical farm problems needed prompt congressional action. He outlined the causes of these problems as follows:

First — production and market distortions, the result of wartime production incentives too long continued.

Second — current record livestock production and near-record crop harvests piled on top of previously accumulated carry-overs.

Third — rising costs and high capital requirements.

One of the greatest problems facing our nation is the ever-growing surplus. These surpluses are the result of wartime production incentives which were continued long after the war. Disposal efforts have been ineffective. By way of explanation, for each hypothetical bushel of a given commodity sold, one and a half bushels have been stockpiled to take its place. One is reminded of the man climbing stairs in the dark—he takes one step up and slides down two. And, were it not for these mounting surpluses, currently farmers would be getting more money for the commodities which they sell.

Until 1954 there was 90 per cent of parity price support, a practice still favored by a great many people. However, the Agricultural Act of 1954, passed with bipartisan support, was felt by many to be a step in the right direction. It brought price flexibility, which was designed to keep commodity supplies in balance with markets. More than 60 different survey groups and more than 500 prominent farm leaders participated in the study that helped develop the Agricultural Act. Agricultural colleges, research institutions, mail from thousands of farmers, and farm organizations all contributed to this bipartisan venture. Essentially, it replaced the 90 per cent price support with "flexible" supports. These flexible supports vary

(Continued on Page 3)



# On the Farm Problem

Senator Allen J. Ellender (D-La.), right, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, presents for readers of *Facts Forum News* the basic provisions of the farm bill approved by the Committee, and in the following article tells why it differed from the President's farm plan.



JUDGING from the political sharpshooting that followed the reporting of the Senate Agriculture Committee's 1956 farm bill, one would think that "90 per cent of parity" is an evil phrase, one that portends more distress for our sagging farm economy.

Unfortunately, that is the impression being spoon-fed to the average American citizen; it is fostered by those who refuse to be realistic and who advocate an agricultural philosophy which will lead to even more shrunken farm income. This, incidentally, is inevitable unless something concrete is done now.

The Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry did not adopt a two-year extension of rigid 90 per cent of parity price supports for political reasons. On the contrary, the 8-7 vote which reinstated high price supports included three Republicans and five Democrats. The proportion of the membership voting against the proposal was similarly divided: four Republicans and three Democrats voted "Nay."

Why, then, did the Committee feel that rigid price supports should be reinstated?

The reason is a simple one, and at the same time, a compelling one. Net farm income has dropped nearly \$5 billion since 1951 — from \$14.8 billion to \$10 billion in the third quarter of 1955. The farmer's share of the consumer's dollar spent for food products fell from 48 cents in 1951 to 39 cents in December of 1955. During approximately that same period, net corporate profits and total labor income increased by \$3.5 billion and \$46.5 billion respectively.

It was the considered judgment of the committee that unless immediate steps were taken to bolster falling farm income, the depressed state of American agriculture would spread into and infect other segments of our economy.

We considered a number of ways to increase farm income, and increase it substantially and immediately. We

found that as to the basic commodities only one — an immediate increase in price support levels — would achieve the desired end, short of outright subsidy payments which neither the farmer nor the Congress desired. In the hope of bolstering farm prices of non-basics, including livestock, we have recommended an appropriation of one-quarter billion dollars to supplement Section 32 funds. (These funds are used to purchase surplus perishable commodities for use in the school lunch and similar programs.)

The question has frequently been raised, "Why did not the committee confine its bill to recommendations in the President's farm message?"

The soil bank, the Great Plains program, the rural redevelopment program — all suggested to the Congress by President Eisenhower — will bring some good over a long-term period. By permitting acres to remain idle, they will doubtless result in reducing our carry-over in most crops now in surplus, and thereby cause market prices to rise, if enough time elapses. But our farmers cannot wait two years or five years for relief; they need help now, and immediate assistance is what the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry voted to extend to them.

It should be noted that the immediate increase in price support levels does not stand alone in the suggested farm program; included also were the long-range programs recommended by the President — and they were included for good reason.

It should also be noted that the inclusion of mandatory 90 per cent of parity price supports for five of the six basic commodities is limited to a two-year period. It is our hope that at the expiration of this period, the decline in farm income will have been effectively halted, that the long-range programs outlined by the President and included in the Committee's bill will have taken hold, and

(Continued on Page 5)



continued . . . **Nine-Point Farm Plan**

from 75 to 90 per cent of parity on corn, wheat, cotton, rice and peanuts. However, the Act has not had a chance to be effective; it is over-burdened with surpluses already on hand.

Government granaries are bulging, and these stockpiles cannot be kept forever. There are only two disposition routes open — discounting the fact that they could be destroyed, which would, most agree, be an asinine thing to do — these stockpiles of food must be used either in this country or disposed of abroad. If used in this country, these surpluses would compete with crops which farmers are currently selling. Moreover, if the surpluses were moved abroad in large amounts, they would, in the words of Mr. Eisenhower, “. . . shatter world prices and trade, injure our friends and undermine domestic prices as well.”

It is possible, of course, to dispose of some of the surplus, both abroad and at home. However, these available outlets would be of such a minute nature as to absorb little of the mountainous surplus. Surpluses, whether the taxpayer knows it or not, are costing us one million dollars daily in storage charges. And, when the government starts tapping John Q. Taxpayer on the hip, it hits J. Q. T. in the vital area where he lives.

It is claimed that under Eisenhower's plan there would be no need for large appropriations of money to finance the agricultural program, because it would pay its own way. And, as a matter of record, both Eisenhower and Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson want the plan to be on a voluntary basis. Indeed, Mr. Benson, in a speech before the Vegetable Growers Association, December 8, 1955, Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C., made the following statement:

There are now a few people in this country who apparently think it is smart politics to capitalize on agriculture's troubles. These are the same people who previously shackled farmers with price controls and regimentation — and who tried to ram down the throat of agriculture a Brannan Plan that would have made farmers' income depend on government checks. They are now popping up all over the place with quack remedies and discarded nostrums.

. . . We cannot accept economic aspirin tablets that do not get at the roots of our agricultural ills. We must build soundly — with programs that assist farmers to meet the problems of today and also to face the future with confidence.

Secretary Benson, in the same speech, made reference to the six-point farm program which he and President Eisenhower had announced in Denver a few weeks earlier. This program had as its goal the helping of farmers to gain a fairer share of the nation's prosperity. The six points mentioned were as follows:

1. A stepped-up program of surplus disposal and expansion of exports.
2. A vigorous purchase program to remove market gluts, wherever they occur, and to assist farmers to adjust to market demands.
3. An enlarged program of soil conservation and incentive payments to divert cropland into grass and trees, particularly in drought areas.
4. Expansion of the Rural Development Program for low-income farm families.
5. A stepped-up program of research, emphasizing lower costs of production, new uses for farm products, new crops, and expansion of markets.

6. A speed-up of the Great Plains Program in cooperation with the ten states involved. This is a program directed toward better land use and better farming practices in the dry-land of the West where drought and soil-blowing are a constant threat.

The above-mentioned six points were explained more fully and augmented with three more points by Eisenhower in his message to Congress. Briefly, in outline form, Eisenhower's Nine-Point Program is as follows:

1. The Soil Bank
  - A. Acreage-Reserve Program
  - B. Conservation-Reserve Program
2. Surplus Disposal
3. Strengthening Commodity Programs
4. Dollar limit on price supports
5. Rural development program
6. The Great-Plains Program
7. Research
8. Credit
9. Gasoline Tax.

As point No. 1, the Soil Bank plan has as its purpose the working-off of surpluses in order to gear production to possible markets. According to Eisenhower, an intelligent attack is needed as follows:

First, future production of crops in greatest surplus must be adjusted both to the accumulated stocks and to the potential markets.

Second, producers of other crops and of livestock must be relieved of excessive production from acreage diverted from surplus crops.

Third, lands poorly suited to tillage, now producing unneeded crops and subject to excessive wind and water erosion, must be retired from cultivation.

(Continued on Page 6)

## Should Secretary of Agriculture



**NO** . . . was the reaction of Senator Ezra Taft Benson (R-Ill.) to the above question on a recent Facts Forum radio program.

ACCORDING to Senator Dirksen, it seems to be the favorite political sport these days to pan Ezra Benson. Dirksen made the following statement, “. . . It is not surprising that there are some who shout for Benson's blood. From what I can see and make out of this whole case, the only reason I know they can assign for wanting to get rid of Secretary Benson is that he has resolutely refused to pursue a course which he believes to be unsound, or refused to follow a program that he deems to be unwise for the country as a whole.

“. . . It takes consummate moral courage of a man like Ezra Benson to wrestle with the farm problems we have now, and incidentally, which he did not create and which this administration inherited. And it takes great moral courage to wrestle with them and not keep an eye constantly on the ballot box. . . .”

Since Benson became Secretary of Agriculture, he has traveled over a quarter of a million miles to attend meetings and to confer with people everywhere. Dirksen's concluding remark was as follows, “. . . America and American agriculture will look a long time before they find another Ezra Benson. That's why I say we'd better stick to him while we've got him.”



# THE FARM PROBLEM

## continued . . . Committee's Farm Bill

that our farmers will not be in the dire straits they are today.

As chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, I worked closely with the other members of the Committee in an effort to keep partisan politics out of the consideration of the new program. I think we did exceedingly well, as is shown by the political complexion of the vote on the various items, to which I referred above.

It was not until the bill came out of committee and was reported to the Senate that the partisan pot-shots fired by the followers of Secretary of Agriculture Benson began to fly.

The vast majority of the petty political objections raised to our bill demonstrate that the dissenters either misunderstand the bill, misunderstand the program therein contained, or just plain want the American small farmer to be crushed out of existence beneath an avalanche of falling prices. For example, one objection frequently raised was that 90 per cent of parity would nullify the soil bank.

This is poppycock. The Secretary of Agriculture would remain empowered to control acreages planted to supported commodities, and to impose marketing quotas. As a matter of fact, all production of the six basic commodities in 1956 will be so controlled. Violators are subjected to heavy penalties, with the single exception of those farmers who grow corn. The corn program is on a quasi-

voluntary basis as far as participation and compliance are concerned.

The fact to be remembered is that whether price supports are flexible or fixed, whether they are at 75 per cent of parity or 90 per cent of parity, acreage allotments and marketing quotas of the same magnitude are involved. The only thing the Committee bill seeks to do is increase the income a farmer can expect from these acreages; it would not increase acreage allotments, nor would it unduly stimulate production on the acreage already allocated to farmers who have voted in local referendums to participate in the government price support program and to accept acreage controls. The same amounts of acreage will be allotted to the basic crops, and will be planted to these crops in 1956, either with or without the 90 per cent parity support feature of the Committee bill. Nor will 90 per cent parity supports bring about increased yields per acre in 1956. On the contrary, the history of our farm program has shown that during periods of depressed returns, farmers try harder to increase their production in order to compensate for the lower per-unit market value of their crops.

As to the specific mathematics of the charge that high price supports will nullify the soil bank, let us take a concrete example.

Farmer "A" owns a 500-acre wheat farm. His acreage allotment for wheat during the 1956 crop year is, say, 100 acres. Under the flexible price support program his production on this 100 acres would be supported at about 76 per cent of parity. Under the Senate Agriculture Committee's bill this production would be supported at 90 per cent of parity. There would be no increase in the amount of acreage that Farmer "A" could plant. The only increase would be the immediate 14 per cent increase in the amount of income Farmer "A" would realize from production grown on his acreage allotment.

A part of the remaining 400 acres of Farmer "A's" land could be placed in the conservation reserve program of the soil bank; that is, Farmer "A" could agree to put this land into grass or trees, and contract not to graze it, and he would receive annual government payments for so doing.

As a matter of fact, it would seem to me that under the program of high price supports voted by the Committee, a farmer would have additional incentive to place some of his cultivable land in the soil bank than he would otherwise. In the first place, he would receive more income than under the sliding scale program; he would therefore feel less need for planting his remaining acres to feed grains or some secondary crop in order to supplement his income and would therefore be inclined to participate in the conservation reserve plan.

I believe, too, that with 90 per cent of parity price supports farmers would have more incentive not to plant their full acreage allotment, but instead to place some of their allotted acres into the acreage reserve program of the soil bank. Here is why:

Payments to stimulate participation in the acreage reserve will undoubtedly be based on a fixed percentage of the parity value of the existing support level. It would follow, then, that a higher support level would bring a higher incentive payment and, with it, a higher participa-

(Continued on Page 7)

## Benson Be Replaced?

**YES** . . . in the opinion of Senator Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.) who also appeared on this program.

SENATOR JOHNSTON was most emphatic in stating that he thought Secretary Benson should be replaced by someone more sympathetic to the problems facing the farmers. There was no mincing of words when he said, "Mr. Benson has been a hot and cold Secretary of Agriculture ever since he has been in office. He has been hot on idle promises and cold on political problems."

It is the opinion of Senator Johnston that the Republicans promised the farmers in 1952 they would continue 90 per cent price supports on basic commodities, and that Mr. Benson's first act was to tear down 90 per cent supports, in violation of this promise.

In relation to the soil bank proposal and the plan for disposal of surplus crops, Senator Johnston stated, "Last year Mr. Benson's Agriculture Department twice wrote unfavorable reports on proposals for soil bank programs. This year, election year, he's hot for the soil bank program because the Republican high command needs the farmers' votes and they've got to promise something."

"He can't blame the farmers, the Democrats or anyone in particular for his flip-flop farm policies. Until a short time ago he was condemning surpluses as a root of all the farmers' troubles."



continued . . . **Nine-Point Farm Plan**

The foregoing "adjustments," according to Eisenhower, could be brought about by a Soil Bank Program. This would consist of two parts — the Acreage-Reserve Program, and the Conservation-Reserve Program.

The Acreage-Reserve Program has as its purpose a deferred-production plan. If the term appears ambiguous, it means simply that the farmer would reduce voluntarily his acreage planted to surplus crops; namely, wheat, cotton, corn and rice. The farmer, being rewarded for his participation in the program, would be allocated certificates for commodities, the value of these certificates being in line with the average expected yields from his acreage withheld from tillage. These certificates would be negotiable, and could be converted into cash — all payable at normal crop harvesting time. There would be the stipulation that the farmer not graze or harvest any crop from the "fallow" acreage in reserve. Additionally, his acreage allotment for marketing quota purposes would not be affected.

The plan is to finance this Acreage-Reserve Program with commodities owned presently by the government. Their argument is that time, shrinkage, storage and various costs are nibbling away at the values of these commodity stockpiles. Thus, the net cost in the final scheme of things would be less than if the government kept and added to the stockpiles. For, if no more surpluses are added, the stockpiles could be utilized and done away with. Virtues of the plan, according to Eisenhower, are as follows:

It will help remove the crushing burden of surpluses, the essential precondition for the successful operation of a sound farm program.

It will reduce the massive and unproductive storage costs on government holdings — costs that are running about a million dollars a day.

It will provide an element of insurance, since farmers are assured income from the reserve acres even in a year of crop failure.

It will ease apprehension among our friends abroad over our surplus-disposal program.

It will harmonize agricultural production with peacetime markets.

The Conservation-Reserve Program, being the second part of the Soil Bank Plan, has as its purpose the restoration to pasture and forest some of the acreage now devoted to surplus crops. This would, because of previous wastage of soil and water resources, restore to pasture some of the land now being tilled, which would, in certain areas, eliminate or substantially decrease dust storms.

The Conservation-Reserve Program, according to Eisenhower, would bring the following awards:

It will result in improved use of soil and water resources for the benefit of this and future generations.

It will increase our supply of much-needed farm-grown forest products.

It will help hold rain and snow where they fall and make possible more ponds and reservoirs on the farm.

It will reduce the undue stimulus to livestock production and consequent low livestock prices, induced by feed-grain production on diverted acres.

It will similarly provide protection for producers of the many small-acreage crops whose markets are threatened by even a few diverted acres.

In combination with the acreage-reserve program for crops in surplus, the conservation-reserve program will help during the next several years to reduce the total volume of farm production and improve the balance among different farm commodities, both of which are important to a general improvement in farm prices.

Also, and equally attractive to both rural and urban people alike, is the fact that the plan, according to Mr. Eisenhower, would not cost the taxpayer additional money, for it would be paid for by the use of the surplus products now on hand. The big flaw in the plan is that many farmers would doubtless want their pay in cash

(Continued on Page 8)

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson examines "transient real estate" on a farm fifteen miles east of Denver, Colorado. The Conservation-Reserve Program, as the second part of Eisenhower's Soil Bank Plan, would be of great help to farmers in this drought-battered area.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO



## Continued . . . Committee's Farm Bill

tion in the acreage reserve and a consequent lowering of the amount of acreage actually planted to the basic crops. Conversely, it would seem that lower farm prices would actually imperil the President's soil bank program rather than assist it.

We have also been criticized for not making participation in the so-called "acreage reserve" mandatory, instead of leaving it on a voluntary basis.

This participation was made voluntary for good reason. Our farm producers had already voted on the issue of whether they wanted acreage allotments. Their vote had been favorable, and it was predicated on participating farmers planting all of the acreage allotted to them. Our Committee felt it would be morally as well as probably legally wrong for the Congress to impose a further condition on the planting of these acres — one which had not been voted on by the farmers at the time of the crop referendums, and one which would reduce their allotted acreage by a substantial amount — perhaps as much as 10 per cent.

However, the overriding objective of the Committee was to bolster farm income immediately. We felt, and I believe justifiably, that if the present price decline were permitted to continue for any appreciable time, many hundreds more of small farmers would be squeezed out of business; the trend toward "bigness" in agriculture, with its accompanying quasi-monopolistic characteristics and attendant dangers, would be accelerated. Even more dangerous, we felt that a depressed agriculture, bringing with it lowered farm purchasing power, would soon affect the entire economic structure of our nation.

END

## The Soil Bank Plan

- Is It Legal?
- How It Worked First Time Twenty Years Ago

Dr. Murray R. Benedict, Professor of Agricultural Economics in the Giannini Foundation at the University of California in Berkeley, made some interesting comparisons in the present proposed soil bank plan and a similar soil preservation plan that was in operation some twenty years ago. His observations were published in an article by Hamilton L. Hintz in the *Sacramento Bee* of January 21, 1956:

**H**OW ABOUT the soil bank plan . . . as a part of a program to solve the problems of the farmers? Is it new? How will it work? What are its chances of success? Can its framers hurdle an apparently formidable legal barrier?

These are questions which come to the minds of people connected with agriculture, and to those who have the welfare of the farmers and the country at heart. . . .

### TRIED FIRST IN 1933

"A program somewhat similar to the soil bank plan was tried in the middle 1930's," said Dr. Benedict.

"Under authority of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 the government entered into contracts with the growers of cotton, wheat, corn, and tobacco to pay rental on acreage withheld from production.

"A separate program was instituted for hogs with the aim of preventing depressing surpluses going to market."

(Continued on Page 9)

Typical of the farms affected by the decline in prices of agricultural commodities is this wheat farm in Southwestern Kansas. Senator Ellender cites the reason for rigid price supports: "Net farm income has dropped nearly \$5 billion since 1951 — the farmer's share of the consumer's dollar spent for food products fell from 48 cents in 1951 to 39 cents in December of 1955."



WIDE WORLD PHOTO



continued . . . **Nine-Point Farm Plan**

rather than in wheat, cotton, or whatever. However, this type of payment could be made more attractive to them by the addition of bonus bushels of wheat, bales of cotton, etc., if they would take their payment in kind.

The Surplus Disposal, as point No. 2, would be accomplished by bartering perishable agricultural products for nonperishable strategic materials. And it is likely that donations to the needy, both at home and abroad, would be utilized, as well as cut-rate sales.

Strengthening Commodity Programs, as point No. 3, would mean simply a program of raised price support for some crops. Eisenhower, in his message to Congress, made the statement that the Administration:

(a) Whenever possible will continue to ease or eliminate controls over farmers; and

(b) For commodities on which price supports are discretionary, will continue to support these prices at the highest levels possible without accumulating new price-depressing surpluses.

Another provision of point No. 3 is that when the livestock market becomes glutted and prices disrupted, the government would, if necessary, purchase livestock and bolster prices. Too, there would be stepped-up school lunch use, as well as use by the armed services.

A Dollar Limit on Price Supports, as point No. 4, would provide a maximum price-support loan to any one particular farm or individual. According to Eisenhower, ". . . The limit should be sufficiently high to give full protection to efficiently operated farms."

A Rural Development Program, as point No. 5, has as

its purpose the aiding of smaller farms and the low-income farm families. Heretofore, those who benefited most from farm programs have been the larger farms, with their higher production. Assisting in this development program would be the departments of Commerce, Health, Education and Welfare, and Agriculture.

The Great Plains Program, as point No. 6, would provide special help against the hazards of this particular area, such help consisting of government money, technicians and credit. This would be a program directed toward better land use and better farming practices in the dry lands of the West, where drought and soil-blowing are a constant threat. According to Eisenhower, some desirable modifications of existing legislation include:

1. Provision for long-time cost-sharing commitments under the agricultural-conservation program, and
2. Relaxation of planting requirements to maintain base acreage for wheat allotments.

Research, as point No. 7, would seek new techniques, products, markets and uses of agricultural products. Research could help utilize our present abundance by finding new uses for agricultural products. A refined marketing mechanism, plus refrigeration and new processing techniques, could accomplish much. To quote from Eisenhower's speech:

Marketing margins have continued to increase, even while farm prices have been declining. Thus the farmer's share of the retail food dollar has shrunk appreciably. Retail prices have changed little, thereby impeding desired increases in consumption. We must find ways to lower costs of food distribution. Research is an effective way to help attain that important goal.

Credit, as point No. 8, would give the kind of aid



**Bales Awaiting Rails.**  
This cotton compress near Shiner, Texas, is filled to capacity, and overflow bales of cotton are piled in an adjoining field while awaiting shipment. These bales occupy more than a quarter-mile from the compress to the highway.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO



income farmers which cannot be found elsewhere. This would be true particularly for young farmers, or for those who have started farming recently. In the words of Eisenhower, "The Administration is determined to see to it that an adequate supply of credit remains readily available to our farmers at all times."

It is a matter of record that the poor lot of many farmers has forced them off farms and into cities. Birth rates balanced against death rates in cities have never been high enough to justify the phenomenal growth in over-all population during the past few years. Such growth has come largely from farms.

Some of the older farmers who made money during the postwar '40's have been able to ride out the stormy recent years. The young farmers who started from scratch and who are without reserves, have been harder hit. Harder hit also are the middle-size farmers who have too much farm to make it possible for them to work part-time in town, as many others have done and are doing, and yet are without enough land to allow them big-operation efficiencies. The end result of all this is that, even though the total number of farms has decreased, the decrease is in the middle-size farms. Large farms and small ones are actually increasing in numbers.

The Gasoline Tax, as point No. 9, would make farmers exempt from paying federal tax on gasoline which is to be used in farm equipment and machinery. Approximately one-half of the gasoline used by them is utilized on the farm, and the Administration feels that the farmer is entitled to some relief in this respect.

Farmers are a kind of buffer group, standing between us and higher living costs. It seems, then, to be the consensus of all the John Q. Taxpayers that it is time to stop making the farmer often a bridesmaid but never a bride — more specifically, that it is time to help the farmer gain a more equitable share of the nation's prosperity.

There is no EASY way to unload the government's accumulations of farm products and bring about a greater prosperity for the farmer. The nine-point plan was designed to bring production in line with consumption, and to put into practical operation the philosophy expressed by Mr. Eisenhower that:

The proper role of government . . . is that of partner with the farmer — never his master. By every possible means we must develop and promote that partnership — to the end that agriculture may continue to be a sound, enduring foundation for our economy and that farm living may be a profitable and satisfying experience.

END

*We should talk with those with whom we disagree . . . There's always a chance, rather remote, that some sparks might come to light a candle which would help us all. — SIR ANTHONY EDEN*

*A government for the people must depend for its success on the intelligence, the morality, the justice, and the interest of the people themselves.*

— GROVER CLEVELAND

*Restriction of free thought and free speech is the most dangerous of all subversions. It is the one un-American act that could most easily defeat us.*

— SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

## continued . . . The Soil Bank Plan

### ELEMENTS OF SIMILARITY

He pointed out the present soil bank proposal and the 1933 plan are similar in that farmers would be paid for taking land out of production in surplus crops, and the government would make soil conservation payments for soil-building practices.

Another point of similarity is that the new plan, like the old one, would provide the option of the farmer taking surplus crops from the government in lieu of cash payments.

### PROVED SPECULATIVE

"Farmers taking surplus cotton for payment was tried in the early 1930's," said Dr. Benedict. "The record shows that some farmers made money by a rise in price after they took payment in crops. Presumably the architects of the new legislation would provide suitable curbs for speculative use of surplus crops."

The economist pointed out three areas of dissimilarity, saying: "The new proposal is unlike the old program in that it provides for agreements between the government and the growers for periods of five to ten years, whereas the earlier deal mostly was on a year-to-year contractual basis."

"Also under the new proposal lands diverted from surplus crops could not be used in the production of other crops which would create new surpluses elsewhere."

### TREASURY PAYMENTS

"Another change is that under the system of the thirties the money for benefit payments to growers was derived from a processing tax whereas the new plan would make the payments directly out of the federal treasury."

Dr. Benedict termed the soil bank plan of the thirties as not entirely successful although being of some help in reducing acreage and surpluses in wheat, corn, tobacco and cotton.

The greatest factor in leveling off the situation was the droughts of 1933 and 1934 which wiped out the formidable wheat and cotton surpluses of the 1931-32 period, and had the United States on a wheat importing basis by the end of 1934.

### LEGAL BARRIER?

The legal fate of the 1933 soil bank plan poses a question in the consideration of a revival of the idea.

"After operating for three years," points out Dr. Benedict, "the Supreme Court in 1936 declared the crop adjustment plan unconstitutional on the grounds the government could not tax the processors and could not enter into contracts with individual farmers in connection with the land rental feature."

"The present soil bank proposal has individual contractual provisions similar to the contracts ruled unconstitutional in 1936. Possibly, however, the framers of the new legislation can keep it within the bounds of the 1936 decision, or hope for a more favorable interpretation in the light of present-day conditions."

END



# UNESCO

## GOOD OR BAI



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of The American Legion, shakes hands with George Meany, new president of the AFL-CIO, on the occasion of the recent merger of the labor organizations. The American Legion is unalterably opposed to present policies of UNESCO. American labor endorses and praises its accomplishments.



What do you know about the specialized agency of the United Nations known as UNESCO? Some think it is doing a great job. Others think some changes need to be made. Still others radically disagree with the whole idea. Here and on the following pages are some statements representative of various points of view.

# INFLUENCE?

(Following are excerpts from the booklet, *Questions and Answers about UNESCO*, published by the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.)

## What Is UNESCO?

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is one of ten specialized international agencies affiliated with the United Nations. Its purpose, stated in its constitution, is:

"... to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations." (Article I, Constitution of UNESCO)

## How Did UNESCO Get Started?

One of the problems facing the Allied leaders during World War II was that of restoring the educational and cultural heritage of war-torn countries. Schools and libraries had been destroyed. More important, whole generations of minds had been warped—with what then seemed to be frightening efficiency.

Statesmen, educators, cultural leaders in many countries were convinced that an international organization should be set up to pool Allied resources and skills for the job of mending the havoc of the war and to promote better international understanding.

In 1945 representatives of 43 countries, including the United States, drew up a constitution for this organization. Delegates from the United

States played a substantial role in drafting the document and especially in widening the concept of the organization to a broad people-to-people type of collaboration.

## Why Was the United States So Interested?

Leaders in both the executive branch and in the Congress, and private organizations as well, saw this organization as a necessary part of the foundations for lasting peace. To the private organizations, at least, it was no new idea. Since the founding of this country private citizens have taken part in international cooperation in intellectual and cultural fields.

Such organizations as the International Union of Peace Associations in the International Cooperative Alliance had been formed before World War I.

During the interwar period such groups as the International Council of Scientific Unions, the International Union of Academies, the International Federation of University Women, and Rotary International had affiliate organizations in this country. And, although the U. S. government did not participate in the League of Nations' International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, a National Committee of International Intellectual Cooperation had been set up in this country.

Thus, these and many others, including religious and philanthropic groups whose work had long ago taken them into international educational and cultural matters, gave their support to the proposed organization.

Accordingly, resolutions were introduced in the House of Representatives "urging" the U. S. government to participate in the creation of a permanent international organization for educational and cultural cooperation by

Representative (now Senator) Karl Mundt of South Dakota, and in the Senate by Senators William Fulbright of Arkansas and Robert Taft of Ohio. They passed with overwhelming majorities. Later our participation in UNESCO was ratified by a vote of 264 to 41 in the House and without dissent in the Senate.

## Who Belongs to UNESCO?

There are now 74 member states. They are as follows:

Afghanistan	Japan
Argentina	Jordan
Australia	Korea, Republic of
Austria	Laos
Belgium	Lebanon
Bolivia	Liberia
Brazil	Libya
Burma	Luxembourg
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Mexico
Cambodia	Monaco
Canada	Nepal
Ceylon	Netherlands
Chile	New Zealand
China	Nicaragua
Colombia	Norway
Costa Rica	Pakistan
Cuba	Panama
Czechoslovakia	Paraguay
Denmark	Peru
Dominican Republic	Philippines
Ecuador	Poland
Egypt	Saudi Arabia
El Salvador	Spain
Ethiopia	Sweden
France	Switzerland
Germany, Federal	Syria
Republic of	Thailand
Greece	Turkey
Guatemala	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Haiti	Union of South
Honduras	Africa
Hungary	U.S.S.R.
India	United Kingdom
Indonesia	United States
Iran	Uruguay
Iraq	Venezuela
Israel	Viet-Nam
Italy	Yugoslavia



### Who Decides What UNESCO Does?

The member states. Delegates from these states meet in general conference at least once every two years. They determine UNESCO's policies, chart the main line of its work, review and, if necessary, change the proposed budget for the coming period, and elect a 22-member Executive Board to make interim decisions. Each state has one vote and a majority carries.

### Who Does It?

UNESCO's affairs are managed by a Director-General. His headquarters are in Paris. Luther Evans, former Librarian of the United States Library of Congress, is the present Director-General. He is UNESCO's third Director-General and the first American to hold the post. Of his Secretariat—about 850 employees—some 10 per cent are Americans.

### Do Delegates at the General Conferences and on the Executive Board Act as Representatives of Their Governments?

Yes. UNESCO is an *intergovernmental* organization. United States delegates receive their instructions from the Department of State. These instructions are based partly upon the advice provided by the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO.

### In What Other Way Does the American Government Control American Participation in UNESCO Activities?

Each year appropriations to meet the United States' share of UNESCO budgets are prepared by the State Department and reviewed by the Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget, before being presented to the Congress. That body, in turn, scrutinizes these requests in the same manner that it studies any other proposed expenditure.

### What Does UNESCO Cost?

UNESCO's regular budget is about ten million dollars a year. It also receives varying sums from the United Nations Technical Assistance Program for special work in underdeveloped areas. These are voluntary contributions. The United States pays 30 per cent of the regular budget. This amount—three million dollars—represents a per capita cost to Americans of slightly less than two cents a year.



New headquarters for UNESCO are being constructed on the Place de Fontenoy in Paris, with sight of the Military School of Paris and the Eiffel Tower. The building will be seven stories high with a housing capacity for 1500, a parking lot for 150 cars, an additional underground garage, and a conference room for 1500. It is expected to be completed within the first six months of 1957.

### What Does UNESCO Do?

Through its program UNESCO strives to surmount certain significant handicaps to international peace. These are:

- the lack of education and the opportunity for education,
- the lack of understanding and cooperation among peoples of different nations, religions, and cultures,
- the obstacles to the free flow of information, ideas, and of people between nations, and
- the lack of scientific knowledge and how to use such knowledge for the improvement of living conditions.

UNESCO, therefore, is helping underdeveloped countries to create primary and secondary school systems, while at the same time helping them to teach their adult illiterates the fundamental knowledge and skills which they need in their daily lives to help improve their standard of living and to become responsible citizens.

It gives and has given technical advice to nations to help build press and radio systems adapted to the practical needs of their people.

It encourages all nations to use their press, radio, and television facilities to foster better international understanding.

It has published catalogs of the best

available color reproductions of the world's masterpieces.

It has made available translation from Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Japanese, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese to make the literary genius of the different peoples available in many languages.

UNESCO calls the attention of member states to barriers to the free flow of persons, ideas, and knowledge between nations, suggesting wherever possible practical actions to remove them.

UNESCO assists member states in the establishment of their library and museum services and helps train personnel for these institutions.

UNESCO encourages and coordinates scientific research for the improvement of living conditions. In the past four years it has pooled research on arid zone problems, setting up an International Advisory Committee on Arid Zone Research. In addition to the collection and change of information, UNESCO has conducted international meetings on various aspects of arid zone research, bringing together experts from over the world to combine their resources and talents in the fight against the desert.

Finally, UNESCO provides a clearinghouse of information on the latest methods, techniques, and developments in education, science, and culture.



# BAD INFLUENCE?

## **Aren't These UNESCO Programs Too Ambitious?**

Strictly speaking, these are not UNESCO programs but the reflection of the aspirations and the determined efforts of a considerable portion of mankind. UNESCO is but one of the many different agencies which is working to bring them to fruition. Note the words "help," "encourage," "study," "provide." UNESCO IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL AND LOCAL ACTION. It is a service agency, an activator, catalyst, coordinator.

UNESCO, therefore, will not accomplish these programs. The peoples of the world will — and UNESCO is one of the tools they are using.

## **Specifically Why Should International Action Be Necessary To Wipe Out Illiteracy?**

There are more than a billion people who cannot read, and more than half the world's children have no schools. It would be absurd to assert that the eradication of illiteracy all over the world is a "UNESCO goal." Dozens of governments and scores of private voluntary agencies are tackling the job — and many of them were doing it long before UNESCO existed. But UNESCO is making a significant and essential contribution in its development of fundamental education and in the help it can offer to nations who are building their first system of mass education.

## **What Is Fundamental Education And What Does UNESCO Have To Do With It?**

In 1946 UNESCO put a small group of experts to work to determine the minimum fundamental education needed by a man to cope with life in his environment. They set themselves the task of developing a simple and effective system of teaching the three "R's" of living. The result is described as fundamental education — an emergency fill-in until formal school systems can be established.

There are now more than a hundred independent fundamental education projects in countries like India, the Philippines, Peru, and Nigeria. In these, for example, reading and spelling are subordinated to schooling in the essentials of hygiene, nutrition, and agriculture. There are, further, regional demonstration centers. Their function is to train teachers in the techniques of fundamental education. National fundamental education

projects are associated with UNESCO and with each other through a UNESCO clearing-house which helps them exchange information, materials, and consultation services. This exchange is especially important in a field which is barely out of the experimental stage and in which novel applications of some of the oldest principles of education are being tried.

Finally, UNESCO conducts "operational" activities which include survey and advisory missions, the development of new materials, and pilot projects.

## **What Is UNESCO's Role in Primary And Secondary School Development?**

Admittedly, fundamental education is a "hard way" expedient to make up for the lack of schools *yesterday*. What about tomorrow? UNESCO is helping some 40 nations build new school systems or reorganize and strengthen outmoded ones. Here again, UNESCO could not undertake to build the hundreds of thousands of schools which will be built; nor will these schools be built because UNESCO said they should; nor will there be uniform "UNESCO school systems." There is no such system. The job is being done, and will be finished, by Bolivians for Bolivians, by Cambodians for Cambodians, by Pakistanis for Pakistanis, and so on.

Because these nations requested help, UNESCO is supplying certain technical skills. Its teams, however, may supply something of the spirit which will make these schools successful. Its experts are saving these nations time and costly mistakes. One thing is certain — not one of these nations, working alone, could have marshaled the variety and quality of technical advice which the UNESCO pool can supply.

## **Does the Emphasis on Helping the Underdeveloped Countries with Their National Development Problems Mean That One of UNESCO's Original Purposes — To Foster Mutual International Understanding — Is Being Neglected?**

No. It means that first things come first. The level of education in *each* nation helps to determine the plateau for common understanding among *all* nations. And formidable though the job may seem, we cannot expect anything like broad people-to-people understanding until the underdeveloped

two-thirds of the world succeeds in raising its educational — and, with it, its economic and social — level.

## **Are There Accomplishments In Other Fields?**

A UNESCO Advisory Committee on Arid Zone Research now links practically all the important studies being made on the use of barren desert lands. This is a matter of primary importance to the United States. Research centers in many countries, including this one, are exchanging research data and holding joint study conferences. The latest of these was held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in April, 1955.

At the instigation of UNESCO, twelve European countries are pooling research facilities to explore peaceful uses of atomic energy. They have formed the Council for European Cooperation in Nuclear Research (CERN) and are establishing a large laboratory near Geneva, Switzerland.

UNESCO-aided international organizations in the fields of literature, the theater, music, museums, history, philosophy, modern languages, etc., link cultural leaders throughout the world.

A UNESCO-drafted Universal Copyright Convention insures for authors the same protection and treatment in a foreign land that the country accords its native writers. It has been signed by 40 countries and came into effect in September, 1955.

UNESCO's international coupon system, which allows people in soft currency countries to buy books, scientific equipment, and audiovisual materials from hard currency countries, has resulted in the exchange of more than sixty-five million dollars worth of such educational necessities.

## **Education, Science, and Culture Are Powerful Forces. What Are UNESCO's Premises?**

The parties to the UNESCO Constitution have stated in that document that they believe in:

- full and equal opportunities for education for all,
- the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth,
- the free exchange of ideas and knowledge.

They further have stated that they are "agreed and determined" to develop and increase the means of communication between their peoples and to use these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer knowledge of each other's lives.



### **Do Russia and Its Satellites Accept These Premises?**

In the light of Soviet actions since World War II, the USSR's acceptance of UNESCO and its principles can be viewed with considerable skepticism. Until she signed the UNESCO Constitution in April, 1954, Russia had boycotted it and UNESCO had been a consistent target of the Communist-controlled press.

As a member of the United Nations, Russia needed only to sign the UNESCO Constitution to become a member.

### **What Is the U. S. Attitude Toward Russia's Membership?**

The United States will welcome a Soviet decision to take part in UNESCO's work with real sincerity of purpose, but the burden of proof rests upon it.

If the USSR is not sincere, the world will be given another opportunity to contrast Soviet promises with Soviet performance.

One thing is sure. Russia would not have joined if she had not felt that UNESCO was an important force in world affairs. Her presence makes it more important than ever that the United States continue to provide effective leadership in UNESCO.

### **Is the Participation of the American People Important to This Intergovernmental Organization?**

Although UNESCO is necessarily an intergovernmental organization, its success is measured by the degree to which it activates people-to-people relationships.

To do this, the UNESCO Constitution invited each member state to form a National Commission, broadly representative of the government and of the principal groups in each country interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters.

### **What Is the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO?**

It is a group of American citizens appointed by the Secretary of State to:

- (1) advise the Department of State on UNESCO matters;
- (2) serve as the connecting link with organizations, institutions, and individuals interested in UNESCO and matters relating to UNESCO; and

- (3) promote an understanding of the general objectives of UNESCO on the part of the people of the United States.

### **How Does It Advise The Government?**

It acts in a consultative capacity, helping to select candidates for appointment to United States delegations to the General Conference.

Through a system of panels and subcommittees, it makes a thorough study of UNESCO's program and advises the U. S. government on the specific positions its delegations should take at the General Conference.

### **How Does the U. S. National Commission Serve as a Link Between UNESCO and the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Community of America?**

Each month hundreds of requests for information, many of them on highly technical subjects, from people doing practical and valuable work all over the world — scientists, educators, missionaries, etc. — come into the UNESCO headquarters in Paris. Many of the answers are here in the United States — but where? These inquiries are referred to the U. S. National Commission. Through its many contacts, the U. S. National Commission obtains the information requested or, if appropriate, puts the United States source of the information in direct contact with UNESCO.

Each year the United States is in-

vited to participate in dozens of international advisory, consultative, and technical groups. This nation has much to offer the world at these sessions, but it also has much to gain. We sometimes forget what other nations have contributed to our educational, scientific, and cultural wealth. We cannot afford to fail to participate in these meetings if we are to continue to develop as a productive society. Perhaps James Madison realized this when in 1826 he wrote, "Our country, if it does justice to itself, will be the workshop of liberty. . . ." It is the task of the U. S. National Commission to find the most qualified Americans to represent this nation.

### **How Does the U. S. National Commission Go About Promoting Greater Understanding of UNESCO Objectives Within The United States?**

The Commission issues informational publications about UNESCO and its work.

By law it is required to call a National Conference at least every two years at which hundreds of leaders from voluntary organizations and institutions of higher learning discuss and report on important international problems. They have addressed themselves to such questions as "How We Increase United States Effectiveness in Working With Other Peoples?," "What Does the Balance Sheet of the United Nations Show?," "Refugees and Surplus Population Problems," and "Raising the World Educational Level." In addition to stim-



Villagers in rural Delhi are given seed packs by a UNESCO advisor to the Indian Education Ministry as part of a "fundamental education" program for southeast India. Three truck caravans tour the state bringing lectures and exhibitions on basic subjects in an effort to help wipe out the illiteracy rate of 84 per cent.



## O BAD INFLUENCE?

lating interest in these problems, these meetings have been valuable to our own national policymakers, who must know the mind of the nation to arrive at sound policies which will enjoy continuing public support.

During the past two years the National Commission has launched a plan for locally led "Citizen Consultations." These are getting the "grass-

roots" leadership of America to study and make recommendations both to the federal government and to their own communities on such problems as "The National Interest and Foreign Languages," "The American Citizen's Stake in the Progress of Less Developed Areas of the World," and "The American as International Traveler and Host."

## The American Legion and UNESCO\*

Opposition of The American Legion toward UNESCO is representative of much of the current criticism

CERTAINLY the American people are entitled to an honest, accurate and complete explanation by The American Legion of its views on UNESCO. I hope to furnish such an explanation. . . .

There are three principal objectives which must be reached if we are to answer finally the earnest questions of an increasing number of our fellow citizens concerning UNESCO.

The first is to explain briefly the largely unreported, fundamental and historical philosophies and principles of The American Legion which are the foundation of our position on UNESCO and on every other national and international issue.

The second is to correct certain distorted versions of The American Legion's carefully considered national convention action on UNESCO.

And the last is to make it clear that The American Legion has more than enough reason to consider UNESCO as the international sanctuary of impractical one-worlders, red-tinged radicals, and apparently deserters from the ranks of loyal Americans.

What are the philosophies and principles underlying The American Legion's approach to UNESCO and to every other national and international issue?

They can be summed up in these five words: WHAT IS BEST FOR AMERICA.

In some quarters, this concept is considered old-fashioned and out-of-date. As far as The American Legion is concerned, however, this principle is as valid and essential at this very moment as it was when our nation was born — and as it has been throughout our history. . . .

If doing what is best for America is synonymous with nationalism, then it is an enlightened and constructive form of nationalism. For it inspired The American Legion to be first among the nation's great veteran, patriotic, civic, fraternal and business organizations to support the Marshall Plan; to fight for the establishment of NATO; to endorse former President Truman's action in committing American forces to the defense of the Republic of Korea; to call for a security force in the Pacific similar to NATO; to support President Eisenhower's decision to defend Formosa.

These actions are part of the record — a record which clearly shows The American Legion's awareness that collective security agreements, economic and military aid to our allies, and continued United States participation in the United Nations are in America's best interest.

To some, The American Legion's convention approval of continued U. S. participation in the United Nations is in direct contradiction to our action on UNESCO. It is not, of course.

It is, instead, but another example of The American Legion's policy of supporting organizations, policies and programs which contribute to our nation's best interest, and of opposing those which do not.

You understand this, just as you appreciate that The American Legion's convention action on UNESCO climaxed the most extensive study, debate and discussion ever given to any subject by Legionnaires.

Unfortunately, some segments of press created the impression that the UNESCO resolution was passed without sufficient study and discussion. Nothing could be further from the truth. Aside from the two days of discussion and debate given the subject by the members of the joint Foreign

Relations-Americanism convention committee and by witnesses who appeared before it, UNESCO was considered by delegates to many of our Department Conventions this year. As a matter of fact, ten Department Conventions adopted resolutions on the subject. All ten supported existing American Legion policy in opposition to UNESCO.

It's a matter of record, of course, that this subject has also been thoroughly studied and discussed by the National Executive Committee of The American Legion.

On every hand is evidence refuting completely the charge that we acted hastily and without sufficient study on UNESCO. . . .

After reaffirming the action of the National Executive Committee in May, 1953, the 37th convention then resolved, and I quote:

"That The American Legion will not name a delegate to the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

"That The American Legion urges Congress to repeal the laws creating the United States National Commission for UNESCO and its Secretariat; and that Congress deliver mandates to all Administrative Departments of the United States government to desist from further dissemination of UNESCO and United States National Commission for UNESCO materials, reports and programs within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States.

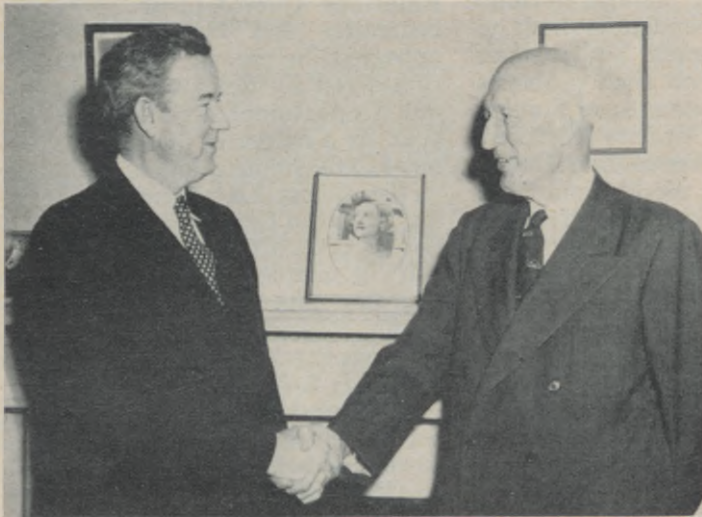
### LEGION URGES CONGRESS TO INVESTIGATE UNESCO

"That Congress be urged to make a complete current investigation of the operations of UNESCO to determine whether or not that agency has complied and is complying with the terms and conditions of Resolution 215 of the House of Representatives and Resolution 122 of the United States Senate, 79th Congress; said resolutions being the basis of the United States participation in UNESCO; provided, further, that investigation be especially made to ascertain 'explicitly whether there has been violation of the provision' of the final portion (which reads): 'provided, however, that such agency shall not interfere with educational systems or programs within the several nations, or their administrations.'"

Continuing to quote the convention resolution: "And if, upon investigation, it is determined that UNESCO has violated any of the conditions as set forth in the resolutions, that Congress be urged to take appropriate

\*Address by National Commander J. Addison Wagner of The American Legion, Department of the District of Columbia, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., November 10, 1955.





Senator John J. Sparkman (left) is welcomed to membership on the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO by the Chairman of the Commission, Willard E. Givens. Senator Sparkman was nominated by Vice President Nixon and appointed by Secretary of State Dulles as a representative of the federal government on the Commission.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PHOTO

action to enforce compliance therewith."

I fail to find in any of this language any suggestion whatsoever, as has been charged, that The American Legion urges United States withdrawal from UNESCO. We urge only that Congress repeal the laws creating the U. S. Commission for UNESCO.

In effect, we ask only that the channel for the distribution of UNESCO world government propaganda in the United States be abolished.

To those who may think that this request amounts to the same thing as urging that the United States pull out of UNESCO, let me say this:

If The American Legion intended the result which UNESCO apologists misrepresent as having occurred, we would have asked that the Congress appropriate no further funds as the U. S. contribution to UNESCO. Not only would this pull the United States out of UNESCO, it would pull the foundation out from under UNESCO itself.

Uncle Sam each year foots one-third of UNESCO's eight- to nine-million-dollar annual bill. We do so despite the fact that only a fraction more than one per cent of the total number of UNESCO's representatives are American citizens.

The American Legion doesn't object to this contribution, but we do object to the fact that, despite this contribution, the United States government has no control over UNESCO's hiring or firing of American employees. Any disloyal Americans employed by UNESCO could flaunt the authority of the United States government, and there's nothing we can do about it.

This isn't just an opinion. It's an undeniable fact, deplored by America's highest representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

In a statement on the loyalty problem among United States employees of UNESCO, released a little more than a year ago on October 16, 1954, Ambassador Lodge stated, and I quote:

"It is now clear that eight United States citizens employed by UNESCO have had adverse loyalty reports from the United States International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board. Concerning these eight persons the Board found reasonable doubt as to their loyalty to the United States. Only one of these eight persons condescended to accept the Board's invitation merely to meet with it when it was in Paris last summer. The seven others were in such contempt of the whole procedure that they did not bother to appear at the Board's meeting.

"Although Dr. Luther Evans, the Director-General of UNESCO, after a long period of consideration, has stated he will not renew the contracts of four of these persons when their contracts eventually expire, he has taken no action to separate these eight United States citizens now. The failure of Dr. Evans to act on these cases actually frustrates the efforts of the United States, conducted in close collaboration with the heads of the other international organizations, to ensure the highest standards of integrity on the part of those United States citizens who are members of the staff of these organizations.

"... Although UNESCO is a specialized agency and is, therefore, outside of my jurisdiction, I have a responsibility as United States Representative to the United Nations to see that fair play exists. It should, therefore, be crystal clear that there have been no such problems in the United Nations itself.

"... The other international organi-

zations, particularly the United Nations (with which I have personal familiarity) have dealt with the problem in a fine way. In all fairness therefore, public opinion should distinguish between the policies which are being followed by the Director-General of UNESCO and the policies which are being followed by the United Nations and the other international organizations."

I need not remind you that Dr. Luther Evans, the Director-General of UNESCO, is an American citizen.

The record on this problem of loyalty among United States employees of UNESCO, and the very recent record at that, reveals another glaring fact.

On October 29, 1955, two weeks after The American Legion convention, the highest tribunal of the United Nations ordered UNESCO to reinstate four U. S. citizen employees of UNESCO who had been discharged for failure to cooperate with a United States Loyalty Board. When UNESCO finally felt compelled to refuse to reinstate these employees, the tribunal ordered UNESCO to pay each of them two years' salary plus legal costs. These indemnities amounted to more than \$30,000.

Thus we have the situation where the United States, based on its third contribution to UNESCO, has the questionable privilege of paying \$10,000 to American citizens fired because they refused to cooperate with a United States Loyalty Board.

#### DISLOYAL EMPLOYEES FIRED

And this is no isolated instance. Last April the same tribunal awarded three American employees of UNESCO \$43,000 after they had been dismissed for refusal to face the U. S. Loyalty Board. The American taxpayers' share of this award was nearly \$15,000.

The moral to be drawn from these examples would seem to me to be: If you want to ignore or flaunt the authority of legally constituted United States loyalty boards, get a job with UNESCO and be paid by Uncle Sam for the privilege of kicking him in the teeth.

There can be no question that the small part of UNESCO's record which I have read to you more than justifies The American Legion's opposition to this specialized agency of the United Nations. I am confident that this record also inspired many of America's greatest patriotic organizations to join with The American Legion in this fight.



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You know, of course, that The American Legion's opposition to UNESCO is not based exclusively on the facts I have cited, damaging and conclusive as they are.

We are strongly opposed to UNESCO because of its propaganda in this country for world government.

The record clearly shows that from its inception UNESCO has been identified with the idea of world government. And the record also shows that UNESCO has tried to peddle its global-minded concepts to the one group in America most likely to be persuaded by its propaganda — our school children.

They are likely targets only because they have not yet acquired the maturity and experience to understand the true danger of world government.

These world-government propaganda efforts are in direct violation of the act of Congress authorizing U. S. participation in UNESCO. Congress specifically prohibited UNESCO interference in America's educational system.

It is not surprising, in view of this complete lack of respect for the sovereign laws of the United States, that UNESCO should state in its publication entitled "In the Classroom with Children under Thirteen Years of Age" that "as long as the child breathes the poisoned air of nationalism, education in world-mindedness can produce only rather precarious results."

This same publication further states that "education for world-mindedness at present encounters obstacles outside the school. The principal one certainly is nationalism."

This is only one example of

UNESCO's world-government advocacy. Another can be found in UNESCO's publication, "The United Nations and World Citizenship." In discussing world citizenship, this publication states:

"World-wide organization for the conduct of human affairs is, therefore, essential. No teacher with a sense of realism and even elementary knowledge of world affairs will ignore this basic need or be indifferent to its consequences for education. World machinery is required; and human beings with the right outlook are required to utilize it or to insist that it be utilized. The educator thus has a double task: to teach about the machinery of world cooperation and to foster the growth of the spirit that will make it function. Education has, in short, the urgent duty to develop informed and competent world citizens."

There are some who contend that UNESCO did not publish these documents or that UNESCO no longer is endeavoring to peddle these ideas. They have seriously deceived themselves, for here is the record:

The publications, "In the Classroom with Children under Thirteen Years of Age" and "The United Nations and World Citizenship," are listed on page 26 of UNESCO's own catalogue of available English language publications in the field of education issued by UNESCO up to September, 1955.

Incidentally, the cover of this catalogue proves rather conclusively that UNESCO does intend to get its material into our school system in violation of the prohibition by Congress. It reads:

"Education of interest to primary

school, secondary school and university teachers, students, teachers' training colleges, education officials, adult education instructors and fundamental educators."

It is not necessary to examine each and every one of UNESCO's publications to determine whether this agency is not only propagandizing for world government, but seems also to be the sanctuary for red-tinged radicals.

We need only follow that famous axiom: "Consider the Source."

The list of authors of UNESCO publications who have been identified with organizations listed as subversive by the Attorney General or the House Un-American Activities Committee is . . . long . . . [Editor's note: Commander Wagner's partial list has been omitted, but a fuller list, furnished by The American Legion's publication, *The Firing Line*, follows this article.]

UNESCO is also active in the field of visual education. And so are some of its left wing representatives.

Let me cite just one example. For a number of years the UNESCO Film Section was headed by John Grierson. This individual resigned as head of the National Film Board of Canada at the time of the Canadian espionage hearings. Denied a visa to this country, he came in through UNESCO and headed the film section of that organization.

There are many others, of course, whose identification with UNESCO gives The American Legion more than sufficient cause to oppose this agency. The most prominent of these were Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White.

The American Legion's conclusion

### Our National Interests Are Served

(From an address by Walter H. C. Laves,  
Former Chairman, U. S. National Commission for UNESCO)

MAKE no mistake about it — our national interests are served by our membership in UNESCO. And I don't mean that there is any truth in the idea that the United States dominates UNESCO. We don't dominate it. Neither does any other country dominate us or tell us what we are to do or interfere with us in any way. Domination, interference, control, just aren't in UNESCO's vocabulary or its constitution or its actions. What is there is free, friendly cooperation and mutual aid.

Of course our national inter-

ests are served by UNESCO. When the Indonesian delegation says, "We welcome UNESCO because it helps us make our national culture and aspirations known to the West," they are speaking of their national interests. When Mexico says, "We are happy to be in UNESCO because it lets us benefit from research on the development of arid zones," they are speaking of their national interests. Those are two examples of a score I could cite. And we, too, are happy to belong to UNESCO because our national interests are well served.





based on official congressional reports, that Hiss and White were, in fact, associated with the formulation of UNESCO, has been denied or discounted in some quarters. Let me again cite the record so you can judge for yourself whether we are right.

In its January 3, 1955, Report, the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws concluded, and I quote:

"1. Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, and their confederates in the Communist underground in government had power to exercise profound influence on American foreign policy and the policies of international organizations during World War II and the years immediately thereafter.

"2. They had power to exercise profound influence on the creation and operation of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

"3. This power was not limited to their officially designated authority. It was inherent to their access to and influence over higher officials, and the opportunities they had to present or withhold information on which the policies of their superiors might be based.

"4. Hiss, White and a considerable number of their colleagues who helped make American foreign policy and the policies of international organizations during crucial years have been exposed as secret Communist agents."

In the Second Report on Activities of United States Citizens Employed by the United Nations of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws is this statement, and again I quote:

"Harry Dexter White was the Treasury's representative at the United Nations' San Francisco Conference, where he gave particular attention to the establishment of UNESCO."

There is one final question which I would like to answer.

I have been asked, and I'm sure that many of you have also been asked: Why can't Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, America's representative to the United Nations, do something to clean up UNESCO so that it will be acceptable to The American Legion and the American people?

Ambassador Lodge best answered this question in his testimony before a House Subcommittee on Appropria-

tions on January 27, 1954, when he said, and I quote:

"... I think the lack of an administrative framework for the specialized agencies is something that has proved very baffling. UNESCO and all these other agencies are more or less laws unto themselves. They are entirely outside of my jurisdiction. The Secretary-General of the United Nations cannot touch them. It is a constant source of confusion and embarrassment.

"I think that is something that the Congress might do well to look into."

The American Legion thinks so, too. We have asked the Congress to make a complete current investigation of UNESCO to determine whether or not that agency has complied with and is complying with the terms and conditions set down by Congress in authorizing U. S. participation in UNESCO.

We sincerely hope that the Congress will act upon this request contained in the UNESCO resolution passed overwhelmingly at our convention... in Miami. We are certain that such an investigation will confirm The American Legion's findings with respect to UNESCO.

## Authors of UNESCO Publications Listed as Subversive

THE following is a major portion of a list supplied by *The Firing Line*, official publication of The American Legion, stating that certain authors of and contributors to UNESCO publications have been identified with organizations listed as subversive by the United States Attorney General or the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The complete list and documentation thereof may be obtained from The National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana.

*The Importance of Chemistry in the Life of Modern Man*, by LINUS PAULING. Testifying before the House Select Committee to Investigate Foundations and Comparable Organizations in 1952, LOUIS BUDENZ said that he was "officially advised a number of times... in the middle forties" that PAULING "was a member of the Communist party under discipline." BUDENZ testified that "Communist leaders expressed the highest admiration and confidence in DR. PAULING."

In 1951 the House Committee on

Un-American Activities stated that PAULING's "whole record... indicates that... (he)... is primarily engrossed in placing his scientific attainments at the service of a host of organizations which have in common their complete subservience to the Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. Professor PAULING has not deviated a hair's breadth from this pattern of loyalty to the Communist cause since 1946..."

*Tensions Affecting International Understanding and Race and Psychology*, by OTTO KLINEBERG. Listed as an employee of UNESCO Secretariat (as of April, 1955), KLINEBERG was labeled "well-known as an extreme leftist" by the Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations in 1954. A current member of the Public Affairs Committee, KLINEBERG sponsored the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born during 1940. The latter organization was considered "one of the

oldest auxiliaries of the Communist party in the United States" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

KLINEBERG signed a statement in 1941 urging the President and Congress to defend the rights of the Communist Party, U.S.A. He has been affiliated with the now defunct subversive Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo. This organization was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities "as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation..."

*Race and Biology*, by LESLIE CLARENCE DUNN. A supporter of 11 subversive and Communist organizations, DUNN sponsored the Allied Voters Against Coudert and the 1941 Fifth National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. He also sponsored the Fifteenth Anniversary National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in



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1948. In 1940, DUNN was an Executive Board member of the American Committee to Save Refugees and was listed as a contributor to the now defunct subversive periodical, *Equality*, in 1939 . . .

*Goethe. UNESCO's Homage on the Occasion of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth*, by THOMAS MANN (co-author). Before Mann's death on August 12, 1955, the German-born novelist had supported 21 organizations and publications cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. MANN was affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress; Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Congress of American-Soviet Friendship; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; and sponsored a dinner celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Soviet Red Army in 1943, under the auspices of the now defunct "Soviet Russia Today."

MANN was affiliated with the Communist periodical, *New Masses*, in 1937, and the subversive Film Audiences for Democracy two years later. He was listed as an Honorary President of the League of American Writers, a Communist subsidiary, and was affiliated with the American Council for a Democratic Greece, Committee for the First Amendment, Committee of One Thousand, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

In 1949, MANN was a National Sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and was a supporter of the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain. In 1946 MANN sponsored a conference on China and the Far East under the auspices of the National Committee to Win the Peace, and the following year endorsed an appeal of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc. A sponsor of the World Youth Festival, MANN supported the Actors Laboratory Theatre and the World Congress of Intellectuals in 1948. The following year he was listed as a Sponsor of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace.

*Tensions That Cause Wars*, by DR. HADLEY CANTRIL. A member of the National Executive Committee of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom in 1940, CANTRIL signed a statement the following year defending the Communist Party, USA. He was an Execu-

tive Committee member of the Film Audiences for Democracy, and sponsored the Conference on Bill of Rights - Sublime Risk of Free Men, under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in 1953. CANTRIL was listed as a 1954 contributor to *The Nation* magazine.

*What Is Race?* M. F. ASHLEY-MONTAGU (contributor). MONTAGU was listed as a Guest Lecturer of the School for Democracy, an educational institution controlled by the Communist party in 1942. He was affiliated with the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, and was listed as a member of the Editorial Board of *Interne*, the official organ of the Association of Internes and Medical Students (AIMS). The House Committee on Un-American Activities cited this organization as subversive and a faithful follower of the Communist party line. MONTAGU was affiliated with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. In 1954 he was listed as a contributor to *The Nation* magazine. The text of UNESCO publication, *What*

*Is Race?*, was revised by MONTAGU after criticisms were submitted by HADLEY CANTRIL, LAWRENCE C. DUNN, and OTTO KLINEBERG.

*The Teaching of the Social Sciences in the United States and The University Teaching of Political Science*, MARSHALL E. DIMOCK (contributor). In 1941 DIMOCK was listed as a speaker at the Fifth National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. He was affiliated with the Win-the-Peace Conference, and was Vice-Chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America in 1947. The California Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Progressive Citizens of America in 1948 as "a new and broader Communist front for the entire United States formed in September, 1946, at the direction of Communist steering committees. . ."

A Panel Moderator (or Chairman) of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace in 1949, DIMOCK was also a 1945 member of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace of the American Association for the United Nations, Inc.

## Answer to "Subversive Authors" Charge

By John F. McJennett

Assistant Director, U. S. National Commission for UNESCO

[FACTS FORUM NEWS asked for a statement from the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO to accompany the list of "subversive authors" furnished by The American Legion. The following is their reply. — Ed.]

WITH regard to "certain authors of UNESCO publications who have dubious records of loyalty to the U. S.," I have checked . . . [those] mentioned with UNESCO's general catalog of publications . . .

The catalog to which I refer goes up to July, 1954, and the new one will not be out until this summer. Thus, the records available to me at this time do not show what association . . . [some of these authors] had with UNESCO.

Mr. Klineberg has been cleared under the provisions of Executive Order 10422.

It is my recollection that Thomas Mann was a German national who returned to Germany before his death.

Ashley-Montagu is of British birth.

This list appears to have been drawn from Annex 9 of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, dated 1944. As you may know, this volume was a compilation of letterheads, claimed memberships, etc., of a variety of organizations that had come to the attention of the Un-American Activities Committee. I am told

that individual copies of Annex 9 have been circulated but that the Un-American Activities Committee has refused the publication official status.

A check with the Security Division [of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO] has been made and reveals that none of the writers listed were called by the Un-American Activities Committee to respond to questions about their associations.

The general catalog to which I referred earlier lists 183 different authors. 1955-56 will probably add another 100 to that figure. It would be extremely unlikely if a few of this number would not hold beliefs or hadn't been members of organizations of which some national group disapproves. In each instance the writers were selected on the basis of their standing in their technical field. Their product was measured by the same standard. As you may also know, by arrangement with the heads of all international organizations in which the United States participates, American nationals must satisfy the provisions of Executive Order 10422 as regards loyalty and security.

You will understand that must of the specifics pro and con on matters of this sort are classified and that Security Regulations prevent my discussion.



## The Truth About UNESCO\*

By LUTHER H. EVANS

Director-General of UNESCO

Dr. Evans' statement is a reply to many of the current objections to UNESCO.

THE United Nations Charter provides that the Economic and Social Council may exercise a certain jurisdiction over educational and cultural matters, and in another article provides that specialized agencies may be established in certain fields if a number of the member states wish it. It was as a result of that authorization, and in response to a feeling on the part of the teachers of this country that the Economic and Social Council assignment was not adequate and that we needed an international office of education, that some of us went to London the end of October, 1945, to write the UNESCO Constitution. . . .

I am not here to tell you . . . all of the UNESCO story. I am here today as a witness to answer questions as to the truth of charges which have been made in recent months concerning UNESCO, and I shall limit myself to answering those questions as honestly and calmly as I can.

The first question is, "Is UNESCO preaching world government and one-world citizenship?" The answer is, emphatically, "No, it is not." UNESCO has used the term "education for world citizenship," but it has used it interchangeably with the term "education for international understanding." If you look up the term "world citizenship" in one of the better dictionaries, you are likely to find "world citizen" defined as a "cosmopolitan," as a person who feels at home in any country. That is the sense in which UNESCO uses the term "world citizenship." UNESCO has not, to my knowledge, ever come out in favor of anything stronger than the United Nations itself is. In other words, as far as any of its declarations and policies are concerned, UNESCO is not in favor, nor has it ever been in favor of world government, unless the United Nations is world government. Now, I say "unless" merely because one has

to be very cautious in the use of terms, since one of the tactics of those who attack UNESCO and the United Nations is the tactic which the Soviet uses in its attack on the free world, namely, to take good, honored words and pour the meaning out of them and pour some polluted kind of meaning into them. If I understand the term "world government," it would mean that a government organ would be set



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Dr. Luther Evans, Director-General of UNESCO.

up that would be above the national governments and would control the national governments. UNESCO has never preached that, and UNESCO's usage of "world citizenship" does not mean literally citizenship in a world government.

On March 21 [1952] at a meeting of the Executive Board of UNESCO we were struggling with a translation of a French term, "civisme internationale," and it had been translated as in the past, as world citizenship. One of the members of the Executive Board said, "Look, we're using the term citizenship without noting that it has a legal connotation in our different nations. We are not using it with that connotation in UNESCO. We literally do not mean citizenship, which is a term implying legal rights and duties between a state and an individual." The Execu-

tive Board agreed with him that we were not using the term in a legal sense. After a brief discussion the Chairman said that the Secretariat would redraft the document to say what we really meant. We meant education for international understanding. We meant education of citizens to know the role they play in the world and what their moral obligations as good citizens of their own country are toward the world as a whole.

I have been at every UNESCO conference except the one in 1946. I was present at London in 1945 when the Constitution was drafted. . . . As a member of the Executive Board of UNESCO where the program is initially drafted, . . . I can assure you in complete honesty that there is not one grain of truth in the assertion that UNESCO is preaching world government or one-world citizenship in the political sense. The literature issued by UNESCO, the resolutions for the program of 1952, among other things, call for the development of active methods for education in world citizenship, especially in relation to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. What that means is that we want to teach people to respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That Declaration is something which was unanimously passed in the General Assembly of the United Nations; even the Soviet Union did not vote against [it], though it abstained.

### NOT OFFICIAL VIEWS

A second charge is that the pamphlets, "Toward World Understanding," put out by UNESCO, attempt to undermine the patriotism of the children attending American schools and to replace that with a loyalty toward world government. There are some statements in the pamphlets "Toward World Understanding" which go further than I would go in this matter of training children to have regard for higher loyalties and so on, but the point about the pamphlets is that they are summaries of seminar discussions, and they no more represent the policy of UNESCO than an account of the discussion at this meeting would represent the policy of the

\*A slightly revised version of an address given at the Annual Conference of the National Education Association, Detroit, Michigan, July 3, 1952.



National Education Association. Everyone was allowed to get into the act, and a lot of statements that were made represented purely personal opinions. It was clearly stated in the pamphlets that this was the case and that none of the statements necessarily represented what UNESCO stood for. I think it is a misconception even of the statements in the pamphlets themselves to say that the people present were committed to the undermining of national patriotism. Of course, they wanted to keep away from the kind of patriotism that Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin have cultivated which would deny the existence of any rights outside of one's own country and which would deny any responsibility in one's country for the welfare of other countries as a means to having world peace. Therefore, I think the charges made about those pamphlets in the first place miss the target, namely UNESCO. In the second place, the meaning of those pamphlets has been misconstrued; and in the third place, those pamphlets were not directed toward the United States. They were directed toward all nations; and UNESCO has not made any special effort to undermine the patriotism of the children of the United States, even if it were undermining anyone's patriotism.

## DESIGNED TO RAISE STANDARDS

The third question is, "Does UNESCO in propagandizing for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights attempt to destroy the American Bill of Rights?" The statement has frequently been made that UNESCO is propagandizing the destruction of the Bill of Rights because it is propagandizing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Now, it is necessary to get a number of things clear as regards this matter. In the first place, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not a treaty. It is a resolution passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1948. This document states some high goals. It is not binding on any state, in the legal sense. It was voted for by Soviet Russia, as well as by the United States. The United States representatives spoke eloquently in favor of it. To follow up the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Human Rights Commission, the Economic and Social Council, and the General Assembly of United Nations have been working on the development of covenants. These draft covenants represent attempts to put in treaty form certain minimum obligations which

countries would be willing to undertake. It is clearly stated in the drafts as they have been prepared to date that the obligations are minimum, and that higher obligations which may be contained in a nation's constitution and laws would continue in effect in that country.

Now, some people have ignored this whole situation and have declared that if the covenants as now drafted were to be adopted in the United States they would deprive us of certain of the liberties we now have under the Bill of Rights. That is an absolute falsehood; it is a complete

## National Commissions Serve as Links

**T**HE Secretariat in Paris cannot carry out the whole of the UNESCO program. This must be done mainly by the National Commissions coordinating their efforts through the Secretariat. The National Commissions are a unique feature of UNESCO. They provide the machinery whereby peoples can talk to peoples. If the supporters of our organization in the member states ever forget that in every country the execution of the UNESCO program must begin at home, if they come to think of the Secretariat as being all of UNESCO and the National Commissions merely as associations of individuals who take an interest in UNESCO, then our organization is doomed. Instead of peoples talking to peoples all that we shall have is bureaucrats writing to bureaucrats. I know that you are determined this shall not happen.

(Statement by former Director-General Jaime Torres Bodet in leaflet, "UNESCO," July, 1952.)

wrenching of the documents from their basic meaning. I think most of the attackers do not even try to explain away even the provisions to which I have just referred. . . . UNESCO is trying to achieve goals in the general direction of our own Bill of Rights and trying to pull nations along to a higher level of equality and of freedom, and . . . it has no intention whatsoever of reducing the rights that people already have.

The fourth point relates to the revision of textbooks. UNESCO has been interested in the revision of textbooks from the beginning. Naturally, it is interested in textbooks. It would not be taking education seriously if it did not believe that textbooks are

important; it would not be taking education seriously if it did not believe that what the children learn in their early years in school determines what happens to nations when those school children become the statesmen, the diplomats, the politicians. UNESCO wishes textbooks revised. UNESCO wishes lies to be taken out of textbooks, lies like the one that was in a book of United States geography saying that Costa Rica was a backward little Latin American republic which grew bananas and assassinated its presidents. When this statement was examined, it was proved beyond peradventure of a doubt that in Costa Rica not as many presidents had been assassinated as in the United States.

## MEMBERS REVISE OWN BOOKS

Now, what is UNESCO's method in the revision of textbooks? The statement has been made and printed in numerous forms that UNESCO wants to revise our textbooks and choke them down the throats of our children, even inject the virus into the babes in the cradle. This is a complete distortion, a complete lie. UNESCO's program is, and always has been, to encourage the member states to revise their own textbooks, to come nearer the truth about what they say concerning other countries, and that is all there is to it. Of course, UNESCO hopes that in the program of education about the United Nations, and in the program of education about the specialized agencies there will be something that tells the truth about the United Nations and UNESCO and so forth. But, the whole purpose of the program of revision of textbooks is to get the truth, the valid historical truth, into the books so that nationalistic lies will be eradicated and the children will get a balanced, a truer picture of the world in which they live. UNESCO encourages each nation to take a look at its own books and then encourages each nation to take a look jointly with its neighbor at what they say about one another in their textbooks. UNESCO would encourage the United States and Canada to look at what their history books say about the War of 1812 and see if they can recognize it as being the same historical event in the two sets of books. I am told that in some of the books you cannot recognize it as being the same thing on the two sides of the boundary with our great neighbor to the north. UNESCO encourages even multilateral examinations of textbooks, but it never imposes anything. It has no authority. All UNESCO can do in



this field is to encourage, to promote collaboration, and then to give technical guidance and advice when it is wanted as to how this ought to be done. As you may know, James Quillen wrote a book for UNESCO giving advice to individual member states on how to do this sort of job. I know he has standing with you, and he certainly deserves standing because of the great job he did for UNESCO.

The fifth question is, "Is the UNESCO history of mankind atheistic and a one-world government enterprise which would deflate nationalism and do other vicious things?" My position on the UNESCO Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind is simply this: The enterprise is enormously ambitious, and many of us have thought at one time that UNESCO should not undertake it. I personally have been in favor of the enterprise, but the United States government at UNESCO conferences has been opposed on occasion to it. It changed its position . . . at UNESCO's Sixth General Conference (June-July, 1951). It expressed a change of position and came out strongly in favor of the present plan because the history then seemed at last to be a practicable enterprise. It seemed at that time that a form of operation and a plan for the history had been developed which was worthy of support.

#### ALL RELIGIONS REPRESENTED

The plan is briefly this: UNESCO has set up a commission with a maximum of fifteen members nominated by the International Council of Scientific Unions and by the International Council of Philosophy and the Humanistic Studies. I know that is a mouthful, but it includes all the range of science, as internationally organized by the professions themselves, and the whole range of philosophy and the humanities, with a good deal of the social sciences, literature and language thrown in. These people represent the great areas of the world; they represent the great religions of the world; they represent the great cultures and most of the great nations of the world. Some of these people are not devout religionists of any group; and one of those persons is the Chairman of the Editorial Committee, Professor Ralph Turner of Yale University. Now, the attack on this cultural and scientific history started out to be a Catholic attack on the ground that Mr. Turner was reputedly an atheist. Mr. Turner denies being an atheist; he says that he is an agnostic. The allegation is made that he was fired from the Uni-

versity of Pittsburgh some years ago because he did not believe in God. The fact is that a faculty committee cleared him of this charge.

UNESCO is in favor of human welfare. It is in favor of lifting up the millions in India and other places to a decent standard of living. Its principal weapon for that is the Technical Assistance Program. But, UNESCO is not as socialistic, I guarantee you, as the [conservative] wing of the Republican party. UNESCO has never come out for standard of social security as high as [it] approves. UNESCO has never come out for a public health program or federal aid to education as advanced as the program that [conservatives have] supported. UNESCO does not preach these doctrines. UNESCO preaches that we must learn about one another. We must try to find the truth. We must try to spread the truth in many ways, including the technical assistance method.

The only fundamental doctrines to which UNESCO attaches itself are these: It believes that the mind of man has something to do with peace, and that unless people have trained minds and minds full of facts, there will be no peace; UNESCO believes in the doctrine of equality of peoples; it believes that democracy is essential for peace; it believes that the free flow of information is essential for democracy; and besides that, it believes that all cultures and all peoples should be understanding of and tolerant toward all other peoples and all other cultures, including their religions.

## UNESCO and American Workers\*

By JOHN D. CONNORS, Director of Education, A.F. of L.

PRIMARY among the UNESCO activities in which the American labor movement is interested is the holding of international seminars for specialists in labor education, such as those held in recent years at the Chateau de la Breviere, not far from Paris. Here during one summer session, for example, some dozen American trade unionists met with their counterparts from other countries to exchange ideas, techniques, and information.

In the UNESCO exchange-of-persons program last summer, a group of

\*Excerpts from speech entered in the Congressional Record for April 21, 1955, by Rep. Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D-N.J.).

Now, my last point is that UNESCO is a secular organization rather than one that believes in revealed truth. An attack was made on UNESCO . . . by a Jesuit organ in Rome on the ground that it is a secular organization. Of course, UNESCO is a secular organization. Are you going to have an international organization made up of governments, and striving to be universal that is religious in character? Do you believe in destroying freedom of religion? I don't see how you could have such an organization unless you decided some of the religious questions. We can have UNESCO perform the great tasks I have just been talking about without asking anyone to give up his religious convictions. But, are you going to decide that UNESCO is Hindu, Moslem, or Methodist? . . . UNESCO values all religions. UNESCO cherishes all religions. UNESCO tries to preach tolerance of all religions, and UNESCO doctrines are in agreement with the fundamental precepts of most religions.

. . . I have covered the principal points that ought to be dealt with by such a witness as I described at the outset. I do not know all the details of all UNESCO's programs and projects. I do not know all the statements that all UNESCOans have ever made. I am sure many statements have been made that are not true and many that have been careless, but I assure you that in counter-attacking the people who are spreading these lies about UNESCO you would be strengthening the forces of peace in this country.

American trade unionists toured Europe studying labor organizations, working conditions, etc., in several countries. Plans are now under way for the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees to charter a plane to take a group of members on a similar four-week study tour of six countries this year.

These activities serve a double purpose: first, to enable workers in other countries to learn firsthand from Americans about our economic problems faced by all workers and how they are solved through free, democratic trade unions.

America's labor movement also sup-



ports the UNESCO clearinghouse for educational, scientific, and cultural information; the seminars of experts on the problems of education for women, evaluation of textbooks and television, and the special problems of arid zones; the missions of specialists assisting member states, who request it, in the improvement of their educational system; the efforts to establish free public libraries more widely; and the many other widespread activities of UNESCO. Among the more important projects is the positive encouragement of the free exchange of information among the nations of the world.

Its accomplishments, too numerous to detail here, have won for UNESCO the praise of American labor and our government. Warm endorsement has come, also, from the leaders of all major religious groups in the United States.

## TECHNICAL PROGRAM EXPANDED

If the past achievements of UNESCO are noteworthy, its current program is also impressive. The 1955-56 program, adopted in Montevideo, includes an expanded program of technical assistance in the form of exchange among nations of those skills, techniques, and factual information which will assist mutual economic development.

Scientific and technical document centers will be completed in Mexico, Egypt, India, and Yugoslavia. Primary and secondary education programs will be carried on in 19 countries. With the direct aim of teaching skills required for a higher living standard, fundamental education programs will be conducted in nine countries, while eight will receive help in technical education projects.

As in the past, the training of adults and children, the education of teachers, the attack on illiteracy, the training of scientists, the support of research, the reproduction and the translation of the great literature of all countries, of the great works of art—all of these and other projects will continue.

What does all this cost us, as taxpayers? About 3 cents per person per year. Even from the standpoint of self-interest alone, the benefits to Americans in terms of increased world productivity, accelerated international trade, and increased understanding make this a very good investment in peace and security.

It is to be hoped that, as literacy increases, the workers in the economically underdeveloped nations will learn how far superior the lot of the

In the strife-torn Middle East, UNESCO and UNRWA have provided over 300 schools attended by over 100,000 Arab refugee children. Successful also are the embroidery centers for women in the refugee camps (shown here), where they also learn weaving, tailoring, and sewing.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE PHOTO

workers in the democratic countries is to their own.

This could well lead to the organization of strong and free trade unions which would advance labor's economic well-being and thus expand the economies of their countries.

As President George Meany stated in his New Year's message in summarizing the program of 1955 for American labor:

"Our first concern must be for the preservation of peace. That goal can

be accomplished by strengthening our national defense, by reinforcing our alliance with the free nations of the world, by participating with them in effective programs for broadening international trade and economic growth, and by joint resistance against any further appeasement of the Soviet conspiracy."

There can be no doubt that the programs of UNESCO will serve to assist the free world in accomplishing its goal of preserving the peace.

## UNESCO vs. Missionary Work

By THOMAS B. CURTIS

FOR six years I have been saying in one public speech after another that UNESCO and Point 4, desirable and helpful as they were, were nothing new to Americans and other enlightened societies of the world. They were merely government programs attempting to do what our great missions had been doing for many decades, indeed for centuries. I resented the propagandizing that went along with these programs which overshadowed the great missionary work in the very same fields, medical missions, educational missions, sanitary missions, missions to teach economic skills, and so forth.

I pointed out that here, as in the field of economic endeavor, political government was moving in to take over private enterprise—for, indeed, in this regard our missions are private enterprise, much as our community chests are private enterprise as contrasted to government endeavor.

I pointed out that just as in the

\*Entered in the *Congressional Record* for January 17, 1956, by Rep. Thomas B. Curtis, (R-Mo.).

fields of economic endeavor political government did not lend itself well by its very structure to performing these functions, so in the field of missionary work, political government was not well suited to perform these functions.

The reasons were quite clear to me. If political governments tried to do the job, they perforce had to deal with and through the political government which existed in the society they were trying to help. In all too many instances the political government was on the backs of the peoples in the society and many of their basic troubles lay with that government. Yet by channeling economic, educational, medical, or any of these aids through the political government, to a large extent this assisted in keeping that particular political government on their backs and maintaining the status quo. The missionary programs, on the other hand, were essentially person to person rather than government to person or government to government relationships.

Second, the missionary programs



## EDITORIAL SPELLS OUT LEGION'S WARNING

THE Administrative Tribunal of the United Nations ruled . . . that four citizens of the United States who were employed by UNESCO and were fired because they would not affirm or deny that they had been Communists be paid \$31,000 damages plus court costs or reinstated. The ruling stated that irrespective of what the United States Loyalty Board said, or irrespective of what American rules or regulations they broke, there was no reflection on "the high standard required of an international official."

If there is anyone who does not believe the United Nations threatens American sovereignty, or that the organization is often utilized as a defense for communism, he should look into this case. The American government, after checking up on the aforesaid employees, suspected them of membership in the Communist conspiracy. The employees were questioned by United States officials as to whether or not they

were in the camp of the enemy. They refused to answer, so the United States demanded they be discharged from the jobs they held with UNESCO and be replaced by loyal Americans. It took considerable time, influence and pressure by Ambassador Lodge and other government officials to bring about the action by UNESCO.

The dismissed employees appealed to the United Nations for reinstatement or back pay and lawyers' fees. Three UN officials, none of them Americans, sat in judgment on the right of the American government to act against citizens deemed disloyal or security risks. The foreign trio told the United States it had no control over its own citizens, that its regulations were not valid, and that questionable loyalty to the United States was of no importance.

If the United States accepts this decision and puts up the cash to abide by this ruling, it will not only

indicate our sovereignty is dead but we can, on foreign demand, be made to indemnify citizens deemed disloyal. It is a humiliating experience.

The ruling of the United Nations tribunal vindicates the recent action of The American Legion in refusing to accept a whitewash report for UNESCO and makes the report of the committee headed by Ray Murphy look even more stupid than hitherto. . . .

The tribunal consisted of a Belgian, Albert Deveze; a Dutchman, Jonkheer van Rijkevorsel, and a Greek, Iasson Stavropolous. The three agreed that if the discharges were upheld a precedent would be set so that UN employees could be dismissed if their national governments objected to them. Thus it is now UN law that the United States has lost all jurisdiction over its citizens in UN employ.

(Reprinted from *The Tablet*,  
One Hanson Place, Brooklyn 17, N. Y.)

which were most effective were those where the persons engaged in the work were living with the people they were trying to help. To subject oneself to the living conditions of a backward people requires an attitude of humility and dedication to service which is most often found in our great religious institutions. The persons employed by political government, on the other hand, are motivated more by the wages they will receive and the conditions under which they will live, the promotions they may expect, and so forth. And this is not meant to be critical of them, because government service in relation to employment in private enterprise requires a certain amount of dedication. However, security plays a great role in choosing government service as a career. The result has been, as might be expected, those who have been administering the UNESCO and Point 4 programs do not usually live with the people whom they are trying to help.

I want to point out there are many splendid exceptions to this generality, but these exceptions would work well under a missionary program. Missionary programs are not all attached to churches; some educational missions have been set up by educational institutions, many health missions by private individuals. Furthermore, the government programs conducted by these people are almost without exception the least costly and the most effective programs toward gaining real friends

abroad.

I will never forget the time I inadvertently came across an item in the foreign-aid budget for 100 air-conditioning units to be sent to a spot in India. Certainly it was hot in that section of India, but I wondered just how these Point 4 persons were going to work with the people of India in air-conditioned offices. No; they were not for hospitals.

In 1954 I successfully sponsored an amendment to our tax code which gave an additional 10 per cent deduction for donations to medical, educational, and religious institutions. I did not have in mind our domestic institutions, although I was happy to know they would benefit also. I had in mind a little discussion I had with a Congregational minister after I had spoken before a symposium held at his church along the lines of this present talk. He said to me: "This is all well, but the problem is so vast that some source like the Federal Treasury is necessary in order to meet the need." Well, it is true that the problem is great, but I do not think money will solve it. Money will help if channeled into the proper places. This tax credit, as far as I am concerned, was to help a little in getting money channeled into our private missions so we could get friends abroad.

Essentially the problems of our would-be friends abroad will never be solved until they take from the limited success experienced in our society the

things that have produced this success, and eschew the things that in our society still block our advancement toward greater success. These things can be sold nor given away. They must be taken freely, however. It is merely a philosophy of life — the Golden Rule applied to modern economics with proper attention paid to the parables of the three servants. If only our missionaries and government servants engaged in work abroad knew just a little more about the economics of American society, they would be intent on selling socialism abroad, the belief that because of its professed love of the people it did love the world. Which son did the will of his father, the one who said: "I go, sir," and who did not — or the one who said: "I will not but went? Do men gather grapes from thorns, or figs of thistles?"

The Very Reverend Francis Sayre, Jr., dean of the Washington Cathedral, states that UNESCO is inferior to church missionary work in promoting world friendship. Related how he once attended a conference of the United Nations organization, he said he came away with a "poignant sense of futility."

"All those ambassadors of culture, those emissaries of art and learning and national handicraft . . . ablaze for the cause of mutual understanding and peace," he said, "the drawstring that could draw them together was lacking, and all I heard at the last was aimless talk."



## UN-UNESCO\*

Critics urge concentration of resources on more practical subjects

WITH all credit in the world for good intentions, the record of UNESCO becomes steadily poorer. Two or three recent occasions bring inescapably to the fore, and raise the grave question, to those who a decade ago were among its most ardent enthusiasts, whether it is worth paying not only the huge sums spent annually on it (the United States being by far the heaviest contributor) but also the energy required to defend UNESCO's motives against many who attack them for the wrong reason. Because of UNESCO's extensive — and perhaps far too pretentious, certainly misdirected — art program, the problem deserves the attention of every reader who is a sensitive taxpayer as well as a citizen of the world. The recent occasions, upon none of which UNESCO has put anything of its best foot forward, are: Two different but equally direct activities in art (its own art books and UNESCO sponsored and run First International Congress of Plastic Arts, held at Venice in October on which special reports are just beginning to come through); and its eighth general conference, at Montevideo in December, on which far too little comment has been made in the American press. To help remedy the latter, it is fortunate to find so detached and authoritative an observer as one of the foremost political weeklies, the more than century-old *Economist*, surely devoid of partisanship on behalf of either America or the arts. Here are some excerpts from that valuable report:

It was encouraging to hear that UNESCO's eighth general conference, held at Montevideo, common sense seemed at last to be making itself felt. The conference considered and reduced the number of projects undertaken, and it decided that members of its executive board, hitherto elected as individuals, should now be responsible to their governments. The latter reform, originally proposed by Britain some years ago, should help to keep UNESCO's feet out of the clouds and its feet on the ground. But fuller accounts of the proceedings at Montevideo revive the doubts. The delegates apparently

editorial from March issue of *Art News*, and in the *Congressional Record* for April, 1955, by Sen. Price Daniel (D-Tex.).

thought they had done something of note by ordering their officials to 'study means of promoting peaceful cooperation' and by asking the governments they represent 'to take all necessary measures to assure freedom of expression and to remove barriers to the free flow of undistorted information between member states.' Among the sponsors of these resolutions were the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Dr. Evans described the two resolutions as 'ample proof of the lessening of international tensions.' People who know just how much freedom of expression and free flow of information is encouraged by Communist governments may be pardoned if they see in these resolutions fresh evidence of UNESCO's ability to cut itself adrift from reality and even from honesty of mind.

"UNESCO started life eight years ago, with the fixed idea that it must have a finger in almost every conceivable pie. The logic behind this reasoning was obscure; what is clear is that it has proved well-nigh disastrous. With less than ten million dollars to spend each year up to now, the organization has been forced to spread the butter very thinly over the great hunks it has tried to swallow; and the impression has inevitably been created that it is no more than a happy hunting ground for cranks. Culture alone is a vast and amorphous term; in no other field is it so easy to let

one thing lead on to another, or to juggle so convincingly with the theoretically desirable and the practically useful. Thus it is that a body whose constitution contains ringing words about preventing war by attaching its roots 'in the minds of men' now finds itself designing a 'mobile museum specially adapted to arid zones,' fostering a 'symposium on bromatology' at Santiago de Chile, and submitting reports reviewing research literature on the 'design of wind machines.'

"Dr. Evans, who was appointed Director-General some 18 months ago, has sought to adopt a realistic attitude toward UNESCO's manifold projects. But people acquire vested interests in education, science, and culture just as they do in other fields; and although UNESCO is young in years, it has shown itself old enough to be set in its ways. It will not find it easy to turn a deaf ear to those who urge it to provide the world with colored reproductions of Australian aboriginal art or gramophone records of the folk music of the Eskimo, Tuareg, and Fula peoples. . . .

"To argue in this strain is not to prove oneself a Philistine. It would be in UNESCO's own interest to abandon some of its more esoteric projects and to concentrate its resources on those that offer practical results. Admittedly, at Montevideo, some fears were expressed that emphasis on the practical might lead to neglect of spiritual values; but international organizations are unsatisfactory vehicles for the propagation of spiritual values, and the sad fact is that UNESCO's misguided efforts in some directions

### UNESCO'S ANSWER TO TRIBUNAL'S DECISION

By JOHN F. McJENNETT, JR.

Assistant Director of U. S. National Commission for UNESCO

WITH regard to the damages awarded discharged employees of UNESCO who are American nationals, the following are the facts:

Following the refusal of these employees to respond to a questionnaire and to appear before an appropriate loyalty board, Dr. Evans, Director-General of UNESCO, advised them that he had lost confidence in them as employees and discharged them from the Agency. These employees, like all others in the Secretariat, are employed by contract. Thus, the routine of discharge involved contract termination and, therefore, came under the statutes applying to contracts.

A group of the employees appealed to the Tribunal of the International Labor Organization on the grounds that under the statutes their contracts had been illegally terminated because in the process, they allege, Dr. Evans violated the clause in the statute relating to reasonable expectancy. The Tribunal of the International Labor Organization found the charges in their favor and awarded damages.

At the meeting of the Executive Board of UNESCO in late 1955, the Board voted in support of the United States position to contest the Tribunal's findings in the International Court of Justice, to be argued this spring.



have diverted attention from the admirable work it is doing in others. . . .

"UNESCO can do valuable work in promoting understanding and personal exchange among relatively well-educated peoples, but in that field it is not alone; at most, it can only fill crevices between the activities of universities, learned societies, publishers, and national organizations. . . . But it is still far from clear that that is what UNESCO has in mind."

To the silly esthetic boondoggling described above by the *Economist*, we can add one more late morsel: the prizes offered and awarded at the recent Venice Biennale by UNESCO which became simply two or three others added to an already endless list of small cash and honors offered by tourist bureaus and insurance companies. They may sound like a tiny thing, which it probably comes to in money and importance, yet these prizes are somehow typical of the most unpleasant and most dangerous fault of UNESCO, certainly in the

arts—namely, its obvious wish and will to set itself up competitively, and on the same level, with existing organizations, instead of as a liaison in order to make the best possible use of them, as the founders of UNESCO intended. But that original premise has now disappeared under the hand of the firmly entrenched intellectual Tammany Hall which today inhabits as well as rules UNESCO.

Hence, of course, UNESCO finds itself, among other odd occupations, literally in the publishing business—and in the art field, in it with expensive, huge volumes that have recently been reviewed by competent authorities as inferior to equally recent, commercially published books on the same subjects. But it is projects like these which create soft jobs and free travel for UNESCO functionaries.

So also do, of course, international conferences like the one with the fancy name, at Venice, a few months ago. This turned out to be a no more successful performance of the long-

range idea of creating a UNESCO run international artists' association for which an equally expensive affair of a general rehearsal, a sort of planning conference, had been held at UNESCO at Venice two years before. It was severely criticized for power yet eventually ridiculous efforts by the Italo-French bloc to ram through its own procedure, ideas, and controls. Now the same thing has happened again, on a larger scale and a more easily combatable one, a few months ago—with no press observers invited (why?). As soon as official reports are cleared for release, we shall publish an account based on experiences of the considerably disillusioned United States delegation of artists.

What can be done about UNESCO? How do we control (in order to avoid having to halt entirely) this sorcerer's apprentice we have called into being? Better decide and act before it finishes one more major, gratuitous fueling, at home and abroad, for anti-international reactionaries.

## Facts Forum Panel Discusses UNESCO



Guest panelist for a recent thought-provoking television program dealing with the subject of UNESCO was Professor Willmoore Kendall (center), former Rhodes scholar, now professor of political science, Yale University. Regular panelists were (left to right) George Hamilton Combs, former

Congressman (D-Mo.), television commentator; Hardy Burt, moderator; William Buckley, Jr., publisher and editor of the new weekly, *National Review*; and Professor Charles Hodges, teacher of international politics, N. Y. U. Following are some of the highlights from the program.

### QUESTION: What is your opinion of UNESCO?

KENDALL: It is one further example of the rash of new international organizations that were set up in 1945 and after in the general atmosphere of optimism about world peace, and with the general purpose of speeding our progress

toward that better world which our political leaders had promised us as a reward for going into World War II.

It is a going concern of the kind we political scientists call a bureaucracy. It is a bureaucracy of 800 experts strong, with palatial offices in Paris, and with an annual budget, dug in large part out of

the theoretically bottomless pocket of the American taxpayer, \$8,000,000 to spend on whatever manner of foolishness its board of directors happen to adopt at the moment. One critic has called it an "international WPA for unemployed intellectuals."

COMBS: UNESCO is without power to conduct any operation in any country.









# A BIC

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*The building industry*  
*The Housing and Home Finance Agency of the government (pledged to help in every possible way)*

**W**ITH the alarming deterioration of America's housing inventory, our standards of living, upon which we have always prided ourselves, are being steadily lowered — the nation's housing inventory is rapidly deteriorating. Keenly aware of the need for more and better housing for all people of our nation, President Eisenhower has asked that the government join with communities, the building and lending industries and private citizens in a nationwide effort toward raising the level of living for all American people.

Operation Home Improvement, in establishing 1956 as "Home Improvement Year," gives private enterprise's answer to President Eisenhower's request. An estimated 250 million dollars worth of advertising will bear the seal and slogan of this program as private industry shifts into high gear to recondition dwelling areas of half the American people in which houses ten, twenty, thirty years and older predominate.

Now is the time for all American home owners to ask themselves "Is my house in order?" and then "Should I seize this opportunity to join hands with the government in reconditioning my property to meet the soaring national standard of livability?"

Here presented for the evaluation of our readers in determining the latter question, are the addresses of officials of private industry and government designating 1956 as "Home Improvement Year."

Also included is a recent Facts Forum radio program in which Congressman Bruce Alger (R., Texas) and Senator John Sparkman (D., Ala.), in discussing "Public Housing," touch upon many factors common to both public housing and federal aid to home improvement.

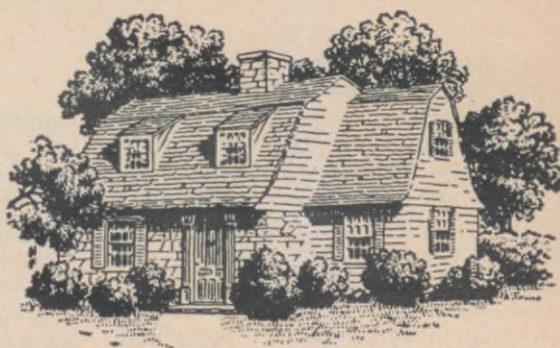
Finally shown are the views of Paul L. Poirot, staff member of the Foundation for Economic Education, excerpted from his booklet "Public Housing," including his statement that "What the government takes from an individual as taxes is no longer available to that individual for use as he might please toward the care and improvement of his own home and his own family."

Will this challenging program, in the final analysis, benefit the American homeowner individually, and the nation's economy as a whole?



# Idea

## IMPROVEMENT



**GOAL:** *To raise the level of living for all Americans through reconditioning dwelling areas of half the American people in which houses ten, twenty, thirty years and older predominate.*

## 1956 — Home Improvement Year

ALBERT M. COLE, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, in response to a directive from our President, has designated 1956 as "Home Improvement Year." Mr. Cole's address, given at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., January 16, 1956, was prefaced by Clem D. Johnston, Chairman of the Board, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, following which Mr. Cole was introduced by Fritz B. Burns, Builder, of Los Angeles, California. Mr. John R. Doscher, Executive Director of Operation Home Improvement, spoke in conclusion.

The statements of these officials, inaugurating '56 as the "year to fix," are shown in condensed form.

### "A Fascinating Venture"

**Statement of Clem D. Johnston, Chairman of the Board, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.**

This is a fascinating and important venture. We are setting out to take another step to help improve the homes of America.

To me this is another achievement of business leadership. You manufacturers and distributors of building

materials and equipment, you building trade association members, you private enterprise-minded men in government, and we in the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, voluntarily came together to design this campaign and set in motion a program which can help improve millions of homes.

Home Improvement Year will have other benefits:

1. It will add to our national production.
2. It will provide more jobs for the craftsmen who support their families by employment in the home-improvement industry.
3. It will provide increased sales of building materials and equipment and services.

These are the things — more production, more jobs, and more sales — which bring better living to the people of America. This is one of the important objectives of the national Chamber.

This is why we are for this nationwide home-improvement campaign.

I am proud that our voluntary, private, and competitive way of getting progress in America has provided this opportunity to again let the profit motive give us a purpose which can benefit so many Americans. . . .

### "A Perfect Partnership"

**Remarks by Fritz B. Burns, Builder, of Los Angeles, California, at the launching of Home Improvement Year.**

This is a happy day for me.

I started in the real-estate business before I finished grade school. I began building homes before I was old enough to vote. As a young man I found keen satisfaction in watching new homes rise and seeing cities expand. I was proud to think I had a hand in their growth.

I never lost my early feelings of satisfaction and pride in our industry. But as I grew older I began to realize that something else was happening to our cities — something evil. While new homes grew constantly better and cities flourished, many of the older homes and older neighborhoods were going to wrack and ruin.

Along with a lot of other people I started thinking about what would happen if we continued to neglect those older neighborhoods. The majority of the houses in them were still soundly built. Why should they be abandoned this way? But the fact was that most of them had not been kept up. They needed a lot more than a





coat of paint. They had to be brought up to the new standards found in the new houses we were putting up all over the country. If they were not, no matter how much new building in the country we put up, we would have, instead of a net gain in housing, a net loss of decent dwelling places.

As I just remarked, a lot of people were thinking about the problem. All of them wanted to do something about it, too, and some of us got together, in various parts of the country, and worked out plans. But there was no central dynamo to provide the power on a national scale.

One day just under a year ago, Bill Ulman, of the Housing Agency, and I were mulling over the situation in my office in Los Angeles. We agreed that it might do a lot of good if we could set up a national home-improvement week. Some time later, in Denver, Al Cole, Bill Ulman, Axel Nielsen, and I developed the idea further. Why not have a home-improvement month? Why not have a home-improvement year?

That was the real start. We would line up the National Association of Home Builders, with its "new face for America" campaign. We would line up the National Association of Real Estate Boards and pick up its "build America better" project. And we would use that fine organization, Action — the American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods. We could call together the producers, the retailers, and the lenders into one mighty effort to rescue the living wealth of America — our homes.

The United States Chamber of Commerce offered to sponsor the whole program — and within three months of that first exploratory talk in Los Angeles, Operation Home Improvement was born.

#### UNITY OF ACTION

The important thing, perhaps the most important, is that everybody we talked to recognized the need for unity of action. All the diverse organizations supporting Home Improvement Year are working together. There are no rivalries, no jealousies, no conflicts. We have a perfect partnership.

An indispensable member of this partnership of the forces of private enterprise is the federal government. I think of this member as the cement that gives solidarity and strength to the structure we are erecting together.

And it must be an enduring structure. Working always as a team, combining our idealism with the hard-

headed Yankee common sense that is our precious heritage, demanding never less of ourselves than the very best that is in us, requiring inflexible standards of material and workmanship, we will make it an enduring structure.

The supervising architect is well known to all of us. And he is favorably known to all of us. We have not always agreed with his decisions. Some of us have argued with him. A few

of us have quarreled with him. But we all trust him. And all of us know in our hearts that we couldn't find a better man for the job.

He isn't a builder by profession. He is not a dealer in real estate. He is not a mortgage lender. He is not a manufacturer or supplier of building materials. He came up the hard way — through Congress.

I present to you my very good friend, the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Albert M. Cole, of Kansas.

## "A Really Fresh Approach"

Address by Albert M. Cole, Administrator  
of the Housing and Home Finance Agency

The moment at hand, January 16, 1956, was chosen many months ago as the time to start a great national crusade to raise the level of living in all parts of our country. The means by which we will achieve that end is improvement of the fundamental element of living, the homes of America.

This is a joint enterprise. Millions of individuals will take part in it. Thousands of communities will participate. Civic organizations and many special groups, such as the ones sponsoring this meeting, will contribute their energies. Major areas of private industry, including all media of communications, will marshal their powerful forces. The federal government will aid in every possible way.

When the present administration took office, not quite three years ago, President Eisenhower and his team were keenly aware of the need for more and better housing for all the people of the nation. But on this occasion I want to discuss, not slums, not blighted areas in danger of becoming slums, not even those urban sections that touch such areas. I want to talk about all older areas — those in which houses 10, 20, 30 years and older predominate — in all the towns and cities of the United States.

It is in the older areas, many of very high quality, that more than half of the nation's people live today. The total property investment — though not precisely measurable — is considerably in excess of \$200 billion.

And we have not been protecting that investment. We have been letting a vast national asset — dwelling place of half the American people — depreciate at a rate no factory or mercantile

establishment would tolerate. And business leaders have been partly at fault. They thought only in terms of "somebody else's property." Along with others, they failed to see that this was the nation's property, the nation's economy — and thus the depreciation directly affected us all.

The capital value of our properties has not been keeping pace with other capital values. More important, dividends have been falling off — and I mean not only municipal tax revenues but dividends in efficiency, comfort, and satisfaction. The dividends in livability have not kept up with dividends from other sources. Now have they begun to keep up with American standards of livability which the restless genius of American home builders is constantly elevating to new heights. Countless thousands of old dwellings not only lack the utility and livability made possible by postwar technical developments, but are limited to facilities popular between 1900 and 1935.

Today the building and allied industries — with the continued cooperation of the government — are about to undertake an enterprise of tremendous scope and of a social import that cannot yet be measured. These industries are not only going to construct probably 1300 thousand new homes in 1956, but they are going to improve very substantially ten million or more existing dwellings at a cost of over nine billion dollars. An additional ten million or more homes will receive maintenance and repairs in excess of another five billion dollars. The total will be about three billion dollars, 25 per cent more than was spent





1955 — and I believe it is a conservative estimate. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, for example, recently published a statement which I will quote:

"These figures certainly indicate that, despite the discovery that the residential modernization market may be about twice as large as we thought, the limit may be far from reached. A possible additional expansion of 25 to 50 per cent of the present activity is within probability."

I also want to read to you the sentence immediately following:

"This is a challenge to the construction industry that should not be passed at a time when other sectors of the construction market may be temporarily close to the limits of increased expansion."

### A SPECTACULAR OPPORTUNITY

This is indeed a challenge to home builders. It is also an opportunity of spectacular dimensions for lenders, realtors, architects, producers, and all allied trades and professions. It will mean a whole new area of employment for labor. And neither the challenge nor the opportunities will be ignored by any of these.

I do not use the term "challenge" lightly, nor as a matter of rhetoric.

For years a nearly hopeless burden has been placed on the individual homeowner who wished to improve his home in an older neighborhood. He was usually unable to borrow the funds for a real job of improvement — a new wing, a new bathroom or kitchen — because few wished to lend substantial sums to a home owner in an aging area that showed signs of blight.

Now we have a really fresh approach. We urge broad-scale, neighborhood-wide home improvement, not just pockets of endeavor. And instead of relying solely on the part-time efforts of well-meaning citizen groups — without whom there would be no real progress — we now rely also on the national and local businessman who can find in this crusade the fulfillment of a social and economic need without jeopardizing the interests of his stockholders.

I must at the same time remark that it is the responsibility of businessmen and lenders to be vigilant in the interests of home owners. There is no place in this national movement for greed or careless practices. There can be no toleration of laxity in granting either conventional or government-insured loans. I urge lenders and builders alike to require identical standards in the

granting of both these types of loans.

You are all aware that during the half-dozen years ahead there will be a fall-off in new family formations due to the coming of age of the smaller baby crop born during the depression period of the 1930's. An attendant moderate drop in demand for new homes during those few years can be very profitably balanced by satisfying the demand for home improvement — and thus, without ridding pressures of an inflationary character, keep fully employed the producers and suppliers of building materials, the forces of labor and management. At the same time the building industry will be tooling up in preparation for the clearly visible new home-building boom that will get under way in the early 1960's.

As one new and practical step to assist in the home-improvement effort, the Housing and Home Finance Agency will recommend liberalization of its procedures, through both legislation and regulations, to an extent that will bring our mortgage insurance facilities into phase with today's standards. We are also undertaking to send through the country highly qualified teams to aid in training the personnel in all our field offices and thus expedite all qualifying applications for federal assistance.

### MEETING THE CHALLENGE

The challenge facing us all will be met. All elements of the building industry are moving forward to accept the challenge and to seize the opportunity.

Newspapers great and small, magazines of every kind, trade journals, the radio and television chains, all are giving lavishly of their space and time. They, too, have determined to meet the challenge.

Many other industries, some of them not even indirectly associated with the building and building-service industries, have recognized the challenge. They know that anything which makes for a better America must have their support. And they are warmly giving it.

Municipal authorities in thousands of communities feel the challenge deeply. They are very close to the need for improving the homes of America. They know the importance of good homes and sound neighborhoods in maintaining a sound capital structure in their communities. And they know how great are both the financial and social dividends. Their

support is being given to the limit.

I believe I am safe in saying that no peacetime endeavor of the American people has ever had such assurance of universal support as this, our nationwide home improvement enterprise, a true partnership of private industry and government. This partnership has no opposition. Everywhere it has support.

### A SINGLE PURPOSE

In this room here today, in addition to the representatives of many industries, there are present distinguished members of both houses of Congress. Many of the President's Cabinet and several of the White House staff are with us today, as are other government officials from a number of departments, state and municipal officers and community leaders. There are labor leaders, education and health authorities, publishers, editors, news analysts. There are religious leaders and persons eminent in numerous other fields of activity. All of you have come here with a single purpose.

You have come to demonstrate your faith in the enterprise that all of us are undertaking together.

You believe that our postwar technology, which has already greatly raised the level of living in America, will continue to advance. You believe that the soaring national standard of livability can be increasingly enjoyed by ever-growing numbers of our people. And you believe that millions of them are eager to realize that standard in its most elemental reality — the homes in which they live and rear their children to become useful members of society.

You believe, too, I have no doubt, that as millions of Americans in the medium income group advance their present level of living closer to the new American standards, private industry as a whole will become more and more convinced of the real feasibility — as well as the desirability, which no one now disputes — of home improvement on an even broader scale. We should never permit ourselves to forget that the long-term objective — the attainment of which will be most profitable in every way for all concerned — is to raise the level of living for all the American people.

I have here a letter written to me by the President of the United States, in which he says in part:

I hope that the Housing and Home Finance Agency can now join with communities, the building and lending industries, and private citizens in a nationwide effort toward this goal.





In response to the President's directive I will now read a statement, the substance of which I hope will be given wide and continuous publicity throughout the United States:

### DECLARATION OF 1956 AS NATIONAL HOME IMPROVEMENT YEAR

The President of the United States has stated that the present administration from the outset recognized three major goals of equal importance in the complex task of housing the American people.

One goal was to provide, by private enterprise and initiative, a modern home for every American family that seeks and can afford to buy such a home. This is approaching achievement.

Another goal was to provide more and better housing, both by private enterprise and government aid, for American families with low incomes. This is being increasingly accomplished.

A third goal was nationwide renewal and

restoration of middle-aged dwellings in basically sound condition.

Aware of the magnitude and urgency of this need to rehabilitate our older homes, the President has expressed his desire that the Housing and Home Finance Agency stimulate our communities, the building and lending industries, and private citizens everywhere to a full and systematic achievement of a modern home for every American.

If this objective is attained with the energy at our command, and with the crusading spirit of our people, our entire population — owners, tenants, and laboring force alike — will be enormously benefited.

Therefore, as Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, I urge the American people to join with the President and the great forces of private enterprise in concerted effort to attain nationwide improvement of our country's homes and neighborhoods.

In pursuance of our common objectives, I designate 1956 Home Improvement Year.

## "A Big Idea Because It's Simple"

Remarks of John R. Doscher, Executive Director  
of Operation Home Improvement:

Someone wired recently and referred to this day as an historic occasion. In many respects it is. For today marks the beginning of a campaign which is bound to have a very positive effect on our nation. This campaign is called Operation Home Improvement.

Today, for the first time, all the many and diverse factors in the building business are joining forces under the banner of Operation Home Improvement to combat one of our most serious domestic problems: the deterioration of our housing inventory.

Private industry has a big job to do in selling home improvement to the American people. To do it takes a big idea. Nothing less could unite an industry. Nothing less could make an impression on the American people who are the most promoted-to people in the world.

Operation Home Improvement is a big idea. It's big because it is simple. It is not a new organization or association. It is simply a year-long campaign designed to coordinate the efforts of all in the home-improvement industry, both at the national and at the local level, to accomplish two things: (1) To interest more people in improving their homes, and (2) to help make it easier for home owners to

buy materials and services.

The campaign is sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the building industry. As you have seen, it has the active support of the federal government.

The potential is indeed enormous. Some economists estimate that the home improvement market could be doubled in the next few years. The condition of our housing inventory in America certainly points up the need.

We've got a big job to do in developing this market. Statisticians tell us that one house in ten is a slum, half of those remaining are in need of repair and improvement. Certainly the other half need to be maintained. We have always prided ourselves on having the highest standards of living in the world, but with the alarming deterioration of our housing inventory, our standards are being steadily lowered.

What's happened to the American pride in the home?

Why don't people spend money to keep their homes up to modern standards?

Certainly, with our current prosperity, full employment, the highest wages we've ever had even adjusted for inflation, people can afford to improve their homes. Half the owner-

occupied homes in America are owner-scot-free — there are no mortgage payments to be made every month. Most of these are the older homes that are in need of modernization. The other half of our home owners have about a 50 per cent equity — more than enough on which sound readvance could be made for improvement work.

Manufacturers, trade association executives, financing experts, service and installation people and government housing officials, all agree that Operation Home Improvement is a big enough idea to help achieve a new degree of teamwork. With one seal and one slogan and the declaration of Home Improvement Year, this idea has already created unprecedented cooperation at the national level. And from tests at the local level in pilot cities, it is apparent that the idea is big enough to get everyone pulling together.

It looks now as if the seal of OHI may well become one of the greatest banners ever used in the history of American business. This year, this seal will appear in many millions of dollars worth of national advertising. Local advertising, beginning today, is being used by countless thousands of dealers, contractors, lenders, and retailers of home equipment products. It is estimated that, at the local level alone, over \$250 million worth of advertising will carry this seal during Home Improvement Year. In addition, an equal amount will probably be spent on direct mail, display material and other promotional activities using the seal.

### FOR THE COMMON GOOD

Never before have all the diverse elements of this huge industry joined together for the common good of all. And by joining forces in this common effort, everyone in this industry is helping to insure our most precious possession — the American home — the bulwark of our way of life.

It is because of this that Operation Home Improvement is one campaign that is big enough to deserve the attention of editors of leading magazines. Every major magazine has joined the team to help sell better living in better homes. Millions and millions of families will be reading more and better editorial material on this subject. And on these editorial pages they'll see the OHI seal time and time again.

Newspapers, too, are using the seal editorially.

Through the repetitious impact





the seal in editorial content of magazines and newspapers, and in advertising, people everywhere will get the idea that '56 is the year to fix" — and they will be encouraged to improve their homes this year.

Operation Home Improvement is indeed a big idea. And it is a well-coordinated national effort. But perhaps most exciting is what happens at the local level when a whole city gets behind OHI and makes a local campaign out of it. Today, many mayors are proclaiming "Home Improvement Year" to mark the beginning of their local campaigns.

This local level application is most important because it means that dealers, contractors, and lenders are joining together to encourage more people to improve their homes and to help to make it easier for them to buy materials and services.

The timing for this integrated campaign is perfect. Our economy needs

this multi-billion-dollar stimulus — the building industry needs this campaign to maintain sound growth — and the American people need the help that this campaign promises in making repair and remodeling work easier to buy.

Thus, Operation Home Improvement is private enterprise's answer to President Eisenhower's request that there be established a concerted effort to improve old but still sound dwellings. As *Collier's* magazine stated on its editorial page . . . "The campaign is based on a valid premise: that pride in one's home and community can be as infectious as slovenliness — and far more rewarding and economical. From any viewpoint — the welfare of the community or the self-interest of the home owner — the program makes sense and deserves vigorous support."

## Public Housing — Pro and Con

Slum clearance, urban renewal and public housing are linked in the Administration's housing program. Operation Home Improvement will center on urban renewal; all facets of this program, however, have a common denominator in the nation's economy.

The remarks of Congressman Bruce Alger (R.-Texas), on a recent Facts Forum radio program, emphasize the importance of keeping our government in its proper confines with free enterprise providing the motive power.



Bruce Alger

Is it outright constitutional violation?

In earlier congresses since 1949, public housing has repeatedly been voted down. I was there last term when the public housing was eliminated from the Housing Act by a vote of 217 to 188. I was also there three days later when public housing suddenly became the law of the land by a vote of 187 to 168. This reversal resulted when bags were packed and tickets bought to leave Washington. We were threatened with no adjournment or a special session if we didn't pass it right then. Those who knew that the House conferees improperly gave in to the Senate in compromising their difference, refused to fight further with adjournment imminent. Some had already left. Further, in a rather dishonest legislative maneuver, it seemed to me, the public housing

provision was tied to renewal of FHA — so that a vote against public housing was a vote against the necessary FHA. All this I saw.

Even the President's restrictions on public housing were, and are now, removed. President Eisenhower's program requested thirty-five thousand public housing units yearly, but only, first, in connection with slum clearance and urban renewal; and secondly, that the tenants qualifying would be only those persons displaced through slum clearance.

### DANGERS OUTLINED

The American people are capable of right decisions when they have the facts. This is still a government of, by, and for the people. It's time we re-emphasize the danger of public housing so the march toward socialism in this direction can be halted. Here are several pertinent considerations in the light of our previous experiences in the public housing field.

Do you think members of the low-income group — those with the most easily recognized need — get the housing? In Detroit a tenant earning \$4,500 yearly can live in public housing, in Wilmington, Delaware, \$4,800, and in Dayton, Ohio, \$5,800. Is this the low-income group? In Congress a New York representative pleaded for help for the middle-income group. Should everyone have public housing?

Further, what bureaucrat is so able as to pick and choose the right tenant? Also, will the tenant refuse a promotion in his job if the offer of increased income means he will exceed the maximum qualifying income and lose his housing? Are we passing laws to kill initiative and incentive without regard for human nature? Surely such is not our intention.

Now let's think about the cost to the taxpayer. The cost is fantastic! The \$10 thousand unit (the lowest cost) eventually costs in the neighborhood of \$25 thousand. It would even be cheaper to give the property to the tenant initially. However, the tenant is better off living at government expense so he'd probably refuse the gift together with taxes, upkeep, and other ownership expenses. The 2% per cent interest on the money, plus the 2 per cent fixed annual contribution makes the \$10 thousand into \$18,600 per unit over the forty years life expectancy. And to this, add these expenses — the federal tax loss on the government bonds of \$2,352 per unit; the tax loss to the local community, which must keep up the property including gar-

Public housing would be completely acceptable in a socialistic society, since it's part of their plan. In our country well-intentioned citizens who cry "Americans should have decent housing at prices they can afford," forget they could say the same for clothes, food, transportation and all other human needs. That's socialism, not Americanism of the constitutional Republic. Why not food, clothing and other necessities — for us all? We all know the answer. We want no part of socialism. We want opportunity and freedom in the Republic.

Our Constitution is sorely strained to account for the Housing Act of '55 passed by the Congress. Does public housing come under the over-extended "promote the general welfare" clause?





bage collection, even cutting the grass; and the administrative expenses.

Another inequity created is the tax-exempt feature of the government public-housing bonds, the only federal bonds so favored. And another — there is even great doubt that public housing can be tied to slum clearance because our past experience shows little relationship between the two.

Also, public housing seems to breed juvenile delinquency, judging from experience. The percentage of delinquency is greater in the housing projects that have been studied than other parts of their communities.

It has been said that public housing is "political housing" because sponsoring such projects gives an excellent opportunity for congressmen to make impassioned speeches and champion the people with federal handouts as the inducements, thereby winning votes for re-election. I have heard these speeches. I am not convinced — quite the contrary. I am not so ignorant nor naive to believe these distorted views, nor fail to recognize them for what they are. Neither do I think that the American people can be so misled. The facts must be presented to our people, so they can decide.

#### THE AREA OF GOVERNMENT OPERATION

For my part, I do not believe that building homes is a function of government even if we could afford it, which we can't, in view of the national debt. These are perilous times for the squandering of money.

Americans don't expect their government to build them houses — at least, not the majority of the people. The area of government operation is spelled out in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution. Let's keep our government in its proper confines with free enterprise providing the motive power. How tragic if socialism caused our downfall. Our destiny, rather, is to lead the world to a realization of the truth and value of our "American Way of Living," in contrast to the decadent, godless repudiation of individual worth found in the socialistic and communistic societies.

James Madison said, "We have staked the entire future of America, not on the power of government, but on the capacity of mankind for self-government." We have the capacity. It's our government and our future. We can blaze the trail for the world — our way.

Tell your congressman how you feel.

Senator John Sparkman (D-Ala.) on the same Facts Forum program, agrees with the views of the late Senator Taft of Ohio that government has a legitimate role to play in helping to meet America's housing needs.



John Sparkman

I want to talk about one of our most serious problems, one that has been called our number one national scandal, the problem of slums. I don't have to tell you how great a problem this is (SIC). Anyone who has ridden through the older sections of our large cities and even our smaller towns and rural areas has seen all too clearly the miserable conditions in which millions of our fellow citizens are forced to live.

We Americans cannot be proud to realize that 15 million homes in the world's richest nation are classified as substandard. That was the figure given in the National Housing Conference of 1950, and the problem is getting worse every year. At the rate we're going now experts say it would take thirty years just to rehabilitate the substandard homes and eighty-five years to clear all the slums.

The slums are a real blight on the face of America. They are the natural breeding grounds for crime, disease and delinquency. And make no mistake, the slums extort a tremendous price from all of us, not only in the terrible social costs of increased crime and sickness, but in the plain dollars and cents costs that affect all of us as taxpayers.

Slums are expensive to operate. The city of Buffalo, New York, for example, spends about \$140 per family for normal police and fire protection and health and social services for the city as a whole. But these same services cost \$340 per family — more than twice as much in the slum areas. The slum areas don't pay their own way, not by a long shot. In Denver, one of our newer cities, slums eat up one-third of the city's annual budget while paying in return only 2 per cent of the city's residential property taxes.

These slums pose a complex problem and many men have tried to solve it. One of the leaders was the late Senator Taft of Ohio. Taft is thought of as a conservative, but he realized the critical extent of our slum problem and he recognized that government had a legitimate role to play in helping to meet America's housing needs. Sen-

ator Taft fought for a public housing program and he was one of the leaders who succeeded in getting Congress approve the 1949 Housing Act with provision for building 135,000 public housing units a year. The law, sponsored by Senator Taft, gave our cities a real boost in their efforts to clear away the slums. By the time the Eisenhower Administration took over in 1953, the public housing program was showing real concrete results.

But the Eisenhower Administration I'm sorry to say, tossed Senator Taft's program right out of the window. Instead of Taft's goal of 135,000 public housing units a year, President Eisenhower proposed only about a quarter of that — 35,000 units. In 1954, at the urging of President Eisenhower, the Republican congress wiped off the statute books the remaining authority to build hundreds of thousands of public housing units under the 1949 acts. And, at the request of the President, the Republican congress tied the public housing program even tighter with crippling restrictions that made it almost impossible to operate.

We Democrats were never completely satisfied with President Eisenhower's public-housing goal of 35,000 units, but while Congress was under Republican control we led the fight for the President's program against the Republican congressmen who were voting three to one against even these limited goals. When Democrats took over the Congress in 1955, we were determined to improve on what Eisenhower housing program — and we did. In the Senate, we actually were able to restore Senator Taft's goals of 135,000 units a year, because the overwhelming majority of House Republicans voted to kill the public housing entirely, we had to settle finally on 45,000 units for next year. But that was more than President had favored. We knocked out of the Bill some of the crippling restrictions favored by President that would have made the Housing Bill a mockery.

This, of course, is not the end. More remains to be done. Let us not





that question long ago.

The question now is whether we shall doom millions of our citizens to a life of despair, without any hope of having an opportunity to achieve a decent place in which to live and bring up their children in decent surroundings with the slums removed.

We must not let up, but we must continue to wage a full-scale battle on this, our number one scandal.

## The Price We Pay

By Paul L. Poirot\*

Although the foregoing campaign statement did not say so, many persons believe that a housing shortage exists in the United States at the present time. They say that there are not enough dwellings to satisfy the demand. They say it isn't right that some American families should be deprived of better housing, especially when they appear willing to pay for it. They say that private builders aren't doing the job, that the competitive system isn't functioning properly. Many persons believe that the government ought to do something about such a situation.

A seeming corrective for any shortage is to produce more of the things which are scarce—in this instance, produce more houses. And that's precisely what a great many citizens believe the government of the United States ought to do; carry on and enlarge its public housing program . . .

The problem is that there are not enough dwellings to satisfy the demand at prevailing prices . . .

Someone has been trying to set too low a price for housing, thus causing too much demand. Theoretically, such interference could originate with individual owners of houses, apartments, and other dwellings. Suppose an apartment house builder were to open a new project, for some reason offering all of his well-built and highly desirable apartments at a monthly rental of ten dollars, including utilities. In most communities such a ridiculously low rental rate would bring forth far more applications from tenants than could be satisfied. The apartment house owner would have created a housing "shortage" simply by building housing and offering it for rental at less than

the prevailing market price. Or suppose that some owner decides to sell his home for a figure well below what the prevailing market price might be. This, too, might lead to a so-called housing shortage, for there would be a tremendous demand for such a bargain.

Actually, these are pretty radical suppositions. Private builders and home owners usually do not cut their own throats in any such fashion . . .

### GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE

Sometimes the government—federal, state, or local—interferes with the price signals in the housing market. Not the private builder, but the government, steps in and says that rents shall not exceed ten dollars a month, or whatever other figure they deem to be fair. The consequence of such indirect housing subsidy, of course, is that those tenants who are most fortunate will expand into living quarters more spacious than they would consider necessary at the competitive market price. . . .

The tendency of rent control to aggravate the housing shortage seems to have been recognized even by the government. . . . Of course, the government doesn't deliberately set out to create a housing shortage when it indulges in rent control and various easy home-purchase subsidies. The object is to help the needy, the returning veterans, the families of defense workers, the "underpaid public servants," all those who are thought to be worthy and deserving. And it is not a popular thing to question such humanitarian motives. However . . . the housing shortage persists because of what is being done by the government in its effort to correct it. And the victims who suffer most are the very ones who were supposed to be the beneficiaries of this intervention—the persons who were presumed to be unable to meet their own need for housing. Even an artificially created shortage hits first and hardest against those least able to afford the scarce item.

The government is trying to prohibit competitive bargaining as the determinant of the price for housing. In other words, the government has been trying to force people to do what they would not do voluntarily. . . . Shortages and surpluses do not develop or, at least, do not continue for long when prices are free to fluctuate according to the choices of buyers and sellers.

The current housing "shortage" is not a thing that can be measured

"We must have better housing for those Americans who are now forced to live in slums and substandard dwellings."

So said a presidential candidate. And so believe a great number of the rank and file citizens of the United States. There really seems to be no question as to the desirability of adequate housing. But there are questions as to what kind of housing is adequate . . . as to who is being forced to live in slums and substandard dwellings, who is applying the force. And perhaps the most important questions of all have to do with the methods of achieving better housing. Who is to determine what is better or best? Who is to provide and who is to occupy much better housing?

The presidential candidate probably was not referring to his own personal need when he called for better housing. It is probable, however, that at least one purpose of his statement was to establish his eligibility for occupancy of a house which has been recently repaired at a cost to American taxpayers of \$5,832,000. Of course, the White House is not a housing project in the usual sense of the term; but the methods of providing the dwelling and of selecting the occupant are strikingly similar to those used for public housing projects. In either case, the political method is used for determining the need and assessing the burden of the costs involved.

\*This article is excerpted from Dr. Poirot's booklet *Public Housing*, a 1954 publication of THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC., Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. Dr. Poirot, a staff member of FEE, has also written *The Pension Idea*, *Property Rights and Human Rights*, *Bargaining*, *Social Security*, and other booklets and articles.





merely by comparing the number of families or the number of people with the number of dwellings or the number of rooms. The 1950 census reports an average of 3.5 persons per occupied dwelling unit in the United States, compared with 3.7 persons at the end of World War II, 3.8 persons in 1940, and 4.8 persons in 1900. The total number of dwelling units in 1950 was 23 per cent greater than 1940, whereas the same period saw a population increase of less than 15 per cent. These figures certainly indicate that most of the so-called housing shortage stems from disruption of the market mechanism rather than from a decline in dwelling facilities.

Such a comparison of persons per dwelling, of course, tells nothing specific about the condition of the dwellings or the happiness or health of the residents. It has been charged that some Americans are now forced to live in slums and substandard dwellings. And it undoubtedly is true that some Americans are living in homes which other Americans would classify as uninhabitable. But it is equally true that some Americans eat and drink food and beverages which other Americans consider unfit for human consumption. Some farm operators till soil so unproductive that other farm operators would classify it as unfit for farming. Some persons dress in a manner seen by others to be inadequate or positively indecent. Even the manner in which some Americans worship God is frowned upon by others. Who is to determine which ones of us are living in substandard fashion? And then what?

#### FORCED TO BE INDEPENDENT

Aside from the occupants of prisons and other places of detention, how many American citizens actually are being forced to live in any particular place? Just what is the nature of this so-called force over those who dwell in the "slums"? Am I being forced to live in my own modest home just because there are others living not too far away in homes which are castles by comparison? . . .

There may be those who will say that any person who eats an apple is forcing all other persons to do without that apple. And perhaps there are some who then go on to conclude that the eating of a single apple forces all others to do without apples. At least this seems to be the logic of persons who say that people are being forced to occupy slums and substandard dwellings. They imply that such force

is exercised by those who occupy more stately mansions. Their idea seems to be that force occurs or has been exercised whenever there develops the least deviation from a condition of absolute equality of material possessions. By such "reasoning" they conclude that it is a proper function of government to provide a standardized dwelling unit for every citizen. Any individual who might attempt to disturb this dream of social equality by improving his own unit would have to be taxed back into line!

#### PARTIALLY EQUAL

The foregoing illustration will be challenged by the majority of social levelers as going beyond their objectives. They will say that their goal is not absolute equality—that only the lower 5 per cent or 10 per cent or one-



third of the population really deserves to be equalized upward. A favorite stunt of politicians who want to be known as defenders of private enterprise is to argue that, of course, we don't need one hundred thousand units of public housing a year—we only need eighty thousand units! But this kind of a breaking point leaves no stopping place in principle. If all the people are to be taxed to build the new homes which some of the people cannot afford, this very tax will drive others down into the eligible "substandard class." There will always be a lowest 5 per cent, until absolute equality is reached. And the disrupted market place will not be allowed to indicate by way of price changes just who wants what.

If 5 per cent of the productive efforts of individuals are diverted, through the taxing powers of government, to the building of housing which a free market would not justify, then

it must follow that something other than housing will not be made available for consumption. . . . There is much to indicate that some persons live in the "slums" by choice rather than necessity. It is conceivable that these occupants consider other things more important than improved housing, so far as their own spending is concerned. Streets filled with parked automobiles and roof-tops jammed with television aerials suggest the possibility. And if a man wants to spread his earnings by a formula somewhat different from the average of the community, is that necessarily wrong? If the majority, by way of government, is to prescribe the kind of house in which a poor man is to live, then to the same degree will the majority prescribe how the wealthy and even the citizens of ordinary means are to live. If it is a new house today, will it not be an adequate dwelling on every table, or a new car in every garage, tomorrow? And, of course, some of these things would be quite wonderful, except for the fact that the government cannot thus provide a single item of goods or services for these persons except by taking it away from someone else who has worked to produce it.

There is no denying that an architect's drawing of the bright and cheerful new homes of a proposed housing project is more beautiful than a photograph of the "slums." And it would cost the community a cent," they usually say. Such clever devices influence opinion in favor of the project, and these are the things which can be seen.

#### AN UNPLEASANT SIDE

There is another side of this picture, however, an unpleasant side which picture-painters prefer to keep toward the wall. It depicts the taxpayers of the "favored" community and of the entire nation whose property will be taken to finance such housing projects. The money thus taken might have been used to hire some extra household help for an overburdened mother. Or it might have brought the doctor in time, when Johnny developed pneumonia. It might have been invested in the states and facilities which provide jobs, or might have provided real employment opportunities for those who are to be put "on relief" instead. These are some of the things which are unseen, things which cause "slum" conditions to expand until they become universal, developing as the unforeseen consequences of a public housing project.





In some respects, a "slum" is like a used-car lot. A "slum area" offers a supply of secondhand housing of the kind which satisfies a need until such time as a person can afford and wants a better home.

For purposes of illustration, let us assume that a more or less typical house may be suitable for occupancy over a period of eighty years from the time it is new. Assume further that the builder or original purchaser lives in the house for twenty years, and then sells it. He might reasonably expect to sell a twenty-year-old house for about 75 per cent of the replacement cost of a new building. If the next resident occupies the house for twenty years, he might then sell it for roughly half the replacement cost. And a sixty-year-old house might sell for about one-third of the replacement cost.<sup>1</sup>

In other words, if a family can afford only so much for housing — say \$10,000, or the carrying costs on that amount — then one alternative would be a new home of small size. Another alternative would be a used house with relatively more living space. It seems reasonable to let each family decide how best to balance newness against cubic content in their own choice of a home.

### NO CAUSE FOR SHAME

The point is that a typical dwelling does house a succession of different families during the life of the dwelling. And as a rule, it costs less to buy living quarters in a used house than in a new one. This explains why so many of us go through our lives always living in secondhand houses. And this is no cause for shame.

We do the same with automobiles. A Federal Reserve Board study reveals that in 1951 five out of eight purchasers of passenger cars bought secondhand vehicles. About a fourth of all cars in use today are more than ten years old. Those who want a car, but feel that they cannot afford a new one, patronize the used-car markets. As a consequence of this market method of distribution, nearly two-thirds of all families in the United States do own automobiles. And of the remaining families, many do not own cars simply because they do not want them.<sup>2</sup>

Let us assume, however, that 5 per cent of all families in America are carless because they believe that they

cannot afford to buy even a used car. Now, suppose it is politically determined that the government shall provide "adequate" automobiles — new ones, of course — for about 2.5 million car-less families. This would mean putting some four hundred thousand more men to work producing these extra cars. But the meaning goes deeper; this act of the government would, in effect, pull one of every one hundred and fifty working persons in the country out of his present job. That much of our current output of goods and services would be withheld from the market in which the most urgent wants of consumers are now being satisfied through voluntary exchange. That would be the unseen cost of providing 2.5 million shiny new cars for families who either could not or would not make the effort to pay for them.

It is possible to produce automobiles under governmental direction and control. In fact, if the government were to divert enough resources and manpower to that job, perhaps the government could even provide more cars than private industry now produces. That might be one way of getting more cars for more people. But does anyone believe that this same method of forced production is a useful method of increasing the total supply of all the various things people might want? Is that a method of getting more cars and more of everything else at the same time?

### COERCIVE METHOD FAILS

Though the long chapters of history offer one illustration after another of the failure of the coercive method, still there are those who think it should be tried again. In fact, that was the argument for the first of the major public-housing projects in the United States. We were going to spend ourselves out of depression into prosperity by employing persons to build houses. Of course, housing was a drug on the market, like so many other goods and services in those lean years of the early thirties. Private landlords, in many instances, couldn't collect rent enough to pay the taxes. Yet the government was collecting taxes to build more housing which wasn't wanted. And the object then was to reduce unemployment—implement the spending power of the improvident by seizing the spending power of the thrifty. Whatever can be said of the "Arthurdales" and the "Greenhills" and other

early public housing experiments as a means of creating employment, it cannot be said truthfully that they were a useful addition to the total of the things for which any person would voluntarily spend his money.

Forcing the taxpayers of a nation to build unwanted housing does not differ in principle from compulsory war mobilization. If the government didn't compel the production of war materials, the people might keep right on producing whatever it is they want most.

Now, undoubtedly there have been times in the history of most nations when some of the people — perhaps the great majority of them — did want to produce war materials, particularly for defensive purposes. In that event, the competitive market would offer no hindrance to those who want to work full time and overtime for defense. This would by all odds be the most efficient method of providing as much national defense as the majority really wants. However, if a government is committed in a war effort which seems unreasonable to the citizenry, then it is necessary for the government to either compel mobilization or confess its unrepresentative character. The government finds itself in this same kind of a squeeze when it has promised to deliver new housing which individuals would not build voluntarily.

### FREEDOM MAKES EFFICIENCY

People being what they are, the most efficient method of increasing the total supply of the things they really want is to allow every person to produce what pleases him, and then let him trade it, if he can, for anything which might please him more.

If people really want houses, let new ones be built or bought by those most able and anxious to build or buy. This is the most rapid and economical method of providing the total supply of adequate housing which free people want. There is no other way to make "adequate" housing available to the poorest among us without at the same time cutting back the supply of other things which we, as free people, would consider more important. To build new houses for families who couldn't possibly afford them, and who wouldn't try to pay for them as a matter of personal choice, is the kind of thing which has to be done by force — by the government — if it's to be done at all. There isn't any other way to get people to produce what they don't want.

<sup>1</sup> Roy Wenzlick and Co., *Appraisal Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 2, January 21, 1953, and *As I See It*, Vol. 1, No. 11, March 17, 1950.  
<sup>2</sup> *Automobile Facts and Figures*, 1952, pp. 14, 27.





Most individuals in America will not voluntarily open their own homes for use as public-housing projects. A man will rush downtown every work-day morning to open his place of business to the public; yet he wants a certain amount of privacy in his own home. All of us know of residential areas which are zoned against business use—the presumed objective being privacy, exclusion of the public, restriction of noise and traffic.

Judging from the petitions of protest from nearby residents whenever a Housing Authority announces consideration of a site for a public-housing project, it appears that many home owners don't even want to live close to such a project. Now, this seems to be a strange reaction from people who are supposed to believe that public housing is a fine thing for their community! But the fact is that the erection of a public-housing project tends to drive down the market values of nearby homes. It is as though a new and continuing tax burden is being imposed upon the property which adjoins a public-housing project.

In fact, that may be precisely the situation. Suddenly the community "needs" additional water, sewage, road, school, police, and other facilities of a public service nature. The project which necessitates this increased cost to local government is not arranged to bear its share of the burden of these services. The difference turns out to be a levy against other property in the community, a continuing burden which capitalizes itself into a reduction in the market value of such adjacent property. Yet people will vote—or wire their congressman to vote—to do this to their fellow citizens in other communities.

#### CREATING SLUMS BY FORCE

When such a thing happens to any community, the tendency will be for the present residents to look elsewhere for homes. Homes and grounds which had been tended with pride will begin to show signs of neglect. The community will deteriorate by reason of the added burden of government which is imposed upon it. This is the manner in which new slums are created—by force. What the government takes from an individual as taxes is no longer available to that individual for use as he might please toward the care and improvement of his own home and his own family.

It is true, of course, that a new housing project might afford a growing volume of trade to merchants and

others who serve a community in a business sense. Local salesmen of building materials and workmen in construction industries may look upon the project as a source of new revenue. But . . . what might have seemed to a businessman to be a good idea when he was plugging for a public-housing project for his community may turn out to be the cause of his own downfall as the deterioration of the community follows its natural course.

Any individual who would live beyond his means, voting himself into a home which he cannot afford, is not a desirable neighbor for those who adhere to the concepts of private ownership and control of property. A person who will swallow his self-respect in order to live in subsidized housing may be expected to evade his other obligations and responsibilities in a similar manner.

#### HIGH-COST PUBLIC HOUSING

Public housing is sometimes thoughtlessly, or maybe willfully, described as "low-cost government housing." Though it may be low-rent housing to the subsidized tenant, it is not low-cost by any acceptable method of accounting.

The late Senator Taft said: "I have not any doubt that as a general thing it probably is more expensive and usually does cost the government more to build than a private person."<sup>3</sup> And he might well have added that the costs to the government are always assessed in one way or another as taxes to be paid by private persons. . . . A Senate subcommittee study of public housing in Washington, D. C., revealed that private enterprise can build at a cost of from 25 per cent to 40 per cent less than the public housers.<sup>4</sup>

It stands to reason that private builders, who must bear the cost and responsibility of their own mistakes, would be more efficient than those who plan and then keep changing their plans at the taxpayer's risk and expense. It is not that private industry doesn't perform the actual construction job on a public project; the difference is that they do the job under the added handicap of governmental

rules and regulations, with the added overhead of governmental supervisors and inspectors of supervisors. Among the rules laid down by the government is one which discriminates in favor of unionized laborers, a well-known method of boosting the costs of housing construction. . . .

Some citizens of Los Angeles recently took the trouble to look into the total costs which might be involved in a proposed ten-thousand-unit public housing program in their community. The cost of construction was to have been eleven thousand dollars a unit. Their conclusion was that "the taxpayers would be much better off . . . to build ten thousand houses costing eleven thousand dollars each and give them away than to build and subsidize the ten thousand unit public housing program."<sup>5</sup>

It must be recognized that any attempt to compare the costs of public versus private housing can never be more than an estimate. When the government goes into business it does not abide by the rules of exchange and accounting which are observed by ordinary citizens. In the first place, government housing projects are seldom located according to the market demand for housing. Public housing projects often spring up on land which private citizens would reject as a site for a new home. And once the site has been determined, the government is not bound by ordinary methods of acquiring title from present owners. The "just compensation" to an owner is seldom the same as the price which might have been determined by competitive bargaining between willing buyers and willing sellers.

#### GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTING METHODS

The payment which the government may offer in lieu of local property taxes is not calculated according to the usual tax formula. The rate of interest which the government allows on funds invested in such a project is not necessarily related to the going market rate. And, finally, it can never be known just what part of the expense of central planning and supervision is properly chargeable to any particular local housing project.

In other words, the government, which so concerns itself with the maintenance of "fair" competition in the world of business and trade, conducts its own operations in a

<sup>3</sup>U. S. Congress, Senate, *Housing and Urban Redevelopment*, Hearings before Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Redevelopment, 79th Congress, 1st Session, p. 2100.

<sup>4</sup>*Public vs. Private Housing*, National Industrial Conference Board, March, 1945; also *The Answer to Public Housing*, Home Builders Association of Metropolitan Washington, Washington, D. C., 1945, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup>*Rose Hills Report*, Monterey Woods Improvement Association, 4400 Sinova Street, Los Angeles, California, January, 1953, p. 11.





added for a man's services or for his savings; it levies a tax and allows no alternative. The government is not subject to the profit and loss method of measuring success or failure; if it operates at a deficit, the taxpayer is held responsible and must pay for the government's failure. As long as those who want new homes are in the majority over those who realize that they will be forced to pay for them, the government probably will carry on its socialized housing operations. And the dollars-and-cents costs of such interference with the freedom of individuals can never be measured precisely. The market would provide the only means of such measurement, but the government does not allow the market to function. . . .

#### SOCIAL GAINS

Despite the long record of facts exposing the economic waste involved in public housing, there are those who still insist that it must be done in order to clear the "slums." It is said that the children of the "slums" are dirty, undernourished, diseased, untutored, disrespectful of law, and generally unfit for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. But even if this be true, it does not justify the conclusion that society would necessarily be improved if those children and their parents were transferred into subsidized and supervised housing projects. A "free" house isn't going to stop some parents from bringing into this world more children than they can possibly rear to maturity in as genteel

and ample a manner as other parents might like to prescribe. There is no assurance that a subsidized roof will impart to the tenant a more desirable character than might otherwise have leaked in upon him through a roof provided by his own efforts.

The owner-occupant of a house and lot may love flowers, a beautiful lawn, and a freshly-painted dwelling. But few would continue to maintain one home in a decent state of repair if another in perfect condition were available for the asking. The pride of ownership must soon pass away in a society which follows the downward path of compulsory equalization.

When a self-respecting individual who can afford to live in a used home, however humble, is led or pushed by the hand of public aid into a new home which obviously is beyond his means, just how does one measure the change in the value of the new ward of the government to the society in which he lives? And what kind of an attitude toward the personal and social problems of life is to be expected from the children who come out of such socialized homes?

Some of the proponents of public housing like to cite statistics as to the incidence of juvenile delinquency in "slum" areas, and then leave the inference that public housing projects would materially reduce such criminal tendencies. But when the Los Angeles Chief of Police was asked to make a statistical study of this matter in 1951, he found the incidence of crime in public-housing projects to be nearly

twice as heavy as in the "slums" and 17 times as heavy as in a nearby privately-owned low-rent housing project. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Now we are being told that we ought to feel a sense of personal responsibility for the housing problems which the government has managed to create. We *must* have better housing! And this strange theory proceeds with the implication that if the individual isn't able to provide and subsidize a few hundred thousand new homes for others, then he *must* keep on delegating to government the responsibility for solving these problems which are the product of governmental interference with our lives. To accept that theory is to bow to tyranny without even struggling.

#### LIMITED GOVERNMENT

The idea of limited government is that there is somewhere a stopping point to the inevitable governmental grasp for authority. . . .

The authorized function of our government is to restrain those who might attempt to deal coercively with one another. The government was designed to be the defender, not the equalizer, of life and property.

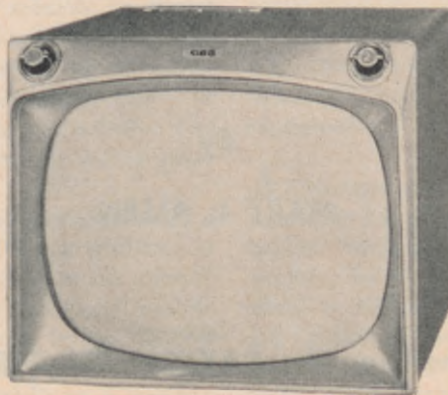
If a human being is ingenious and industrious enough, he can create a house and claim it as his own. If he is careless enough to let the government do it for him, he will live in the kind of walled enclosure which compulsory state socialism affords — public housing for those who serve political masters.

END

<sup>6</sup>Rose Hill Report, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

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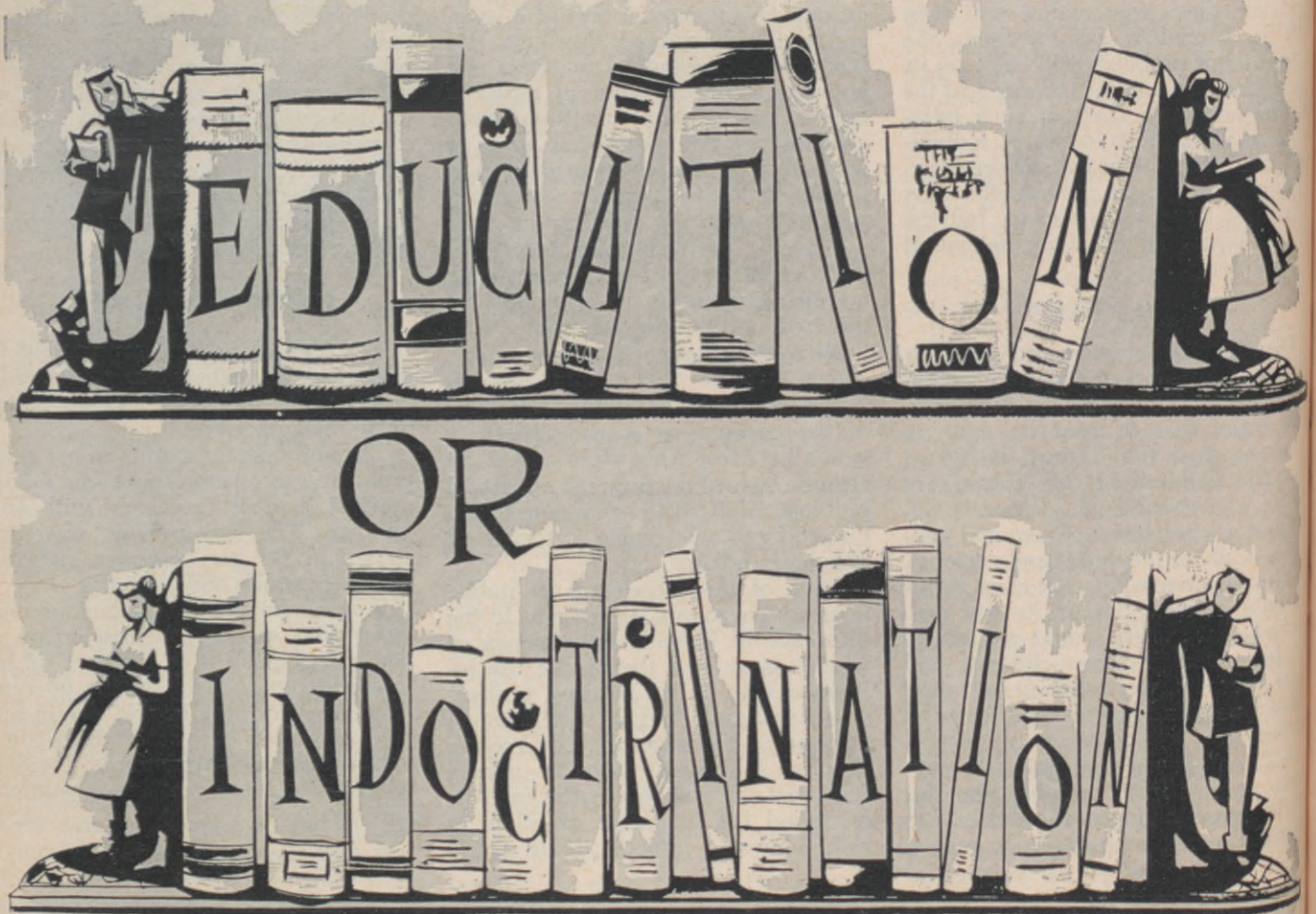
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## INTRODUCTION

Nothing is of more vital consequence to us, individually and collectively, than the progress and welfare of our children, who represent the nation's future. That is why American communities support their public schools with unselfish zeal, and watch keenly the effects of public-school training upon impressionable youth. That is why widespread interest was focused on Pasadena, California, when the "progressive" or "modern" educational system was introduced there, only to be subsequently rejected by that city.

Our purpose in selecting this book for condensation is to present the lesser-known side of the story, as told by Mrs. Allen, a housewife and mother who, when these stirring events took place, was among those present.

The editorial attitude of FACTS FORUM NEWS toward the Pasadena controversy is one of complete detachment and impartiality. Therefore, from numerous older, hence more widely-circulated books on the subject, which champion the opposite side, we refer you to the following books:

THE PASADENA STORY

Published by the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education, NEA, 1951

THIS HAPPENED IN PASADENA

By David Hulburd. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951

# Education or Indoctrination

## A CONDENSATION

SOMETHING has happened in our public schools. Businessmen, university professors, ministers, judges, politicians, commentators, doctors, writers, parents, and many others have voiced their alarm. Concern over education has spread from the largest cities to the most isolated communities. Our schools, once the proud heritage of all children in America, have become the center of confusion, emotional wrangling, and extreme differences of opinion.

What has happened in our public schools to thrust them into the forefront of a battle of ideas? Not long ago these same schools were heralded as institutions of learning which offered to every child the opportunity to gather knowledge and improve his status in society. The people were satisfied. Today the schools are losing prestige. And the people are dissatisfied.

Certainly the people of America have demonstrated a willingness to support their schools with tax dollars. At no time in the history of America has so much money been spent on the temples of learning. Unquestionably, suitable classroom facilities are necessary; but education depends largely on the teacher and the learner. It can take place in a mining shaft, a prison cell, or a concentration camp.

Many educators see today the educative process from a social-economic point of view involving relation, interaction, and elaborate tools of instruction, rather than as a process designed to provide each individual with the tools of learning which would enable him to reason intelli-

gently, live morally, and strive toward the highest possible goals attainable in our society. This very difference in the meaning of the word education makes it difficult for the lay citizen and the educator to understand each other.

In the past, an educated person was considered to be one who had accumulated a storehouse of information and knowledge. The gathering of knowledge through the educative process was not considered a selfish goal or a waste to society. It was a respected goal because an educated man was more likely to abet social progress through invention and wisdom. Social conformance was not so important as social progress. It was no crime to be different from one's fellow man and no disgrace, among one's classmates, to be an honor student.

ALTHOUGH the public schools made academic education available for all, not all were qualified to meet the requirements. Since everyone has some contribution to make to society, the object of education should be to develop each child to the highest degree possible, commensurate with his ability. Therefore, trade, industrial, and business courses, equally as important to our society as academic ones, were introduced.

However, in making the changes to meet the needs of the child otherwise gifted, something happened. If this were not so, we would not be hearing from educators, writers, and businessmen that we are turning out illiterates, that children are poorly prepared for life in our competitive society, and that respect for authority, our



Constitution, and our laws is tottering under a wave of ridicule, lack of discipline, and general disorder.

Yesterday, a high school graduate was instructed in moral values, proper behavior, English grammar, American history, civics, citizenship, geography, arithmetic, and various other courses. He was a literate citizen. America was proud of the product of her public schools.

Today, people are wondering why children with equal intelligence are failing to respond with equal literacy. They are disturbed with the lack of discipline and the discourtesy permitted in the classroom. There is so much pressure for conformance to the group that parents wonder how long the individual child can maintain his individual identity. Competition, the basis of our American society, is threatened. Many critics believe that the schools are thwarting all individual attainment and superior talent and holding all children down to the lowest denominator.

Children go from grade to grade without accomplishing proficiency in the basic skills needed to fulfill the requirements of the grades ahead. Some children in high school are unable to read adequately or to spell. Foreign languages are offered to children who have no foundation in English grammar. What has happened?

**D**OROTHY THOMPSON discusses the merits of the educational system of yesterday; in contradiction of the modern school theory on discipline, she says, "If anyone thinks that absolutely certain punishments for certain prohibited acts did not aid us in resisting temptation, or that the punishments created a 'complex,' that person, it seems to me, needs a little psychological analysis himself. We had the emotional security of early learning the consequences of causes."

Concerning the emphasis on controversial topics in the classroom, Dorothy Thompson says, "Characteristic of this older form of education was its *avoidance* of the transient and currently controversial. The pupil read the literature that had stood the tests of ever-changing time. He was not quizzed on the current *Reader's Digest*. The teacher had little opportunity and no encouragement to indoctrinate the student with his own political and social ideas. The child learned the history of his country and something of the history of Western civilization factually. He read and declaimed the speeches that had become landmarks in American thought, and the literature that had characterized its phases and development. He thus imbibed the spirit of America. This sort of teaching did not produce conformists. It produced many rebels, and rebels who knew what they were rebelling against. Today our rebels are often the worst conformists of all—as though there were any rebellion in joining the Young Communist League in order thereafter to swallow blindly the Gospel according to St. Stalin."

Harold L. Clapp of Grinnell College says, "As a parent, I want to have my sons educated by teachers who themselves are broadly educated and kindled with the love of learning. As an observer of teacher training and selection, I see little likelihood that they will be so trained. The law of averages and the professional educational theorists are against us. For one thing, no dyed-in-the-wool Educationist really seems to believe that knowledge of a subject has much to do with teaching that subject."

The Harvard report states: "Our point is that in a proper scheme of liberal education, the man will acquire the capacity to meet various problems in matters of health, human relationships, and the like. In this view the educa-

Mary L. Allen,  
California author  
and observer of  
educational methods,  
asserts: "There is  
no question but that  
the public schools  
do belong to the  
people of America.  
Since teachers  
and school admin-  
istrators are em-  
ployed and supported  
by the people, the  
people's wishes  
should be con-  
sidered."



tion of the mind leads to a maturing of the whole person. On any other view, the obvious danger is that schools will set for themselves so inclusive an objective that they will fall far short of their main goal. The schools cannot do everything. When they attempt too many tasks they sometimes fail to do any of them well."

Judge R. G. Wilson, Jr., of the Suffolk Probate Court of Massachusetts, says, "Boston Public Latin School has discipline. Every student knows every day just what his grades are. And he knows that if he fails a certain course he does not merely fail. He knows he must go to some other school. In Boston Public Latin School, I—and, it seemed, all the others—wanted to make good grades. We felt it no disgrace to be smart." He observes that he has heard of too many high school graduates and college students who cannot spell or punctuate and have no firm knowledge of history, Latin, and English.

**A** WELL-KNOWN personnel director in one of the outstanding department stores in the Los Angeles area says that employees frequently do not know their mathematical tables and therefore must make calculations on their fingers. Girls come to work with no knowledge of the alphabet. They don't seem to know what they read and they are poor writers. Youth is bewildered. They suffer from an unrealistic approach to life. The sense of a competitive spirit is lacking. There is a lack of knowledge as to how the American business world functions. Prevalent is a strong desire for security instead of work.

Lewis Haney, professor of Economics in the Graduate School of Business Administration at New York University, says that after twenty years the product of progressive education "is coming home to roost. We are seeing what the progressive educators do to our children, and on the whole we don't like it.

"It isn't merely that they can't write or spell, or that they don't know history or geography. Worse than that, we find them being taught a 'way of life' that tends to a lack of respect for many respectable things such as family and nation."

Roman Catholic Bishop McGucken states, "Catholic



educators do not approve of those features of progressive education which stem from the materialistic philosophy of John Dewey, the results of which we regard as no less than tragic."

DOROTHY THOMPSON says: "A generation ago an American high school graduate could enter a European university equipped with approximately the same intellectual disciplines, body of knowledge, and frames of reference, as his European fellow student. Today he is isolated. At a time when America is, in terms of power, the leader of this civilization, its high school or junior college graduates, unless especially brilliant or self-taught, or especially prepared, could not pass the entrance examinations of Oxford, Cambridge, or any great Continental university."

Dr. E. Merrill Root, professor of English at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, sees a threat in textbooks and published material submitted to students as factual. He says, "In the library of a midwest state university, Communist publications were prominently displayed as if they were reliable data."

Nationally renowned commentator John Flynn quotes from texts to show the method of slanting, such as, "Our Constitution-makers built for property rights, not human rights." He further says, "I say there is a powerful movement, led by important educators, to use the public schools to influence the minds of students in favor of Socialist root ideas and objectives. I charge that a number of influential educators, teamed up with social propagandists and politicians, have for twenty years been trying to use the public schools to shape the minds of children in support of Socialist theories. I am not charging them with promoting communism — although many Communists have aided them."

Where is present-day American education leading us? Will it destroy or strengthen us? The schools belong to the people of America. It is the duty of the people of America to examine the facts carefully to determine where the educational program of today is leading.

THE origin of the present-day school system dates back to the turn of the century, to an American philosopher, John Dewey. To support Dewey's position as a philosopher is one thing. To support his philosophy whole-heartedly and unequivocally, and to the exclusion of all other philosophies, is another.

Of Dewey, Albert Lynd, seven years a teacher at Harvard College and Stanford University, says: "Dewey is not a Marxist; he had no truck with communism. But the kind of society toward which he wants change to operate is definitely a species of socialism. . . . The argument of progressive education versus traditional education does not turn on the merits of doll-playing versus Latin grammar. It turns on the question: Are there any 'constants' in human thought? Are there any absolutes in ethics? Are there any immutable principles in anything?"

The apparent beginning of the progressive education movement was in 1919. Its aims and goals were consistent with those earlier defined by Dewey. In 1933, the plan for a new social order began to emerge.

Dr. Jesse H. Newlon urged that the material for teaching how to build the "new social order" be introduced into the curriculum of the schools and extended to kindergarten and nursery schools.

Dr. Harold Rugg said, "The schools must be used to

create a new social order. The first step must be to develop a new outlook upon life and education among teachers. Teachers' oaths to defend the Constitution must be abolished. We must impregnate the young mind with the dramatic wonder of change. We must undermine the child's belief in the greatness of our history and institutions. We must make them realize that the United States has been a failure because we are a planless society and must turn to national planning by the national government. To plan our life, the government must take over the great industries while the rest must be run on blueprints provided by the government. Russia plans everything. Through the schools of the world, we shall disseminate a new conception of government — one that will embrace all of the collective activities of men, including economic government and social government."

ANOTHER man who dreamed of revolutionizing the prevailing social order was Dr. George S. Counts. In 1932, he said: "The world is full of social experimentation. There is one experiment, however, that dwarfs all others — so bold indeed in its details and its program that few can contemplate it without emotion. Soviet Russia is endeavoring with all the resources at her command to bring the economic order under a measure of rational control. She issues to the Western nations and particularly to the United States a challenge — perhaps one of the greatest challenges of history. She issues it not through the Communist International, nor through the Red Army, . . . but through her State Planning Commission and her system of public education."

Many of George Counts' theories were compiled in a series of volumes which he and other educators wrote as a result of research and study under a grant of \$300,000 by the Carnegie Foundation. In the last volume, according to John Flynn, collectivism was urged, and teachers were advised to indoctrinate pupils in order to prepare them for a collectivist society.

Harold Laski, British Socialist, described the plan for the new social order in the following words: "Stripped of its carefully neutral phrases the report is an educational plan for a Socialist America."

When we realize the Socialist nature of this movement, we must conclude that the great majority of loyal Americans in the teaching profession who advocate progressive education are not aware of the danger.

MANY of those who defend progressive education say that social reconstruction, the plan for the new social order, never has infiltrated the schools, and that it is no longer supported actively by any who influence the schools today. Unfortunately, this argument is based upon wishful thinking. Social reconstruction theorists have not been eliminated from the education field. To mention a few still actively at work, we find William Heard Kilpatrick, Theodore Brameld, and Ernest O. Melby. Books written and published in the 1930's for the purpose of molding the thinking of students toward the new social order are still in print, still available on library shelves, still in use in some schools. The Rugg social science textbooks are still influencing thousands. The "Building America Series," edited by Hollis Caswell, one of the original planners, is still in use in some schools. Kilpatrick's book, *The Teacher and Society*, has influenced and is still influencing thousands of teachers throughout the country.



THE primary aim of the Communists is to change society. The primary aim of the social planners is to change society. Obviously, the danger of progressive education lies in its proximity to socialistic and communistic theories. Dr. Bella V. Dodd, as an ex-Communist, told the United States Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in 1952: "The Communist party as a whole adopted a line of being for progressive education." She said that progressive education was "eagerly seized upon and championed by the Comintern as being the ideal system for limiting the ability of children in capitalistic societies to read, write, and think or act for themselves, and so to cause them to depend upon the state for a guaranteed livelihood and for protection against the hazards caused by their inadequate training for the battle of life."

John Morley, foreign correspondent, wrote: "I came out of the Iron Curtain (secretly) in a wagon last year, with two University of Prague professors. Both had been educators and statesmen under Eduard Benes and Jan Masaryk. Their conclusion as to the real reason back of the 'Red Victory' behind the Iron Curtain was that it was due, for the most part, to Communist infiltration into schools, all schools, from elementary to college level."

Concerning infiltration of the schools, he says: "I heard it from Protestant Winston Churchill, from Hindu Nehru, and directly from the lips of Pope Pius XII, that infiltration into schools is the modern method of most effectively spreading the cancer of communism. Igor Gouzenko, who confessed to Russian espionage in Canada and in the U. S. a few years ago, told that Zarubin's Number One target was the schools in Canada, the U. S. A., and Mexico. Zarubin is Russia's Ambassador in Washington."

In 1948 the planners of the new or modern, alias progressive, education, launched a full-scale invasion of the schools in Pasadena under the leadership of Willard E. Goslin. There seems little doubt that Pasadena was the testing ground for the nation. Therefore, it behooves those in other communities to know what really happened in this conservative city.

THE average reader has had little or no opportunity to get facts about the story. From coast to coast a distorted version of what happened in Pasadena has been circulated. Practically all the material written concerning the Pasadena controversy has indicated strongly that the people who opposed Willard Goslin's modern education were undermining the public schools and were thereby traitors to America.

What were these people defending? What were they opposing?

The people of Pasadena were defending the American way of life as provided in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. As parents, under the Constitution they exercised their right to state the kind of education they wanted for their children. Since they felt that the traditional form of education provided greater literacy, more inquisitive minds in their children, and better discipline, parents sought to protect this form of education against annihilation. They urged the teaching of competition, American history, and the basic fundamentals. They defended the free enterprise, capitalistic system.

When they saw the axe swing at their concept of democracy, saw the blows strike the individual, and learned that they had to be re-educated in their concept of democracy, they rebelled. Loose interpretation of the

Constitution, the use of textbooks (such as the "Building America Series") which had been declared unfit for California schools, the hiring of radical left wing thinkers to augment the school program, and constant pressure to eliminate the majority vote in favor of the consensus, all contrary to the security of the American way of life, frightened the people of Pasadena. It appeared that not only democracy but also the public schools, life blood of democracy, were in danger. Therefore, they protested loudly.

When citizens protested, they were ignored. As their voices grew louder, they were criticized. Every conceivable weapon was used to drown the voice of the people. Anyone who opposed the school administration was promptly denounced. Finally, when the people of Pasadena knew that their voices would not be heard, when they learned that they must accept something they did not want, they turned to the one defense that the Constitution of the United States provided for them.

On June 2, 1950, the voices of more than 22,000 people were heard. In the secrecy of the election booth they stamped their disapproval, and the Goslin administration was defeated by a vote of two to one. Five months later Willard E. Goslin was asked to resign.

The Pasadena story should have ended with the resignation of Mr. Goslin. It didn't. The citizens of Pasadena found that instead of being heralded as the standard bearers for good education, they were being condemned as attackers of the public schools. Dr. Harold Benjamin of the National Education Association branded Goslin's opposition as "the enemy."

IN THE summer of 1948, Willard E. Goslin assumed the duties of superintendent of the Pasadena schools. He was welcomed by many who, if they had taken the time to examine the contract that the Board of Education signed at the request of the superintendent, might have been wary. This contract virtually promoted the new superintendent to a role of supreme power. The board was to subordinate itself to the superintendent in the choice of administrative personnel, outside lecturers, and in all matters pertaining to the schools.

In retrospect it is quite clear that this contract made it possible for the superintendent to introduce ideas that would otherwise have been rejected. When Willard Goslin first interviewed the board, he asked them if Pasadena were ready to become the "cutting edge" in education. Undoubtedly, they didn't know what he meant. It is quite certain that he was proposing to them to use the Pasadena schools as the testing ground for modern or progressive education.

According to *The Pasadena Story*, Mr. Goslin had three goals: to improve the quality of teaching; to carry education in democratic practices to the community; to democratize the administration. Although these goals may sound commendable, they carried all the elements required for reconstruction of the school system and revision of community thinking as well.

Like the planners of the new social order, Willard Goslin did not wait for the enlightenment of the people before introducing his program. Inasmuch as his program constituted a major change not only in the schools but in community life as well, the people should have been consulted.

Anyone seeking to ferret out the story of Willard Goslin's administration would find it exceedingly difficult today. He did not leave an easy trail to follow. Records



have disappeared and there is no ready reference or written evidence of any program. Much material apparently was lost when the libraries of the elementary curriculum, secondary curriculum, and personnel offices were coordinated into a central filing system under Superintendent Goslin. Evidence of change in the school program is scattered all over Pasadena — in newspaper files, in private scrapbooks, in pamphlets, and in stacks of records at the office of the Board of Education.

After gathering information concerning the Goslin administration, the researcher is confronted with a more baffling task. The source material is not easy to read. It is confusing. To the layman, there appears to be something new and vague about the philosophy of education. It is difficult to identify. Familiar philosophy is used to indoctrinate the reader with unfamiliar philosophy. Take, for example, these parallels:

#### FAMILIAR IDEAS

We should conserve and protect our natural resources.

Children should not be made to feel inferior.

In summary: Words such as freedom, liberty, peace, conservation, love of man for his brother, democracy:

#### UNFAMILIAR IDEAS

The conservation of natural resources necessitates public ownership and communal enterprises.

There should be no grades, no failures, no curriculum restrictions, and no competition, because "competition is the poorest base on which to try to develop the little citizens of a free country."

Were re-interpreted in terms of a new and questionable concept of democracy.

FOR YEARS in America, the schools have been the center of much community activity; however, this activity has usually been confined to education, social gatherings, lectures, and occasional local meetings. In this capacity the schools have served the community well.

The Goslin administration advocated a school-centered community in which the school was elevated to a position of extreme importance. The school was to be the living core of the community, the center around which all activity revolved. With the school as the leader, the community was to participate in solving problems of labor, business, housing, welfare, medicine, public services, public utilities, conservation, food, race and class problems, and even hospitals.

The pressure for a school-centered community created uneasiness in Pasadena. Although few were acquainted with the plan for such a school, many were aware that the schools were expanding into more and more of the community life and into the home as well.

In order to organize a school-centered community it was necessary to use groups. Groups were the "pilot plants" through which the activities of the people were channeled. The group was important first, last, and always. In time, the group idea was to be enlarged into internationalism. It was believed that there should be the "development of an ever-widening group consciousness until the human race is the group." Excessive emphasis on the importance of the group at the expense of the individual made people wonder if this interpretation of group supremacy had a collective significance. They were not sure where it was leading.

In order to speed up the program, study groups of school personnel were organized to discuss the Pasadena

schools. Later these study groups, or workshops, extended to the lay people in the city who met to discuss civic and world problems, conservation, UNESCO and world understanding, and human relations. The method used for conducting these meetings was group dynamics.

ALTHOUGH *The Pasadena Story* maintained that there were no curriculum changes under Willard Goslin, there were many. The 100 per cent experience curriculum was introduced by Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick. The curriculum was to be broadened on the base of experience. Fixed courses of study were to be reduced. The teacher was freed from curricular requirements in the lower grades. Courses of study were introduced as experience necessitated. The first job of education was defined as personality and character development. The teacher was deprived of guides and a set curriculum which had already been tried and tested.

In the upper grades the 100 per cent core curriculum was expanded to include subjects such as citizenship, home and family living, philosophy of life, personality problems, the spirit of science, and human relations or race and class consciousness. One bulletin carried the amazing description: "The curriculum is within the child."

Both teachers and parents were confused with the 100 per cent experience curriculum, which removed yardsticks for measuring achievement. The experience curriculum threatened to water down courses of study with vague substitutions which could not be graded. People began to wonder if children could receive an education under the new curriculum.

It was further recommended that college requirements be abolished. Colleges were to be open to everybody regardless of qualifications. Scholarship societies should be abolished. These recommendations made many feel that the whole structure of education was being broken down.

ONE of the suggestions that met stonewall resistance was concerned with setting up school camps. A committee met for the purpose of setting up a school camp for sixth grade children far away from home and parents. Distance from home influence was essential. Children in school camps would learn "group-cohesive" living. The individual would learn to accept his place within the group. The group would rule and the individual would be subordinated to the group at all times. Discipline, rewards, punishments, and routine duties would be imposed not by the teachers and counselors, but by the group. Socialism was to be lived in the mountains, away from home influence. Boy Scout, YMCA, and other independent summer camps would be replaced by school-ruled camps.

Parents and citizens in Pasadena feared these camps in which children ruled themselves and decided upon their own discipline. In Japan as in Germany, school camps started innocently as week-end sojourns and ended as harsh training camps. The camps were used to indoctrinate youth in totalitarian doctrines and to alienate children from their parents.

In group self-discipline children were not to be restricted with rules, except those which they agreed upon. Students were to decide upon the course of study, and were not to be committed to the teacher's choice.

The feeling was widespread that group self-discipline, as advocated in Pasadena, threatened teacher authority



and control. Without proper discipline children would lose respect for those in positions of authority; and a generation of lawless individuals, without respect for law and order, could result.

A new interpretation of learning flourished. Anyone acquainted with the dictionary meaning of the word was baffled. Drill and repetition were considered to be meaningless in the learning experience because learning could not be imposed on the child from without. He had to accept learning. Therefore, it was necessary to employ new methods.

Group discussion technique was introduced; it was even recommended that the group discussion technique replace the pro and con of debate. The majority vote was to be abandoned in favor of the consensus, a single opinion supposedly representing the group opinion. When a meeting was deadlocked, it was not possible to vote. The deadlock had to be broken by some members' giving up their views — in a word, compromise.

**M**ANY felt that the American way of life was threatened by the group discussion with its accompanying consensus wherein the majority vote was abandoned. The majority vote guaranteed to each individual the right to express his opinion on a final decision through the secret ballot, whereas the consensus did not. It seemed that the consensus, or collective opinion, was not necessarily the result of majority thinking. Therefore, the group discussion technique as advocated in Pasadena appeared to be a serious threat to the representative form of government.

Pasadena had long been aware of the need for an intercultural program and had taken steps to meet this need. A human relations committee had been functioning for several years before the arrival of Mr. Goslin; its primary goal had been to create better understanding among those of different races and culture. Under Mr. Goslin this committee was sidetracked; the primary aim of human relations became that of creating awareness of race and class, and discrimination against minorities. Understanding was of secondary importance. Racial awareness and feeling were created where none existed before.

Sex was to be taught at all levels of the school in mixed classes (boys and girls). Sex pictures were to be shown to children according to their ages. Books supplementing the pictures were to be introduced to high school children. The teaching of sex by the schools is a highly controversial subject.

If Willard Goslin had brought his own dictionary to Pasadena he would have spared the people considerable confusion. Leadership, the dictionary states, means the ability to lead; or, the guidance of a leader. Under Mr. Goslin, leadership was defined as the function of the group. The teacher was to recognize that all children were leaders. In practice it meant that the best students and the natural leaders were repressed. Since no one received recognition for ability or application, there was little encouragement to excel or to reach a position warranting leadership.

**I**N SPITE of the fact that we are a highly competitive society Mr. Goslin did not believe in teaching competition to children. He said it was a great way to sell bananas but a poor way to raise children. Competition was frowned upon because children of lesser ability could not compete and would feel like failures. Grades were competitive,

hence other methods of evaluating the child's progress were recommended. Grades made children feel inferior. All children were to be promoted whether they failed or passed, because a child's confidence and personality would be injured if he had to repeat a class.

Such views were not acceptable. Without lessons in competition, children would not be adjusted to fit our society which is highly competitive. With no grades, there would be no measuring rods for achievement. If good and poor work received equal recognition the incentive to excel would be destroyed. With no failures for incomplete and below-passing work, children would go from grade to grade without adequate foundation. Some citizens in Pasadena who were informed concerning education in totalitarian countries stated that the aim of those countries was to eliminate competition in all forms from the mind of the student so that he would be incapable of earning a living and would lean on the state for support.

Teacher-parent relations became very strained under the Goslin administration. This was due in part to the basic changes that the teachers had to incorporate into the curriculum in the classrooms and in part to the extreme emphasis on psychology. Parents resented the intrusion into their home life.

**M**ost revolutionary was the "philosophy of change" that Willard Goslin brought to Pasadena. Those participating in a group were persons trained to effect change, who were to be action-minded so as to carry change into action. Change — for what? By whom? Where were the innovations leading? Those who had the temerity to question the changes were informed that the educators were best qualified to determine the needs of education.

By creating an aura of superiority around the Goslin program and by ridiculing the tried and tested views, many changes that made no sense whatever were introduced and accepted. Change — for what? By whom? For modern education? For the new social order? For socialism? For communism? For chaos? For greater independence, or for slavery? Change is a means to an end, but is it an end in itself?

Too many changes too fast create uneasiness and distrust. Willard Goslin moved too fast. Almost immediately after assuming office he began to reorganize the supervisory staff at the central office. His actions seemed to follow the pattern of gathering greater control. He was not the blustering type. He made friends who became his followers, and he gradually wooed them away from the established order to his dreams of modern education.

Imported to Pasadena by Mr. Goslin was Dr. Robert S. Gilchrist, in the summer of 1949, to fill the important position of assistant superintendent in charge of instruction. Unfortunately for those who desire a more conservative form of education, Mr. Gilchrist is still in Pasadena, sponsoring the same program of education as that advocated by Willard Goslin.

**O**UTSIDE speakers were employed to speed the program. Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick, one of the original members of the Progressive Education Association and presently connected with the American Education Fellowship; Dr. Theodore Brameld, known for his pro-Marxist views; Erika Mann; Owen Lattimore; Michael Fielding; Dr. Hubert Herring; Dr. William Jack Stone; Dr. Robert Haas.

One fact was clear — Willard Goslin's main support



came from outside Pasadena. It would not have been possible for him to work with the existing personnel of the Pasadena schools.

Subterranean channels were used to introduce curriculum changes, and members of the central staff were not consulted. For example, the five-hour core program (in which English, history, geography, social studies, art, and other subjects were incorporated as one) was started in one of the junior high schools. By undercutting supervisors at the control office and the principals, and by disseminating changes directly to the teachers, the control of curriculum was centralized in the superintendent.

Another irregularity is to be found in the fact that no permanent record of curriculum changes was kept during Mr. Goslin's superintendency. Specific changes could not be traced through any definite channel to the administration. The method of selecting textbooks was so vague that no one person could be held responsible.

In less than two years Willard Goslin not only succeeded in organizing a tremendous sales machine, but also in changing the policies so as to give him greater control. For a short period he enjoyed a position of absolute power. The personnel and policy changes gave him direct control over the school system. The program changes would have spread this control to the community.

IN EXAMINING the facts, one finds that he introduced a new method of indoctrination: group dynamics, "an area of research in the group aspects of social change." In practice, this means that the group is the channel through which social change is made. To accomplish this, the members are conditioned to think in terms of change. An awareness of the need for change is created so as to direct the group toward this change. Change is the underlying force for action. Every member of the group thinks of himself as a "change agent," a person trained to effect change. The complete sublimation of individual identity is essential for group productivity. The goal of group dynamics is group productivity.

Members of the study groups recognized that there were spotters who had been indoctrinated in advance with the Goslin program and with the group goals. These people introduced and pressured for certain ideas to be included as part of the group thinking. They also worked together to reject ideas.

Example: One teacher had just been exposed to Communist activities and felt that she should awaken people to the danger of communism in the schools. She waited for the leader or someone else in the group to introduce the problem. During the first three meetings nothing was said about communism, but she observed that the leader and the recorder worked together to indoctrinate the group. Finally she told the group about her experience with Communists, and suggested that there should be a course in the schools to point out the dangers of communism.

The leader looked at the recorder and said, "Witch-hunt, eh?"

The recorder added, "Red herring."

That was all. Her suggestion was dropped. She was humiliated. The subject of communism did not appear in the report of the discussion group.

THE IDEA of indoctrination did not originate with Willard Goslin. One of the most influential planners of the

new social order openly advocated indoctrination. Dr. George S. Counts said, "You will say, no doubt, that I am flirting with the idea of indoctrination. And my answer is again in the affirmative."

The Pasadena conflict might have been avoided if the people had been aware of the dangers of the technique of "divide and conquer." But what was this technique? Pasadena had no example to follow. She did not know of any other city that had been torn apart as she was. Therefore, she could not profit by the experience of others.

Research material indicates that the agitation in Pasadena was not accidental, but planned. The planners must have examined the history of Pasadena to determine its weaknesses. One (weak) factor in Pasadena was progressive education, which had long been smoldering under recurrent streams of protest. There had been flurries of disapproval of progressive education in Pasadena, but no violent reactions. Differences of opinion were respected. Teachers and parents were not discredited for voicing their opinions. Ulterior motives were not read into people's objections.

In the normal course of events, the dispute over progressive education would have been settled cooperatively or would have subsided. Why didn't this happen in Pasadena? It didn't happen because the disputed phases of progressive education were accentuated by the Goslin administration despite the well-known dissatisfaction. Thus coals were heaped on the smoldering fire and the flames of protest were fanned. There was no attempt made to settle the dispute.

THE people wanted this:

More stress on the 3-R's and basic fundamentals.

Fixed curriculum.

More discipline (adult, over the children).

More stress on the teaching of American history and civics.

Higher standards of achievement.

Less talk about psychology, guidance, reading readiness; more time devoted to the actual learning process.

Assurance that speakers invited to lecture in the schools would support the American way of life.

This is what they were offered:

Widen the curriculum to a 100 per cent experience curriculum with no stress on the fundamentals.

No fixed curriculum.

Group self-discipline (by the children; classroom freedom).

More stress on world history, world citizenship, and living democracy within the group.

No grades, no failures.

More emphasis on the need of psychologists and guidance in the home.

Intolerance of public opinion as to the subversive connections of the speakers.

IN January, 1950, the *Pasadena Independent* published an editorial revealing its views on progressive education; the public was invited to submit letters on the school debate. Response was overwhelming. In general, the letters asked for more emphasis on the 3-R's, spelling, discipline, American history, and for the restoration of the good features of past educational programs.

Most people felt that after these public protests something would be done to settle the dispute. Instead, something was done that widened the rift. The people who protested were stoned with words. Mr. Goslin began to discredit his opposition.

When people asked sincere questions about the origin of progressive education, they were told that some people



wanted to turn the clock back twenty years. Parents who were eager that their children learn about the great American heritage through history were called reactionaries. Those who asked for drill, phonetics, more emphasis on the 3-R's, and teaching the alphabet, were looked upon with suspicion or amusement.

At last, people knew that they had to accept Goslin's program of education without questioning, and they were furious. They rebelled. Mr. Goslin never admitted the real areas of conflict. He claimed that his opposition favored education for the aristocracy, whereas his supporters favored education for all.

To say that the fight over progressive education was a conflict between the aristocracy and the common man was a fabrication. There was no evidence to support such an idea. This was not a class struggle. Yet, by his own definition, Willard Goslin set the stage for the class struggle between the aristocracy and the common man; he divided the people of Pasadena by using the class approach.

Besides stressing the need for eliminating inequalities, the Goslin program over-emphasized discrimination. Race and class consciousness was first created and then race feeling was agitated. There is voluminous evidence to show that this radical human-relations program was nationally sponsored.

To the average man, race and class agitation is a crime against society. To the social planners it was essential in order to effect change.

**I**N spite of the swelling tide of dissatisfaction, Mr. Goslin stunned the people by asking for a 50 per cent tax increase for the elementary district on April 12, 1950. For months the superintendent had ridden roughshod over the people. Now he dared to ask for more money to support his roughshod tactics. If he had scanned the horizon he would have seen smoke signals springing up all over the city. If he had read the signals correctly, he would have known that he had pressed the people too far, and that this was not the time to call for an election.

The past history of Pasadena must have made Willard Goslin confident of success because there never had been a school tax defeat. In 1948, a few months after Mr. Goslin came to Pasadena, a \$5,150,000 school bond issue passed by a majority of almost 6 to 1. What possible reason could there be to suspect a tax failure in 1950?

The majority of the people in Pasadena agreed that a tax increase was needed. This was a period of inflation. Costs were steadily rising. Teachers' salaries had to be adjusted to meet the higher cost of living. More teachers and more facilities had to be provided. These were facts. Every one in Pasadena had to face them whether they voted Yes or No.

The people had to take these facts and weigh them against the threat that Willard Goslin brought to the schools. If they supported the tax, they would be voting in favor of continuing to support a program of education that had created misunderstanding between teachers and parents, and conflict between races.

**A**s the people weighed the need of the tax against the threat, they knew that they must defeat the tax. This was not an easy decision. Many people felt that by voting against the tax they would deprive their children of necessities for a school year. Many were angry and ashamed to defeat a tax so obviously needed; but there was no other way. If they could have had an election to pass on

Willard Goslin, it would not have been necessary to defeat the tax. But the only machinery given to the voters through which they could make a majority protest was the tax election.

On June 2, 38 per cent of the voters (32,242), an unprecedented turnout, swarmed to the election booths in Pasadena. In the secrecy of the voting booth 22,210 individuals stamped their disapproval of the Goslin administration. The tax increase failed by a majority of 2 to 1.

If Pasadena had abolished the majority vote in favor of group dynamics with its accompanying consensus, as advocated by Mr. Goslin and his associates, there would have been no election and the tax increase would have passed. It was the majority vote that opposed him. This should be a warning against group dynamics and the group process as taught in Pasadena.

The people in Pasadena voted No for the same reason that the founders of this country overthrew British control — "No taxation without representation." Willard Goslin denied the people the right to representation in their schools; therefore, the people defeated the tax.

**A**FTER the tax failure, Mr. Goslin should have conceded victory and worked cooperatively to adjust the school program to meet the people's demands. There was no evidence of such cooperation.

Progressive education is based on the philosophy of pragmatism, i.e., no absolute truth. A thing is true only for the moment in which it is useful. Under pragmatism there would be no permanent religious doctrines or moral standards. However, America was founded on moral values. In the past we were taught moral principles, love of country, that honesty is the best policy and anything less than honesty is wrong in the sight of God, that man was made for eternal destiny, that man should look to himself for salvation and not to the state, and that courage, intelligence, and hard work should be rewarded.

Exponents of progressive education claim that competition is a warping influence on a child, and they oppose it. But competition is a basic condition of human life and cannot be abolished.

Progressive education talks about the individual, but stresses conformity with the crowd. It offers no rewards for excellence and no moral standard for young people to hang onto.

Criticism of communistic influence was contained in a letter submitted by the School Development Council (an organization which opposed Goslin). In the letter they expressed fear of the Columbia cult and the John Dewey philosophy. They pointed out that certain textbooks and audio-visual material were slanted. They said:

"As the University of California president, Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, stated, the struggle between communism and American democracy is not a debate, but war. He found, and we are sure, that the majority of teachers in our public schools are excellent teachers as well as excellent Americans. But an instructor or administrative staff member or civilian aide who follows the Communist line certainly has no 'right' to employment or continued service in a public institution of the United States."

**T**HIS letter brought Mr. Goslin face to face with the fears that had been harassing many Pasadena citizens for a long time. He should have been ready with an answer. If he had been a wise administrator he would have used this opportunity to remove suspicion of his administration.



He could have said something like this:

"All right, let's get our heads together. If there is any possible question of subversion in the Pasadena schools, I want it exposed and eliminated. A man in my position cannot afford the blight of such suspicion. Let's make an appointment to thrash out this problem. If you're right, I'll be with you. If you're wrong, I'll expect you to be with me."

Such a statement from Superintendent Goslin would have put every one behind him—teachers, parents, the board; in fact, the entire city. If he had handled the displeased citizens tactfully he could have restored harmony to a city rife with conflict.

But Mr. Goslin chose to take the defensive. He stoked the coals of suspicion between teachers and parents. His attitude increased the fears of citizens who suspected subversive influence.

At the July 18, 1950, board meeting Mr. Goslin answered the letter of the School Development Council. He ignored the request for an ideological investigation of his administration and transferred attention to the idea that the Council had questioned the teachers' loyalty. In this way he reaped the support of the teachers; and the teachers were on the defensive.

**C**OMMUNISTS do not openly declare their affiliations. They are not straightforward. They are in hiding. They do not openly present communism in books under the label of communism, but cloak it with certain of democracy's raiments so that children accept communism along with democracy, and the teacher unwittingly becomes a party to the indoctrination.

Mr. Goslin made a mistake when he did not cooperate with the people who had asked for an ideological investigation. Such an investigation would have proved his guilt or innocence; and if he were innocent, it would have removed any and all suspicion of his administration. He failed to meet this challenge, and chose instead to widen the rift in the city.

In the fall of 1950 Willard Goslin violated his contract by usurping authority which was legally invested in the Board of Education. Without asking board approval, he committed the Pasadena schools to an expenditure of \$1,009.78 for a child study project in conjunction with Long Beach and San Diego. Besides involving the schools in financial obligations, Mr. Goslin made plans for a school camp program without discussing his plans with the board.

Finally the board had to take action. On Nov. 9 they sent a telegram to Mr. Goslin (who was attending a conference in New York), requesting his resignation. In spite of the complete disruption of the school system, the board members planned to permit Mr. Goslin to save face and to resign quietly.

Mr. Goslin himself was responsible for publicizing the fact that he had been fired. A few days later the superintendent returned to Pasadena. Upon his arrival, blasts of agitation that were to rock the city for days commenced.

Those who stood with Mr. Goslin pressured the board to change its decision. An atmosphere of hysteria prevailed. Teaching ranks were split further apart. Citizens sent abusive letters and telegrams to board members. Lists of names supporting Willard Goslin were published in the newspapers. The Citizens Action Committee employed all possible means to force the board to change its decision.

Then Willard Goslin's firing was literally lifted out of the hands of the local people. National intervention

broadened the conflict. If the board members had suddenly announced that they planned to abolish the public schools they wouldn't have received more publicity. Suspicion began to grow that the board members had blocked some national plot when they fired Willard Goslin. Many national organizations connected with education wired the Pasadena board asking for delay. Willard Goslin stated: "Nearly all of the organized strength of American public education and many laymen across the country have urged me to withhold my resignation."

By this time the board members were alert to the organized pressure behind Goslin; therefore, they did not change their decision. Willard Goslin resigned but his false martyrdom had been broadcast to the nation.

After public sympathy had been organized and demonstrated, the price of freedom for the Pasadena schools went up from \$17,500 to \$23,250. This represented a bonus of \$5,750 to Willard Goslin, a good return on a week's investment in stirring up human emotions.

In summary, Mr. Goslin left confusion where he had found order, race and class consciousness where he had found oneness, hatred where he had found love, conflict where he had found harmony, and a smear where he had found a clear slate.

It may be surprising to many people that a radical educator such as Willard Goslin could gain the organized support of educators throughout the nation. Again, one should examine past writings. Dr. John Dewey said: "What we need is an aggressive alliance of these groups. Divided we may fall. United we shall stand, and in standing shall do our special work."

**B**EFORE Willard Goslin left Pasadena, the California Senate Investigating Committee on Education arrived to investigate the reasons behind the conflict that had arisen in the city.

The investigation cleared Willard Goslin's opposition of any subversive suspicion. The report stated that, considering all the factors (subversive films and textbooks, Communist front affiliations of speakers and writers, public demonstrations, Communist techniques, and Communist newspaper support), "one should certainly hope to find, as in the case of Pasadena, a thoroughly aroused public . . . It is apparent that the Communist party had hoped to create a situation in Pasadena which could be used as fuel for attacks on the school system of the State."

(Continued on Page 54)

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# THE Communist Party OF THE U.S.A.

## WHAT IT IS - HOW IT WORKS . . . *A Handbook for Americans*

This vital material, prepared by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, headed by Senator James O. Eastland, in an effort to counteract current misinformation regarding the Communist movement, is being presented to our readers in several sections, the first of which appeared in our March issue.

### MAILING LISTS

THE extent and interlocking character of mailing lists maintained by the Communist network is disclosed by the fact that those whose names appear on mailing lists of one front organization, suddenly and without solicitation receive mail from another. An envelope sent out by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has used the stencil of the Voice of Freedom Committee. The *New York World Telegram* of January 17, 1946, described how a housewife from Wyckoff, N. J., solicited literature from the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and thereafter began receiving under the same stenciled address unrequested printed matter from the National Citizens Political Action Committee, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., and the Committee for a Democratic Policy Toward China. On August 9, 1949, Mr. Blair Seese, a member of local 601 of the Communist-dominated United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, which has been expelled from the CIO because of this domination, testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on the Party's access to mailing lists, as follows:

MR. TAVENNER. What about the Communist Party literature; do you receive it yourself through the mail?

MR. SEESE. I have and I still do at times.

MR. TAVENNER. Do other members of the union also receive it?

MR. SEESE. I know other members in the local who have Communist literature mailed to their homes. \* \* \*

MR. TAVENNER. What explanation is there for members of the union who are not members of the Communist Party receiving this literature?

MR. SEESE. I have no explanation for it other than the fact that it seems evident that by some means the membership lists of the stewards' council are available to the Communist Party, because if there are errors in the addresses of any union members, the same errors are made in sending out the Communist literature.

Under these circumstances it is inconceivable that the Communist Party would not maintain a roster of its members.

The Communist Party is most scrupulous in the way it checks upon and husbands its forces to insure the maximum utilization of every ounce of available cooperation and support and to guard against possible losses. For this purpose rigorous registrations of all Party members are conducted regularly. As J. Peters indicated in *The Communist Party - a Manual on Organization*, "The party leadership must know its forces, must be able to assign each one to the place where he is most suitable and most needed." In this respect he cites with approval Lenin's counsel to the Party leadership:

Not only to advise \* \* \* but really conduct the orchestra, one must know exactly who is playing first or second fiddle, and where, what instrument he was taught, where and how, where and why he plays out of tune (when the music begins to be trying to the ear), and what changes should be made in the orchestra so as to remedy the dissonance \* \* \*.

### EVIDENCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The simple evidentiary test of a Communist Party membership will not suffice for proof of membership. Nor will the fictions incorporated in the official Constitution of the Communist Party, USA, serve as a fruitful guide.

An excellent guide to determine Communist Party membership



bership is to be found in section 5 of the Communist Control Act of 1954:

SEC. 5. In determining membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization defined in this Act, or knowledge of the purpose or objective of such party or organization, the jury, under instructions from the court, shall consider evidence, if presented, as to whether the accused person:

(1) Has been listed to his knowledge as a member in any book or any of the lists, records, correspondence, or any other document of the organization;

(2) Has made financial contribution to the organization in dues, assessments, loans, or in any other form;

(3) Has made himself subject to the discipline of the organization in any form whatsoever;

(4) Has executed orders, plans, or directives of any kind of the organization;

(5) Has acted as an agent, courier, messenger, correspondent, organizer, or in any other capacity in behalf of the organization;

(6) Has conferred with officers or other members of the organization in behalf of any plan or enterprise of the organization;

(7) Has been accepted to his knowledge as an officer or member of the organization or as one to be called upon for services by other officers or members of the organization;

(8) Has written, spoken or in any other way communicated by signal, semaphore, sign, or in any other form of communication orders, directives, or plans of the organization;

(9) Has prepared documents, pamphlets, leaflets, books, or any other type of publication in behalf of the objectives and purposes of the organization;

(10) Has mailed, shipped, circulated, distributed, delivered, or in any other way sent or delivered to others material or propaganda of any kind in behalf of the organization;

(11) Has advised, counseled or in any other way imparted information, suggestions, recommendations to officers or members of the organization or to anyone else in behalf of the objectives of the organization;

(12) Has indicated by word, action, conduct, writing, or in any other way a willingness to carry out in any manner and to any degree the plans, designs, objectives, or purposes of the organization;

(13) Has in any other way participated in the activities, planning, actions, objectives, or purposes of the organization;

(14) The enumeration of the above subjects of evidence on membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization as above defined, shall not limit the inquiry into and consideration of any other subject of evidence on membership and participation as herein stated.

For an intelligent appraisal of the forces at work in behalf of the Communist movement in the United States, it is necessary to understand the various categories involved, to appreciate the shade of difference between categories and to deal with them accordingly, recognizing, however, that each category constitutes a definite security risk operating in the interests of a foreign power. It should also be remembered that these categories are not static, that Party members are shifted from one to another like pawns on the Red chessboard. The following would constitute a rough classification of these categories:

1. *Open Party members.* — This would include individuals whom the Party has found it expedient to designate publicly as Party members, such as Party officials, candidates for public office, official representatives and writers for the Communist press. The existence of this group is essential to maintain the fiction that the Communist Party, USA, is an open "political party of the American working class."

The Party has been compared to an iceberg with one-third above the water and two-thirds submerged. Though these proportions are not accurate, the open Party members constitute its visible portion. Since the submerged sector is considered more important, members of the open



Whittaker Chambers (right) accuser of Alger Hiss, shakes hands with Maj. Gen. Claire Chennault, wartime airforce commander in China, during 1952 hearings about the influence of the Institute of Pacific Relations on U. S. Far East policy. Elizabeth Bentley (center), ex-Communist, was also a witness at these hearings.

Party can be commandeered at any time in the service of the underground. The testimony of Louis F. Budenz, Whittaker Chambers, and Elizabeth Bentley has shown that men like Jack Stachel, Max Bedacht, and J. Peters functioned simultaneously in both the open and the underground apparatus. Well-known Party members will suddenly disappear from public view to be engulfed by the underground, whose orders have distinct priority.

2. *Semiconcealed Party members.* — Most Party members are known as such to their fellow members in the Party club, union, front organization, or place of employment. Within the Party they operate under one or more aliases, making no avowal of Party membership publicly. This type of membership can be established by a membership card of former days or record, evidence of payment of dues, attendance at closed meetings, association with Communists in Party enterprises or campaigns, soliciting new members or appearing in any other official capacity representing the Party.

3. *Members at large.* — Party members who occupy important positions in government or organizations where knowledge of their affiliation would be an obstacle to Party purposes, are made members at large. They do not attend Communist Party meetings and are contacted solely by an emissary assigned to receive dues, distribute literature and directives.

4. *Members of the underground apparatus.* — For reasons of secrecy it may at times be necessary to withdraw an individual entirely from any contact with the open Communist Party. Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, and John Sherman, for example, were withdrawn from the open party to work in the underground. Other members of the Communist underground apparatus may never have been members of the legal party. An individual assigned for this purpose may even submit a public resignation under the direction of his Party superiors. On the other hand, a member of this apparatus may be a purely technical assistant with no trace of Party sympathy or even knowledge of the true nature of the organization for which he is working.

An operative active in the United States may have no direct responsibility to the CPUSA. He may be linked with some special arm of the Soviet government and be directly



responsible to it, such as the Soviet Military Intelligence, the Soviet Foreign Office, or the Supreme Economic Council. In each case his responsibilities to the Soviet agency have complete priority over any consideration of the domestic Communist Party.

5. *Nonparty Communists.* — Certain sympathetic persons find it inadvisable or inexpedient to join the Communist Party. For example, a person of great wealth or prominence may be in full sympathy with the Party, but he may be unwilling or unable to attend meetings or carry out all Communist duties. But he agrees to abide by the Party's wishes and submit to its discipline. He may be a businessman who depends upon the Soviet government for commercial favors. He may be a politician or a union official who could not be elected to office without the votes controlled by the Communist bloc. In some cases compulsion may be employed to whip the individual into line.

6. *Communist Party Supporters.* — There are other individuals to be distinguished from the above group who are in no sense under Communist discipline, but who voluntarily and knowingly support the Communists in one or more ways such as voting for Communist candidates, signing of Communist election petitions, donating money for the Party or its press, supporting campaigns in behalf of the Party or individual known Communists, supporting organizations openly sponsored by the Communist Party, defense of Communist legal cases, doing organizational and political favors for the Party, or writing for the Communist press. In each case the subject is fully aware that he is supporting the Communist Party or one or more of its members or one or more of its directly espoused activities. The usefulness of such non-Communists is demonstrated by the example of Raymond Boyer, a wealthy and noted Canadian chemist, who described himself as having "worked in organizations in which there were Communists and in which I knew there were Communists, and I have worked very closely with Communists, but I have never held a Party card nor paid dues." A memorandum found in the Soviet Embassy cites his services as follows:

Gives full information on explosives and chemical plants.

\* \* \* (Gave the formula of RDX \* \* \*).

RDX is an explosive perfected in England in 1942. He also furnished information regarding the pilot plant at Grand Mere, Quebec, for the production of uranium.

#### FELLOW TRAVELERS

1. *Fellow travelers.* — As differentiated from the above categories, a fellow traveler may be defined as an individual who from time to time supports one or more organizations or campaigns operating under the indirect and usually unpublicized initiative and control of the Communist Party or its representatives. Here we must point out three distinct types.

(a) *Conscious fellow travelers.* — A conscious fellow traveler is one who affiliates with or supports one or more of these groups with full knowledge of its character. For the most part, such persons are motivated by a definite sympathy for the Soviet Union or the Communist Party or both. Here again we must differentiate between two groups under this heading:

(i) *Consistent fellow travelers.* — Among those who support or affiliate with such organizations or campaigns are those who on no occasion take issue with the Communist Party or its auxiliary organizations. They have a consistent record of such affiliations or sympathy throughout all changes of the Party line, and despite the

fact that such organizations have been publicly exposed as communistic.

(ii) *Unreliable fellow travelers.* — Occasionally there is defection among the fellow travelers who support the Communist Party or its auxiliary organizations. This may be due to disillusionment as to the real nature of the Soviet regime or antagonism toward such actions as the Stalin-Hitler Pact or disgust with Communist methods in a particular organization. The sincerity and depth of the individual's conversion may be measured by the individual's subsequent behavior. If he supports no pro-Communist organizations or campaigns subsequent to his first break, it may be assumed that this break is sincere and thorough. If, however, his name is to be found supporting such organizations or campaigns at a later date, it may be properly concluded that his break was neither genuine nor substantial.

(b) *Unwitting fellow travelers.* — It would be only fair to indicate that individuals have supported Communist-inspired organizations in the belief that such organizations were accomplishing some meritorious, social purpose. They may have had not the faintest notion as to the organization's Communist character, they may even be anti-Communist. In other words, they may be outright dupes. Such names are not usually found in organizations of an outright Communist character. Nevertheless, the Communists welcome their financial and moral support.

The Communists are perfectly frank in admitting the usefulness of the fellow traveler. F. Brown, an agent of the Communist International who operated in the United States in the 1930's, who was also known as Alpi and Marini, has testified to that fact in the *Daily Worker* of August 25, 1937, page 2, where he declares:

It is no exaggeration to state that besides the 55,000 Communist members, there are today tens of thousands of individuals who are active in every field of the progressive movement, carrying out the line of the Party in practice. They work shoulder to shoulder with the Party members, follow the Party line through our press — *Daily Worker*, *Sunday Worker*, language press, through the mass activities of the Party — mass meetings, lectures, and all struggles in which the Communists are in the forefront. \* \* \* We must point out: First, that their actual work is appreciated by the Party; second, that we consider their work Communist work and want them to continue it.

#### HOW TO JUDGE A FELLOW TRAVELER

It is possible to set up definite standards for judging a fellow traveler's devotion to the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, which must be taken into consideration in judging his loyalty to the United States. This scale is not hard and fast. It cannot be applied mechanically. It must be utilized intelligently with an eye to the history of the period, our current relations with the Soviet Union, the age of the individual at the time of his affiliations, and possible changes in his views. It should be recognized that an individual who has passed through certain experiences with Communist organizations and who has been thoroughly and completely disillusioned, can be of considerable value in counteracting Communist machinations. To adopt an attitude of "once a fellow traveler, always a fellow traveler," is to place an obstacle in the path of the re-education of such individuals and to make it undesirable for an individual to desert their ranks. The following points should, therefore, be kept in mind in judging a fellow traveler.

1. The number of his associations with Communist controlled organizations.



2. The importance of the post or posts he occupied in these organizations. (The Communists commonly limit such posts to individuals who are either Party members or who possess the Party's confidence, though sometimes "big names" are pushed up front as protective coloration.)

3. The extent of his activity.

4. The importance of such organizations in the Communist setup.

5. His adherence to these organizations despite public exposure of their Communist character.

6. His standing in the Communist press, which operates under strictest Moscow and Party censorship.

7. His standing in Communist organizations.

8. His public statements and writings regarding the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, individual Communists and Communist-initiated campaigns and organizations.

9. His personal associations with Communists or sympathizers.

#### EXTENT OF COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The latest estimate of Communist Party membership by the Federal Bureau of Investigation is about 22,663. The most recent breakdown by states is based upon a membership of 31,608 in 1951, as drawn up by the FBI.

#### Communist Party membership by states 1951

Alabama	96	New Jersey	1,070
Arizona	136	New Mexico	22
Arkansas	20	New York	15,458
California	4,295	North Carolina	95
Colorado	72	North Dakota	52
Connecticut	580	Ohio	1,290
Delaware	22	Oklahoma	83
Florida	135	Oregon	125
Georgia	51	Pennsylvania	1,441
Idaho	60	Rhode Island	54
Illinois	1,596	South Carolina	15
Indiana	475	South Dakota	38
Iowa	25	Tennessee	21
Kansas	12	Texas	196
Kentucky	71	Utah	67
Louisiana	50	Vermont	25
Maine	25	Virginia	53
Maryland	250	Washington	350
Massachusetts	759	West Virginia	96
Michigan	450	Wisconsin	420
Minnesota	701	Wyoming	2
Mississippi	1	Puerto Rico	96
Missouri	362	Washington, D. C.	60
Montana	82	Hawaii	36
Nebraska	25	Alaska	25
Nevada	15		
New Hampshire	52	Total	31,608

To show the growth of the Party, it is interesting to add here a review of the total Party membership over a period of years as given by Earl Browder, its general secretary until 1945, in his pamphlet *Where Do We Go From Here?* under the pseudonym Americus. His references are undoubtedly to open Party members. Mr. Browder's figures would show that the Party membership had increased over 6½ times from the depression year of 1932 to 1945.

#### Changes in the volume of membership of CPUSA

At beginning of the year of —	Total membership	At beginning of the year of — Con.	Total membership
1930	7,500	1935	30,000
1931	8,339	1936	40,000
1932	12,936	1938	75,000
1933	16,814	1944	66,000
1934	24,500	1945	80,000

\*Including 13,000 in the Armed Forces.

Election returns for 1928, 1932, 1936, and 1940 show how many voters actually supported the Communist Party presidential candidates, except in the states where the Party was not admitted on the ballot. In 1932 this figure was approximately seven times the Party membership figures as given by Browder. In 1940, during the highly unpopular Stalin-Hitler pact, it closely approximated the Party membership figure, on a one-vote-per-Party-member basis.

The Progressive Party backing Henry A. Wallace was publicly supported by the Communist Party. In this connection the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee received, on October 7, 1954, the testimony of Matthew Cvetec, a former FBI informant who had worked his way



Matthew Cvetec (left) of Pittsburgh, FBI undercover agent within the Communist Party for seven years, in 1950 shows records to Rep. Francis E. Walter (D., Pa.), Acting Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

into the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania, becoming a member of its organizational, educational, and finance committees as well as its nationality, political, and trade-union commissions. We quote him in part:

Now, we were directed, in a directive which was read to us in the Communist Party headquarters, based on the Communist International of 1935, where all Communist Parties in the world were ordered to set up in the various countries — and this included the American Communist Party — a coalition party of Communists and Progressives \* \* \*. The primary steps which were taken during the years after 1945 to consummate this objective — and this was as early as the last part of 1945, in a report which was given by William Z. Foster, the then national chairman of the Communist Party in which he stressed that one of the big objectives of the Communist Party is the setting up of a coalition party in the United States \* \* \*. And as a result of this report of William Z. Foster, subsequently an organization known as the Progressive Party of the United States was organized on a national basis.

I was a member of the organizational committee of the Communist Party, and as a member of this committee I was one of the eight ranking members of the Communist Party for the western Pennsylvania district. The Progressive Party, which later you will recall, in the 1948 campaign, had presidential candidates, was set up by the organizational committee and also the political commission of the Communist Party. I myself sat in dozens of meetings where we set up the Progressive Party \* \* \*. The personnel that moved around within the framework of the Progressive Party in key positions were assigned out of the Communist Party office \* \* \*. In other words, it was controlled by planted, key Communist agents, who had absolute control of the Progressive Party \* \* \*.

I attended meetings in Communist Party headquarters where we discussed candidates who would be put up for office in the Progressive Party. And the final determining factor of who the candidates would be was decided right in the headquarters of the Communist Party \* \* \*.

I recall very vividly sitting in several meetings in Communist Party headquarters \* \* \* and I recall why the decision to



Sen. Glen H. Taylor, Idaho, vice presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket, 1948. Portrait of Henry A. Wallace, presidential candidate on the same ticket appears in the background.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

support Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor was made. That was because they were two men who were willing to work with the Communist Party in this coalition party \* \* \*

And, too, when we had on two or three occasions meetings in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at which Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor spoke, the fund-raising activities and the ticket-sales activities in connection with these meetings were directed right out of the headquarters of the Communist Party \* \* \*

On the same day, John Lautner, a former member of the review commission of the CPUSA, testified regarding the Party's efforts to "break out from its isolation" by forming the Progressive Party, and he declared:

It enabled the Communist Party to reach into ranks, into sections, of the American population into which they could never have reached before, and it opened up all kinds of new possibilities for the Communist Party throughout the country and enabled the Party to carry on a Communist ideological campaign in the labor movement, in the trade-union movement \* \* \* In addition to that, because it was not necessary for the Communist Party to put forth its own national candidates, Wallace and Taylor served that very same purpose for the Communist Party.

In the light of the above, it is interesting to note the distribution of the popular vote for Wallace in 1948, totaling 1,137,957.

#### Popular vote, 1948, for president

Source: Compiled by the United Press from official and unofficial returns (as of December 1, 1948)<sup>1</sup>

States	Wallace, Progressive	States	Wallace, Progressive
Alabama	1,522	Nevada	1,400
Arizona	3,310	New Hampshire	1,970
Arkansas	751	New Jersey	42,683
California	190,381	New Mexico	1,037
Colorado	6,115	New York	501,167
Connecticut	13,713	North Carolina	3,915
Delaware	1,050	North Dakota	8,220
Florida	11,683	Ohio	37,596
Georgia	1,636	Oklahoma	
Idaho	4,972	Oregon	14,661
Illinois		Pennsylvania	55,161
Indiana	9,649	Rhode Island	2,587
Iowa	12,125	South Carolina	154
Kansas	4,603	South Dakota	2,801
Kentucky	1,567	Tennessee	1,861
Louisiana	3,035	Texas	3,764
Maine	1,884	Utah	2,679
Maryland	9,983	Vermont	1,279
Massachusetts	38,157	Virginia	1,863
Michigan	38,955	Washington	29,745
Minnesota	27,866	West Virginia	3,311
Mississippi	225	Wisconsin	25,282
Missouri	3,998	Wyoming	931
Montana	6,641		
Nebraska		Total vote	1,137,957

<sup>1</sup>Taken from the World Almanac, 1949, p. 91.

#### Presidential election returns by states for Communist Party candidates

State	1928	1932	1936	1940
Alabama		406	679	509
Arizona	184	406		
Arkansas	317	175	164	13,586
California	216	1,023	10,877	378
Colorado	675		497	1,091
Connecticut	730		1,193	
Delaware		133	52	
Florida	3,704			
Georgia	64	23		276
Idaho		491		
Illinois	381	15,582		
Indiana		2,187	1,090	1,524
Iowa	328	559	506	
Kansas	320			
Kentucky	293	272	204	
Louisiana				411
Maine		162	257	1,375
Maryland	636	1,031	915	3,808
Massachusetts	2,464	4,821	2,930	2,834
Michigan	2,881	9,318	3,384	2,711
Minnesota	4,853	6,101	2,574	
Mississippi				489
Missouri		568	417	
Montana	563	1,775	385	
Nebraska				
Nevada				8,814
New Hampshire	173	264	193	
New Jersey	1,257	2,915	1,590	
New Mexico	158	135	43	
New York	10,884	27,956	35,609	
North Carolina			11	543
North Dakota	936	830	360	
Ohio	2,386	7,231	5,251	
Oklahoma				191
Oregon	1,094	1,681	104	4,519
Pennsylvania	4,726	5,658	4,060	2,589
Rhode Island	283	546	411	
South Carolina				
South Dakota	232	364		
Tennessee	111	234	319	
Texas	209	207	253	
Utah	47	947	280	
Vermont		195	405	
Virginia	173	86	98	2,680
Washington	1,541	2,972	1,907	2,386
West Virginia	401	444		
Wisconsin	1,528	3,112	2,197	
Wyoming		180	91	49,106
Total votes cast	44,748	100,990	79,306	

Source: World Almanac, 1950, from official returns by states.

(To be continued next month)

## EDUCATION OR INDOCTRINATION

(Continued from Page 49)

PASADENA has come into focus through wide publicity as the proving ground for the new plan. Although many believed that Mr. Goslin alone was responsible for the conflict in Pasadena, his firing did not terminate the controversy. Forces are still at work locally and nationally to promote and advance Mr. Goslin's modern education in the Pasadena schools. As predicted by the Communist organ, the *Daily People's World*, Goslin's supporters have "continued and intensified their fight against retrogressive changes in the school system."

Willard Goslin's modern education is not confined to Pasadena. Like a huge octopus, its tentacles are stretching throughout America. Once this octopus gets a stranglehold on the education of a community it is virtually impossible to eliminate, as the people of Pasadena have learned.

It is now obvious to interested, informed citizens that political interests — socialistic, communistic, or extremely radical — are attempting to use the public schools for ulterior motives. Control of the schools appears to be the ultimate objective. Indoctrination of the children of America in a new theory of democracy and freedom is the immediate goal. Will they succeed?

Not if America wakes up in time!

In the next decade America will probably make its choice between education and indoctrination.

Let us solemnly hope that education will be the victor.



# The White House Conference on Education

HELD IN WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
November 28 - December 1, 1955

## Why Was It Necessary?

Following are excerpts from an address, delivered a short time in advance of the conference, by Neil H. McElroy of Cincinnati, Ohio, Chairman of the White House Conference on Education, and President of The Procter & Gamble Company.

WE ARE currently spending about \$6.5 billion a year to educate our youngsters between the ages of five and seventeen; by 1960 we must spend an additional \$4 billion to \$6 billion a year on operating expenses. In addition, an estimated \$14 billion outlay will be required over the next five years to provide needed facilities.

Because of the unavoidable and sizable implications of these statistics the President asked for a national study of our educational problems. Following the President's appeal Congress authorized the conference program, and appropriated \$700,000 to provide for the holding of conferences on education in the individual states and in the five territories. We have had a 100 per cent response; tens of thousands of citizens and educators are participating. President Eisenhower was correct when he described the program as one "unparalleled in history."

How will the White House Conference be conducted? We have divided the general problem into six study subjects, each being handled by a subcommittee. Each of these subcommittees has competent full-time staff assistance plus outside consultants who are experts in the field and can bring factual information as well as stimulating thinking to the committee. The reports of these subcommittees will be basic material for the White House Conference.

We expect about 2,000 to attend. Some 1,400 will be selected by the states. Others will be selected by various national organizations. The bal-

ance of the 2,000 will be members of Congress, foreign observers, and a few selected by the Conference Committee.

At the conference these 2,000 participants will be divided into groups of approximately ten individuals. We adopted this procedure to allow all who take part in the conference a chance for full discussion.

When our program is completed we may find that the most important result will be an increased awareness on the part of businessmen, other public leaders, and citizens in general.

## What Was Accomplished?

A Report from the White House Conference on Education is hereby reprinted, with permission, from *The Texas Outlook on Education*.

### I. "What should our schools accomplish?"

It was generally recommended that schools should teach reading, writing, and arithmetic and should teach them better. Schools should teach the mathematical skills with emphasis upon problem-solving. Schools must stress appreciation for our democratic heritage and must teach the responsibilities of citizenship and the need for a thorough knowledge of an understanding of American institutions. Schools must teach respect for the beliefs of others and appreciation of human values. Schools must help pupils develop ability to think and evaluate constructively and creatively. Effective work-habits and self-discipline must be developed among pupils.

Other approved goals which the conference listed included esthetic appreciation and self-expression in the arts, a sound physical and mental health program, wise use of time, particularly with emphasis on constructive use of leisure time. These broad, general goals did not exclude or

supersede the need for each local community to plan its own educational program. A balanced program is essential, but it should be a program fitted to the children of each individual community. Emphasis was placed upon the need for additional training for handicapped children and the providing of a more adequate program for the gifted child.

### II. "How can we organize our school system more efficiently and economically?"

It was generally agreed that local, state, and federal government must join hands in providing facilities for education, but the most important factor in improving the public school system depends upon citizens' advisory groups and citizens' support of their own local schools.

Specific recommendations included:

1. Need for unifying the public school system and placing all divisions under the jurisdiction of a single administrative unit.

2. A school district should include well-defined communities or groups of communities and should have the necessary resources and sufficient population to guarantee the operation of an efficient elementary and secondary school.

3. School districts may become too large, for they should not lose the advantages of local control, community contact, and responsiveness to public will.

4. The county or intermediate unit can provide services essential to the furnishing of equal educational opportunities to all children.

In smaller districts, cooperative agreement between those districts will contribute toward providing special services which one district alone cannot finance or provide. Citizens' advisory committees can be most helpful in studying specific questions and can be valuable allies in achieving desirable goals. The school plant should



be the community center and its facilities should be utilized to the fullest extent to provide full community use and secure corresponding increased citizen interest and financial support.

Finally, the schedule of the schools should be so arranged that the teacher is given full opportunity to devote most of her time to her most essential responsibility — instruction of students. Class size is a factor that demands careful study. Each teacher should be utilized to the fullest advantage but the overloading of a teacher with too many pupils will result in corresponding loss of efficiency.

### III. "What are our school building needs?"

The conference completely rejected the idea of poverty in school buildings. Crowded conditions should not be accepted as permanent standards and double shifts are highly undesirable and should be tolerated only in emergency situations. Despite the variety of opinions concerning the minimum physical facilities needed for an adequate school plan, general agreement was secured on the basis of the following:

Elementary school: adequate site, classrooms, kindergarten, office facilities, space for assembling and cafeteria activities or multi-purpose room, physical education playground facilities, an equipped health unit, teachers' rooms, service and sanitation facilities, toilet rooms, custodial and storage rooms. In addition, special service rooms, library and visual aid facilities are most desirable.

The basic facilities for secondary schools included: adequate site, general classrooms, special classrooms for science, art, homemaking, music, industrial arts, vocational education, physical education facilities for both boys and girls, offices, library, cafeteria, health unit, teachers' lounges, locker facilities. Other recommended facilities included swimming pool and visual aid facilities. There should be a survey made as to the use of school buildings and, if more effective use may be made for school and community purposes, action should be taken to provide such increased use.

In planning for school facilities, all media of communication should be used in presenting to the community the building needs. There is need for equalized tax evaluation on a state-wide basis. Long-range plans for building needs are essential. In planning a new school building, the aid of all concerned should be secured. This should include lay and professional groups and individuals, teachers, pupils, administrators, citizens, community planners, etc. School

buildings and other facilities should be made available for adult evening classes and other general community purposes, but school activities must always have high priority. Finally, consideration should be given to the use of school facilities on a 12-months' basis for civic, recreational, and educational purposes.

### IV. "How can we get enough good teachers and keep them?"

These basic factors emerged: The prestige and status of teaching must be improved to the point that teaching is comparable to other professions within the community; salaries paid must be sufficiently high to compete effectively with other fields now bidding for our more capable youth; the teacher's job must be one that challenges and attracts the interest of talented persons. Stress must be placed upon instruction and less demand made in the area of routine duties.

Ten questions involving teacher recruitment were raised; each community should answer the questions in the light of its own particular situation. These questions were:

1. Why should a teacher wish to come to our community?
2. Where will he live?
3. What kind of place is our school?
4. What teaching materials and equipment do we supply?
5. What is the pupil-teacher ratio?
6. Do we recognize that teachers, too, are human beings with feelings, tastes, and opinions?
7. Do we accept teachers as interesting and important members of our community, or do we set them apart where we may scrutinize and criticize them at will?
8. If we hear about a teacher's methods which are unlike those we once knew, do we reject without investigation any deviations from the procedures of our own little red schoolhouse, or do we take the trouble to find out why changes have seemed appropriate?
9. What kind of salary schedule have we; is it an inducement for qualified personnel to remain with us?
10. When new teachers come to us, do we take the trouble to see that they become acquainted? Particularly, are we interested when they are young and in their first teaching job?

In order to recruit desirable young people into the profession of teaching and retain in service experienced teachers, the following suggestions were submitted:

1. Supply present teachers with an adequate amount of good equipment and teaching materials and provide for use of the students, under direction of the teacher, adequate library

materials. Among the equipment should be physical aids, films and, wherever possible, television.

2. Examine the benefit plans developed by industry as models for improving the teacher retirement benefits as provided by the school district or state.

3. Emphasis should be placed on Future Teacher Clubs, Career Days, and other guidance activities whose major purpose is to recruit young people into teaching. Use scholarships for deserving young people, recognize that high school students in your own system are the most important source of future teachers, and use all community agencies to help in recruiting high school teacher candidates.

4. Attempt to recruit from qualified teachers living in the community who have left the profession. Improvement of working conditions and increasing salaries will aid in this recruitment effort.

5. Examine the personnel services provided by your school system for teachers. Are salaries comparable? Is an adequate retirement program available? Are sick leaves and release time provided? Are service awards for outstanding teaching made available?

6. Teachers should be kept abreast of policies, rules and regulations and board actions so that they may be aware of plans under way for improvement of local educational systems and may participate with a background of knowledge that will enable them to contribute to the improvement of the operation of the schools. Give teachers as much time as possible for teaching by supplying them with supervisory service and consultant help. The teacher aid idea needs much more exploration and experimentation before it should be adopted or recommended as a means of meeting the teacher shortage.

### V. "How can we finance our schools, build and operate them?"

The conference unanimously recommended that the people of America need to re-examine the allocation of tax funds at all levels of government. The continuation of our democratic way of life and the education of our children to face the complex society in which they live require that more of the national wealth be spent on education. By a 2-to-1 majority, the conference approved the federal government's increasing its financial support to public education. This approval was given to the proposed pending legislation providing for assistance in construction of schoolhouse facilities.

Approximately 50 per cent of the participants also favored federal aid



for local school operation. Just as clearly, the delegates agreed that federal aid should not be substituted for local and state support nor should it in any way reduce the local controls which have always marked the operation of the public school system. It was generally agreed that America has the resources to provide more schools and teachers and to raise the standard of education, but it was further agreed that we need the will and the machinery for accomplishing the objectives.

The majority of the participants agreed that state aid should be increased to provide a basic program on an equalized basis with a fair share being provided by the local community. They recommended that constitutional and statutory restrictions on bonding and taxing powers of the local and state governments should be eased to the extent necessary to provide an adequate program of education. The fact that neither the state nor the local community uses enough of its wealth for schools was unanimously recognized.

#### VI. "How can we obtain a continuing interest in education?"

It was generally agreed that the schools must do what the public wants them to do but that the public must be interested if we are to develop and maintain superior schools. To secure citizen interest and support, it is essential that the achievements, the needs, and the plans for the public schools be made available to citizens through every medium of communication and every source of information. It was recognized that teachers and pupils are the most effective means for securing and holding public interest in their schools, and that the providing of high-quality educational opportunities and acquainting the citizenship with the quality of the program was most effective in securing their support.

Here are some recommendations which are applicable to every local district:

1. Make wider and more consistent use of press, radio, and television, to dramatize the work of the school.
2. Use lay advisory committees appointed by the board to study current problems and to recommend solutions and improvements.
3. Have open school board meetings with the public invited to attend. Particularly should representatives from community groups be asked to visit board meetings and budget meetings.
4. Encourage high school students to select teaching as a career, through the setting up of courses and units of instruction on the work of the public school.

5. Make regular reports to the public on the school program; include in such reports budgets, proposed building plans, proposed changes in curriculum, etc.

6. Secure publicity concerning the accomplishments of students in academic areas in a manner comparable to that publicity secured for outstanding athletes.

7. Open the school to the public. Let them know that they are welcome to visit their schools at any time. Have open houses and other programs which emphasize citizen visits to schools.

### Methods Criticized

Following is the comment of Joseph Kornfeder, formerly a member of the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Communist International in Moscow, the group which supervised Communist activities in both England and America. A graduate of the Lenin School of Political Warfare, he is highly educated in the techniques of Communist operations. He is now devoting his time and efforts to the assistance of investigative bodies and groups of private citizens in exposing the Communist conspiracy.

To the best of my knowledge this is the first time in this country that a big national conference disregarded the customary method of procedure, and adopted methods which are tailored to domination by an inner clique. The surprise in this case was the methods, with the aid of which those who arranged the whole thing wanted to put over their program. Their method of organizing the so-called "round table" discussion groups and the creation of "levels" through which the discussions were to be filtered, proceeding from one echelon to another, remind me of the pattern of "legislative" organization devised by the strategists of communism for the purpose of manipulating the will of the electorate of Soviet Russia. My reference is to the so-called "Soviet Democracy." Under that system everyone can vote but no one can elect whom he wants; he has to vote for the ones the Communist party selects.

Now I do not say that the ones who arranged this White House Conference are Communists. But they must have been enamored of some of the methods by which Communists derail popular will. The usual democratic conference which you and I know, convenes and, after the opening preliminaries, chooses committees with the general consent of the assemblage. These committees then work over the problems and report back to the assembly for approval or rejection. In either case the results of the discussion are in the form of recommenda-

tions or resolutions submitted to the general assembly.

In the White House Conference, however, everything was done just the opposite. The general assembly simply just didn't have a chance at all. It was immediately scattered into 160 "round table" groups. The 160 little groups discussed predetermined subjects and elected one of their group to still another higher echelon and, by the time they reached the top echelon, there were only two members; and those who were in opposition to federal aid, or suspected of opposition, had been eliminated.

In Soviet Russia the workers of a factory, let us say, elect their delegates. These meet and elect delegates to the local Soviet. The local Soviet meets and elects delegates to the All Union Congress of Soviets. The All Union Congress meet and elect a slate chosen for them known as the Presidium. The Presidium receives its instructions from the Politburo of the Communist party. The Politburo is instructed by the current "Stalin" of the party. Long before the Congress meet, everything that they are to decide already has been decided for them.

That is how "Soviet Democracy" works under communism. The purpose of dividing or staggering the will of the electorate is to give the inner clique, which in that case is the Communist party, an extra chance at every level, of putting through their will — also of weeding out those who are in opposition, or are suspect of opposition.

The method used at this White House Conference, while not an exact duplicate, reminds me very much of the type inherent in Soviet method. Certainly it lends itself to extreme manipulation by those who initiated it; and the suspicion is warranted that those who arranged it feared the will of the assembled delegates, and found methods of negating that will by the Soviet type of procedure. In short, the clique that organized and initiated this conference found the "fictitious democracy" method as much to their convenience as do the leaders of Soviet Russia.

Generally, may I say, as a concluding observation, that the Communist pattern of organizing and dominating the masses is a more visible pattern, once understood, than the methods of agitation; because their methods of organizational penetration are definite and concrete, whereas their agitation is very often deceptive and subtle. The pattern of operating the White House Conference on Education in Washington showed the influence of the Communist method of mass domination on those who arranged the conference.

END



# Facts Forum Radio-TV

## ALABAMA

Alexander City	WRFS*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
Andalusia	WCTA*	920	Sat	5:30 p
	WCTA†	920	Mon	8:30 p
Atmore	WATM*	1580	Tues	9:15 a
	WATM**	1580	Tues	9:15 a
Auburn	WAUD*		Sun	6:30 p
Birmingham	WBRC-TV**	6		
Carrollton	WRAG*			
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
	WHOS*	800	Sat	12:15 p
	WMSL†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WMSL-TV**	23	Sat	7:00 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Wed	6:15 p
Enterprise	WIRB*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WIRB*	1230	Sat	6:30 p
Eufaula	WULA*	1240	Mon	8:00 p
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWF*	990	Sun	1:00 p
Florence	WOWL*	1240	Sun	6:05 p
	WJOI*	1340		
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGAD*	1350	Sun	12:45 p
	WGWD*	570		
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Huntsville	WBHP†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Jackson	WPBB*	1290	Mon	5:00 p
Jasper	WWWB*	1360		
	WWWB*	1360		
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Monroeville	WMFC*	1220	Sun	3:45 p
Monroeville	WMFC*	1220	Sat	10:30 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600		
	WJH†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
Oneonta	WCOV-TV**	20	Wed	6:00 p
	WCRL*	1570		
	WCRL*	1570		
Opp	WAMI*	860	Sun	1:30 p
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	Sun	5:00 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
	WELR*	1360	Sun	3:30 p
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*	1230	Sun	9:00 p
Troy	WTBF*	1490		
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WTBC*	1230		

## ALASKA

Anchorage	KFIA-TV**	2	Thurs	6:30 p
Fairbanks	KTVF-TV**	11	Sat	6:00 p

## ARIZONA

Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Flagstaff	KGPH*	690	Sun	3:30 p
Holbrook	KDJI*	1270	Sat	8:15 a
Kingman	KGAM*			
Phoenix	KOOL-TV**	10	Sun	1:00 p
Stafford	KGLU*	1480	Thurs	6:30 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	1:00 p

## ARKANSAS

Arkadelphia	KVRC*			
	KVRC*			
Batesville	KVRC†	1240	Mon	10:30 p
	KBTA*		Sat	9:15 a
Benton	KBBA*	690	Sun	10:00 p
Camden	KAMD*		Sun	12:15 p
	KAMD†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Conway	KCON*			
El Dorado	KRBB-TV**	10	Sat	6:30 p
	KDMS*		Sun	5:45 p
Fayetteville	KGRH*			
	KGRH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Forrest City	KXJK*	950		
	KXJK*			
Fort Smith	KWHN†	1320	Mon	8:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sun	4:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
	KFSA-TV**	22	Sun	1:00 p
Harrison	KHOZ*			
	KHOZ*			
Helena	KFFA*			
	KFFA*			
Hope	KXAR*			
	KXAR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Hot Springs	KWFC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
	KWFC*	1340	Sun	10:30 p
Jonesboro	KBTM*			
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri	10:15 p
	KXLR†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
McGehee	KVSA*			
Magnolia	KSSC*	550	Thurs	7:30 p
Malvern	KBOK*		Sun	10:05 a
	KBOK*		Sun	1:30 p
Mena	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Monticello	KHBM*		Sun	1:45 p
	KHBM*		Sun	5:00 p
Morrilton	KVOM*		Sun	2:00 p
Mountain Home	KTLO*		Sun	9:30 a
	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p

## What they're saying . . .



## about FACTS FORUM

. . . After having read the January and February issues [Facts Forum News], I like it so much, just wish I could afford to send it to every leader in every walk of life in America, who is not already reading it. . .

ANN BULLION  
1009 Moro Street  
Fordyce, Arkansas

FACTS FORUM PANEL has filled a most needed place on my TV [schedule]. To listen to well-informed men discuss world problems, in a relaxed informal manner . . . is not only pleasurable, but most vital to this writer — as an American — [and] as a "citizen of the West."

JAMES LEE MACDONALD  
11807 Randall Road  
Sun Valley, California

I have read raves in *Facts Forum News* about various issues being the best. . . I give up. All I can say is that they're all "best"! I have a file of them that goes back to 1952.

MRS. C. D. McNARY  
2312 Clermont Street  
Denver 7, Colorado

. . . A copy of your publication was recently sent to me by a West German friend and this was passed in turn to Mr. Robert Row (Editor of the weekly newspaper, *Union*). In his acknowledgment, Mr. Row wrote: "I should like to thank you again for the material you are sending in, and particularly for the copy of *Facts Forum News*, which I hope you can let me have as often as possible in the future. . ."

JOHN G. E. BEDFORD  
128 Uxbridge Road  
London W-12, England

. . . May I take this opportunity to say that I regard *Facts Forum [News]* as the outstanding publication on Americanism. I particularly liked your publication of the Constitution of the United States and the article, "Christianity and the Economic Crisis," both of which appeared in your January, 1956, issue.

WILLIAM E. SPICER  
3601 Connecticut Avenue  
Washington 8, D. C.

Your TV program is most enlightening and interesting . . . I shall write the TV station commending them for giving us such a worthwhile half-hour of necessary instruction.

MRS. ROSENA McCABE  
81 N. S. 45th Court  
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

## ARKANSAS — (Continued)

Newport	KNBY*			
Paragould	KNBY**	1490		
	KDRS*			
Pine Bluff	KOTN*			
	KOTN**			
	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 p
	KPOC*			
Rogers	KAMO*		Sun	12:45 p
Russellville	KXRJ*		Thurs	8:30 p
	KXRJ*			
	KXRJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Siloam Springs	KUOA*		Sat	12:45 p
	KUOA*		Mon	7:00 p
Springdale	KBRB*			
Stuttgart	KWAK*			
	KWAK*	1240	Sun	2:30 p
	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KCMC-TV**	6	Sat	8:30 p
Warren	KWRF*			

## CALIFORNIA

Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	12:00 p
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Hollywood	KCOP-TV**	13	Sun	11:00 p
Los Angeles	KHJ†	930	Mon	8:00 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Sun	7:30 p
	KSFE*	1340	Sun	6:15 p
Ontario	KOCB*	1510	Sun	4:45 p
Oroville	KMOR*	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KAPF*	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV**	10	Sun	11:00 p
San Diego	KFMB-TV**	8	Sat	10:30 p
San Francisco	KGO*	810	Sat	10:30 p
	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	10:30 p
San Luis	KVEC-TV**	6	Thurs	8:30 p
Obispo	KSCC*	1080	Thurs	8:30 p
Santa Cruz	KSUE*	1240	Wed	7:00 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	Sat	12:30 p

## COLORADO

Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon	7:30 p
Cortez	KVFC*	740	Sun	12:00 p
Delta	KDTA*	1400	Sun	8:30 p
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	7:30 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	10:30 p
	KFXJ-TV**	5	Sun	7:30 p
La Junta	KBNZ†	1400	Mon	10:00 p
	KBNZ*	1400	Sun	12:45 p
Sterling	KGEK*	1230	Sun	12:45 p

## CONNECTICUT

New Haven	WYBC**	1640		
Putnam	WPCT*	1350	Sun	1:00 p
Waterbury	WATR-TV**	53	Fri	6:30 p

## DELAWARE

Dover	WDOV**	1410	Sun	9:00 p
Wilmington	WPFH-TV**	12	Sun	10:30 p

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WEAM**	1600	Wed	10:00 p
	WINX*	1600		
	WOOK*	1340		

## FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	Sat	12:00 p
	WKKO*	860	Sun	4:30 p
Gainesville	WRUF†	850	Mon	9:30 p
Key West	WKWF†	1600	Mon	12:00 p
Kissimmee	WRWB*	1220	Sun	5:45 p
Live Oak	WNER*	1450	Mon	7:30 p
	WNER*	1450	Fri	9:30 p
Marianna	WTYS†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Miami	WGBS-TV**	23	Wed	9:30 p
	WKAT†	1360	Mon	7:30 p
	WTV-TV**	17	Fri	5:30 p
Naples	WNOG*	1270	Sat	10:00 p
Palm Beach	WJNO-TV**	5	Mon	9:30 p
Panama City	WPCF†	1400	Mon	2:40 p
	WDLF*	590	Sun	11:45 p
St. Augustine	WSTN*	1420	Wed	9:15 p
Sanford	WTRR*	1400	Sat	

## GEORGIA

Columbus	WDAK-TV**	28	Sat	7:30 p
Cordele	WMIM†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	6:45 p
Dalton	WBLJ*	1230	Sat	9:30 p
Dublin	WMLT†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Gainesville	WGGA†	550	Mon	9:30 p
Griffin	WKEU†	1450	Mon	1:45 p
Jesup	WBRG*	1370	Sun	9:30 p
La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon	2:40 p
Macon	WIBB*	1280	Sun	9:30 p
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	8:40 p
Monroe	WMRE*	1490	Sun	9:30 p
Statesboro	WWNS†	1490	Mon	1:45 p
Swainsboro	WJAT*	800	Sun	9:30 p
Toccoa	WLET†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon	9:30 p
Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon	9:30 p

## HAWAII

Hilo	KILA*	850	Sun	8:45 p
Waikuku, Mau	KMVI*	550	Sun	12:45 p

\*Facts Forum;

\*\*Facts Forum Panel;

†Reporters' Roundup



# IDAHO

Boise	KIDO-TV**	7	Sun	11:00 p
Moscow	KRPL**	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Twin Falls	KLIX-TV**	11		
Weiser	KWEI**	1240	Sun	5:30 p

# ILLINOIS

Belleville	WIBV*	1260	Sun	5:00 p
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sat	4:00 p
	WBYS*	1560	Sat	4:00 p
Carbondale	WCIL*			
	WCIL*		Sun	1:00 p
Carmi	WROY*	1460		
Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
	WMAQ*	670		
	WMAQ*	670		
	WMAQ-TV**			
Cicero	WHFC*	1450	Tues	10:30 p
Decatur	WDZ*	1050		
	WDZ*	1050	Sun	12:30 p
	WTVF-TV**	17	Sun	1:00 p
De Kalb	WLKB*			
Dixon	WSDR*	1240		
Du Quoin	WDQN*	1580		
	WDQN*	1580		
East Peoria	WEEK*	1350		
	WEEK*	1350		
East St. Louis	WTMV*			
Elgin	WTMV*			
	WRMN*	1410		
Evanston	WEAW*	1330		
Fairfield	WFTW*	1390	Sun	12:00 n
Freeport	WFRL*	1570		
	WFRL*	1570	Sun	1:00 p
Galesburg	WGIL*	1400	Sun	6:30 p
Harrisburg	WEBQ*	99.9	Mon	8:00 p
	WEBQ*		Sat	9:15 a
	WSIL-TV**		Sun	4:30 p
Herrin	WJPF*			
Jacksonville	WLDS*	1180	Sun	12:45 p
Joliet	WJOL*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Kankakee	WKAN*	1320		
	WKAN*	1320		
Kewanee	WKEI*	1450	Fri	5:45 p
	WKEI*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:30 p
Litchfield	WSMT*	1540	Sun	10:00 a
	WSMT*	1540		
Marion	WGGH*			
	WGGH*	1150	Sun	5:00 p
Mt. Carmel	WVMC*	1360		
	WVMC*			
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Olney	WVLN*	740		
	WVLN*	740		
Ottawa	WCMY*	1430		
	WCMY*	1430	Sun	3:30 p
Pekin	WSIV*	1140	Sun	1:30 p
Pittsfield	WBBA*	1580		
	WBBA*	1580		
Rock Island	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
	WHBF*	1270	Tues	9:30 p
	WHBF-TV**	4	Sun	12:00 n
Rockford	WREX-TV**	13	Fri	10:00 a
Sparta	WHCO*	1230	Fri	2:00 p
	WHCO*	1230	Tues	2:00 p
Sterling	WSDR*	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Streator	WIZZ*	1250		
	WIZZ*	1250		
Waukegan	WKRS*	1220	Sun	1:15 p
	WKRS*	1220		

# INDIANA

Anderson	WCBC*	1470		
	WCBC*	1470		
Bedford	WBIW*	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Bloomington	WTTT*	1370	Sun	3:15 p
	WTTT*	1370		
Connersville	WCNB*	1580	Wed	12:30 p
	WCNB*	1580		
Elkhart	WSJV-TV**	52		
Evansville	WEHT-TV**	50	Sun	10:00 a
	WEOA*	1400		
	WEOA*	1400	Sun	9:30 p
Fl. Wayne	WANE*	1450		
	WKJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Frankfort	WILQ*	1570	Sun	12:30 p
Goshen	WKAM*	1460		
	WKAM*	1460		
Indianapolis	WISH-TV**	8	Sun	12:00 n
	WIBC*	1070	Sun	8:45 p
Jasper	WITZ*	990	Sun	4:45 p
	WITZ*	990	Sun	11:00 a
Kokomo	WIOU*	1350		
Lafayette	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WFAM-TV**	59	Fri	8:00 p
Logansport	WSAL*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WSAL*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
Madison	WORX*	1440		
	WORX*	1440		
Michigan City	WIMS*	1420	Sun	6:00 p
	WIMS*	1420		
Mt. Vernon	WPCO*	1590		
	WPCO*	1590	Sun	3:00 p
Muncie	WMUN*	104.1		
	WMUN*	104.1		
	WLBC-TV**	49		
	WLBC*	1340	Fri	10:15 p
New Castle	WCTW*	102.5	Sun	12:15 p
North Vernon	WOCH*	1460		
	WOCH*	1460		

# What they're saying . . .



# about FACTS FORUM

... Every article in [Facts Forum News] should be followed up with the reader's opinion expressed in a letter to his Congressman, Senator, the President, or Cabinet Member. My own copy of *Facts Forum News* is routed to about twenty young future executives where I work, or passed on to the neighborhood grocer, druggist, cleaner, or gas station attendant. . . .

THOMAS HUGH LATIMER  
5031 So. Dorchester Avenue  
Chicago 15, Illinois

*Facts Forum News* is the very best kind of reading for Americans who wish to know facts and inform themselves on current issues facing the nation. It is second to none. . . .

C. A. NOLAN  
R. R. No. 2  
Seymour, Indiana

I hope that [Facts Forum News] continues, actually redoubles their efforts to awaken the somewhat dormant (at least concerning the danger of losing their individual freedoms) American people . . . I am so interested that the United States survive, because I believe the United States is the only country in the world where there is still a semblance of freedom.

JUAN R. SOCASTEGUA  
Calle Ochoa No. 482, Ote.  
Cd. Juarez, Chi., Mexico

I always look forward to receiving *Facts Forum News* because of the straightforward presentation of facts and issues. . . . You are doing a great service for all . . . who believe in a strict interpretation of the Constitution. Keep up your good work of carrying a patriotic message to the thoughtful readers of your magazine.

KENT H. COURTNEY  
7314 Zimple Street  
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

... Excellent way of presenting both sides of every question of national interest. You do a fair and competent job, in my opinion.

MRS. EDWARD J. DOUGHERTY  
6829 Blenheim Road  
Baltimore 12, Maryland

I cannot too vigorously endorse the fine work being done by your organization as concerns the spreading of real Americanism. . . .

RUSSELL GILMORE RYDER  
25 Avon Street  
Wakefield, Massachusetts

# INDIANA — (Continued)

Peru	WARU*	1600		
Portland	WPGW*	1440		
	WPGW*	1440	Sun	1:15 p
Salem	WSLM*	1220		
	WSLM*	1220	Mon	8:30 a
Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
	WJCD*	1390	Sun	3:00 p
South Bend	WSBT*	960		
	WSBT*	960		
	WSBT-TV**	34		
Terre Haute	WBOW*	1230		
	WTHI-TV**	10	Mon	12:30 p
Vincennes	WAOV*	1450		
Washington	WAMW*	1580	Sun	6:15 p
	WAMW*	1580	Sun	11:30 a

# IOWA

Cedar Rapids	KCRG†	1600	Mon	8:30 p
Clinton	KROS†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Decorah	KDEC*	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KDEC*	1240	Sat	5:30 p
Des Moines	WHO*	1040	Mon	9:30 p
Fort Dodge	KQTV-TV**	21	Sun	5:00 p
	KVFD*	1400	Thurs	8:15 p
Marshalltown	KFJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Muscatine	KWPC*	860		
Newton	KCOB*	1280	Sun	3:30 p
Oelwein	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
Ottumwa	KBIZ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Spencer	KICD†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Waterloo	KWWL†	1330	Mon	8:30 p
	KWWL-TV**	7	Sat	6:30 p

# KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced	
	KCRB*	1460	Sat	5:15 p
Dodge City	KGNO†	1370	Mon	8:30 p
Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
McPherson	KNEK*	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sun	5:30 p
	KSEK*	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Pratt	KWSK*	1570		
Salina	KSAL†	1150	Mon	8:30 p

# KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL*	1290	Sun	6:00 p
	WCBL*	1290	Sun	9:30 p
Campbellsville	WTCO*	1150	Tues	11:00 p
Cumberland	WCMP†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL*	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Henderson	WSON†	860	Mon	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX*	1300	Sun	5:30 p
Louisville	WGRG†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW*	730	Sun	5:30 p
	WFMW*	730	Sun	5:30 p
Mayfield	WKTM*			
	WKTM*			
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Tues	8:30 a
	WFLW*		Thurs	10:00 a
Murray	WNBS*	1340		
	WNBS*	1340		
Owensboro	WVJ*	1420		
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	To be announced	
Vancleave	WMTC*	730		

# LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge	WJBO**			
Lafayette	KLFY-TV**	10	Fri	2:30 p
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV**	25	Thurs	7:30 p
Mansfield	KDBC*	1360	Sun	4:30 p
Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun	12:00 p
Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat	6:05 p
	KNOE-TV**	8	Sat	4:30 p
Natchitoches	KWCJ*	1450	Sun	6:45 p
New Orleans	WJMR-TV**	20	Sun	4:00 p
	Retelecast		Tues	7:00 p
	WJMR*		Sun	12:15 p
	WJMR*			
Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	8:15 p
	KSLO*	1230	Sun	7:00 p
Ruston	KRUS*	1490	Sun	6:15 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KTBS-TV**	3		
Tallulah	KTLD*	1360	Sun	9:30 a

# MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV**	2		
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# MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p

# MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
	WTAO-TV**	56	Thurs	9:30 p
New Bedford	WBMS*	1230		
Pittsfield	WMGT-TV**	74	Fri	7:30 p
West Yarmouth	WOCB*	1240	Wed	9:30 p
Worcester	WWOR-TV**	14	Wed	8:00 p

# MICHIGAN

Alpena	WATZ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV**	20	Mon	8:00 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon	9:30 p

\*Facts Forum

\*\*Facts Forum Panel

†Reporters' Roundup



# MICHIGAN — (Continued)

Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WTVW-TV**	13	Thurs	7:30 p
Cheboygan	WCBY*	1240	Fri	12:45 p
Coldwater	WTVB*	1590		
Detroit	WJBK*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Escanaba	WDBC†	680	Mon	8:30 p
Flint	WBBCT	1330	Mon	9:30 p
Grand Rapids	WFUR*	1570	Sat	12:30 p
	WFUR*	1570	Mon	5:30 p
Hillsdale	WBSE*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Iron River	WKBT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon	8:30 p
Lansing	WTOM-TV**	54	Thurs	8:00 p
Midland	WMDN*	1490	Sun	3:45 p
Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150	Sun	11:00 a
Petoskey	WMBN RR	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Saginaw	WKNX-TV**	57	Wed	10:30 a
	Retelecast		Sun	5:00 p
Saginaw-Bay City	WSGW†	790	Mon	9:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR**	1230	Sun	
	WSTR*	1230		

# MINNESOTA

Austin	KAUS†	1480	Mon	8:30 p
	KMMT-TV**	6	Sun	9:30 p
Bemidji	KBUN†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KBMW*	1450	Sun	10:15 a
Grand Rapids	KBZY†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	9:45 p
Red Wing	KAAA*	1250		

# MISSISSIPPI

Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMI**	570	To be announced	
Biloxi-Gulfport	WLOX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Brookhaven	WJMB†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Canton	WDOB*	1370	Sat	11:30 a
	WDOB**	1370	Sun	3:00 p
Cleveland	WCLD*			
Columbus	WCBI*	1050		
	WCBI**	1050		
Corinth	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
Greenwood	WCMA*	1230	Sun	8:30 p
Gulfport	WGCM*	1240		
Indianola	WMLA*	1400	Sun	10:15 a
	WMLA**	1400	Tues	10:30 a
Jackson	WJBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
	WJBC-TV**	3		
McComb	WAFB*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAFB**	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	6:30 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO**	1230	Tues	6:15 p
Tupelo	WELO*	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
	WELO**	1490		
West Point	WROB*	1450	Tues	7:15 p
	WROB**	1450	Tues	7:15 p
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

# MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
	KFVS-TV**	12	Mon	2:30 p
	KGMO*			
	KGMO**			
Caruthersville	KCRV*	1370	Sun	4:15 p
Charleston	KCHR*	1350	To be announced	
	KCHR**	1350		
Clinton	KDKD*	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Dexter	KDEX*		Tues	10:15 p
			re-broadcast	12:15 p
			Sun	1:00 p
Festus	KDEX**			
Flat River	KJCF*			
	KJCF**			
Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
Jefferson City	KLK†	950	Sun	1:45 p
	KWOS†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Joplin	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WMBH**		Sat	8:30 p
	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues	
Kirkville	KTVO-TV**			
Lebanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Malden	KTCB*			
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
	KNIM**	1580	Fri	3:45 p
Moberly	KNIM**	1230	Sun	2:30 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Wed	5:45 p
	KWOC**		Wed	5:45 p
Rolla	KTTR*	1490	Mon	6:30 p
	KTTR**	1490	Sun	1:30 p
St. Joseph	KFEO-TV**	2	Sat	1:30 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
	KFUO*	850	Thurs	3:45 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSCM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
	KSCM**	980	Sun	4:00 p
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
Sikeston	KSIM*		Mon	6:45 p
	KSIM**			
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KICK**		Sat	6:30 p
	KTTS-TV**		Tues	10:30 p
Thayer	KALM*			
	KALM**			
Trenton	KTTN**	1600	Sun	4:30 p

# MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	Wed	8:15 p
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p

# MONTANA — (Continued)

Bozeman	KXLO*	1230	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLO**	1230	Sat	
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat	9:15 p
	KXLF**	1370	To be announced	
	KXLF-TV**	6	Sun	7:30 p
Glasgow	KLTV*	1240	Wed	7:15 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLB*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLB**	1400	To be announced	
Havre	KOJM†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Helena	KXLJ*	1340	Sat	9:15 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KXLJ**	1240	To be announced	
Lewistown	KXLO**	1230		
Livingston	KPRK†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
Miles City	KATL†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KATL*	1340	Sun	8:00 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLL**	1450	To be announced	
	KGVO-TV**	13	Fri	9:30 p
Shelby	KIYH†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Sidney	KGCX†	1480	Mon	7:30 p

# NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR*	1450	Wed	7:45 p
	KCSR**	1450	Sun	4:00 p
Columbus	KJSK*	900	Tues	1:45 p
Hastings	KHBS†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
McCook	KBRLL†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG**	780	Sat	10:15 a
Scottsbluff	KNEB†	960	Mon	7:30 p

# NEVADA

Ely	KELY*	1230		
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# NEW HAMPSHIRE

Manchester	WMUR-TV**	9	To be announced	
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# NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB**	1490	Sun	4:30 p
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	8:30 p
Pleasantville	WOND**	1400	Sun	
East Orange	WVIK*		Mon	2:15 p
South Orange	WSOU*		Sat	5:00 p
	WSOU**			

# NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque	KHFM*		Tues	7:15 p
Carlsbad	KAVE*	1240	Sun	10:35 a
	KAVE**	1240	Sat	7:30 p
Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
	KLMX**	1450	Mon	
Clovis	KCLV**			
Hobbs	KWEW†	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN*	1230	Fri	9:15 p
Portales	KENM*	1450	Wed	7:15 p
	KENM**	1450	Fri	2:30 p
Roswell	KSWN-TV**	8	Sun	
Truth or Consequences	KCHS**		Sun	5:30 p
Tucumanari	KTNM*	1400	Sun	7:30 p

# NEW YORK

Albany	WPTT†	1540	Sun	9:30 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490	Sun	10:30 p
Auburn	WMBO†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Fri	7:45 p
Dunkirk	WFCB*	1410	Mon	6:30 p
Elmira	WTVE-TV**	24	Sun	1:00 p
Hornell	WWHG*	1320	Wed	7:15 p
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Sun	9:30 p
Little Falls	WLFH*	1230	Sun	9:30 p
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
New York	WOR†	710	Mon	1:00 p
	WPIX-TV**		Fri	9:00 p
N'th Albany	WRW-TV**	41	Fri	9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLG**	1490	Wed	7:00 p
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p

# NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville	WWNC*	570	Sat	6:30 p
Brevard	WPNE*	1240	Mon	6:15 p
	WPNE**	1240	Mon	7:15 p
Concord	WECO*	1410	Thurs	9:30 p
	WECO**	1410	Sun	9:30 p
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Forsyth City	WBBO*	780	Mon	5:30 p
	WBBO**	780	Sun	12:30 p
Greensboro	WBIC*	1470	Sun	9:30 p
Henderson	WHNC†	890	Mon	10:00 p
Hickory	WIRC*	630	Sun	9:30 p
Jacksonville	WJNC*	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Leaksville	WLOE†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Lenoir	WJRI†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
Lexington	WBUY*	1450	Sun	1:15 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	9:30 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV**	28	Fri	1:15 p
	WPTF*	680	Sun	9:30 p
	WRAL†	1240	Mon	
Roxboro	WRXO*	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Salisbury	WSTP†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Statesville	WSIC†	1400	Mon	
Tyron	WTYN*	1580		
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon	8:00 p
Washington	WHED*	1340	Sun	
	WHED**	1340		

# What they're saying . . .



# about FACTS FORUM

... The January issue of *Facts Forum [News]* featuring an article of mine as well as a cover picture has received lots of attention from colleagues here. I appreciate their commendation since a "freshman's" views, blunt and outspoken, could have displeased some older members.

CONGRESSMAN BRUCE ALGER  
House Office Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

I've just read Admiral Ben Moreell's article, "Of Bread and Circuses," in the [January, 1956] issue *Facts Forum [News]* and I think it a masterful, dynamic and appalling exposé of the situation we face in the U. S. today. . . .

MRS. FRED HARRIS  
5602 Jones Street  
Omaha 6, Nebraska

... It is gratifying to know that a panel, such as FACTS FORUM, exists to voice the opinions of America and its people, even those of a housewife like myself. It is the kind of thing which restores weakened faith, or strengthens that which we already have in this country. . . . The program is a wonderful example of democracy at work — providing that our United States and its government is its people — a whole nation working together, with equal rights for all.

MRS. W. V. LEINO  
1520 Mill Street  
Reno, Nevada

I have long followed the FACTS FORUM programs on radio and television and regard them both as the best media for enlightening the people as to what is going on in this country.

LEO R. O'BRIEN  
Scudders Lane  
Glenwood Landing, N. Y.

... I know of no finer manner to enlighten the people than is contained in every article of your magazine, facts and thoughts most vital in their political lives and general well-being. . . .

LAWRENCE WALLACE LATSHAW  
Kansas City, Missouri

We need someone like you to present the facts to the . . . unthinking Americans. The time is late.

HARRY LONG  
Box 202  
Horse Cave, Kentucky

... I think the participants on your show [FACTS FORUM PANEL] do an excellent job in research work on the various subjects discussed and I do so much appreciate the wonderful way in which the thoughts are brought out.

JOHNNY CHAMBERS  
2210 Klein Road  
Wilmington, North Carolina

\*Facts Forum

\*\*Facts Forum Panel

†Reporters' Roundup



# **NORTH CAROLINA — (Continued)**

Wilmington	WGNH	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Winston-Salem	WMFD-TV**	6	Tues	10:30 p
	WTOB-TV**	26	Sun	5:30 p

# **NORTH DAKOTA**

Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX**	1230	Sun	1:30 p
	KDIX**	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Fargo	WDAY-TV**	6	Sun	4:00 p
			alternating Sun	4:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Valley City	KOVCT†	1490	Mon	8:30 p

# **OHIO**

Ashtabula	WICA**	970	Sat	8:00 p
	WICA-TV**	15	Fri	7:30 p
Canton	WCMW*	1060	Sun	5:30 p
Cleveland	WHK†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
	WDOK*	1260	Sun	4:00 p
Coshocton	WTNS*	1560	Sun	12:15 p
Dayton	WHIO*			
Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	11:45 a
	WEOL*	930	Sun	7:30 p
Gallipolis	WJRH**	990	Sun	10:00 a
Lima	WIMA-TV**	35	Sun	6:30 p
Hamilton	WMOH**	1450	Sun	12:30 p
Marietta	WMOA†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Middletown	WPEB*	910	Mon	7:45 p
Newark	WCLT**	1430	Sun	6:30 p
Portsmouth	WNXT*	1260	Sat	7:45 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
Warren				
Youngstown	WHHH†	1440	Mon	9:30 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV**	18	Sun	3:30 p

# **OKLAHOMA**

Altus	KWHW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL†	1580	Thurs	10:15 a
Cushing	KWHP*	1600	Sun	12:45 p
Duncan	KRHD†	1350	Mon	8:30 p
Elk City	KASA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Enid	KCRC*	1390	Sun	8:00 p
Miami	KGLC*	910	Sun	5:00 p
Oklahoma City	KOMA*	1520	Sat	5:45 p
Okmulgee	KHBC†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Ponca City	WBBZ†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Poteau	KLCO*	1280		
	KLCO*	1280		
Shawnee	KGFF†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Tulsa	KVOO*	1170	Thurs	9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIW*	1450		

# **OREGON**

Hillsboro	KRTV**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
McMinnville	KMCM*	1260	Sun	7:45 p
	KMCM*	1260	Wed	8:45 p
Portland	KXL			

# **PENNSYLVANIA**

Earneshboro	WNCC*	950	Fri	9:15 p
Bradford	WESB†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	1050	Sun	4:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960	Sat	8:15 p
Coudersport	WFRM*	600	Sat	4:30 p
Easton	WGLV-TV**	57	Sun	9:00 p
	WEST*	1400	Mon	10:45 p
Gettysburg	WGCT**	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV**	56	Fri	10:00 p
Lock Haven	WBPF†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
Nanticoke	WHWL*	730		
New Castle	WKST†	1280	Mon	9:30 p
	WKST-TV**	45	Wed	8:30 p
Oil City	WKRZ†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
St. Marys	WKBI**	1400	Sun	9:00 p
Sheraton	WARM-TV**	16	Thurs	10:00 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Tyone	WTRN*	1290	Sun	1:00 p
	WTRN*	1290	Sun	12:30 p
Wellsville	WNB†	1490	Sat	9:00 p
	WNB†	1490	Sun	9:00 p
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	7:00 p
	WLYC*	1050	Tues	7:15 p
York	WNOW*	1250	Sun	3:30 p
	WNOW*	1250	Sun	3:30 p
	WNOW-TV**	49	Sun	8:00 p
	WSBA*	910		

# **PHILIPPINES**

Manila	DZAQ-TV**	3	Mon	9:00 p
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# **PUERTO RICO**

Mayaguez	WTLT**	1300		
San Juan	WHOA**	1400	Tues	7:00 p

# **SOUTH CAROLINA**

Beaufort	WBEU*	960	Sun	2:00 p
Charleston	WAGS*	1380	Sat	4:15 p
Charleston	WHAN*	1340		
Charleston	WCRE*	1420	Sat	2:30 p
Charleston	WCRE*	1420	Tues	10:45 a
Charleston	WGCD*	1490	Sat	7:15 p
Charleston	WGCD*	1490	Sun	6:30 p
Charleston	WLAT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Charleston	WJMX*	970	Thurs	10:30 p
Charleston	WOLS*	1230	Mon	9:15 p

# **SOUTH CAROLINA — (Continued)**

Georgetown	WGTN†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280	Sun	5:15 p
	WJAY**	1280	Fri	4:00 p
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Mon	5:15 p
Seneca	WSNW*	1150	Sun	5:15 p
Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	9:30 p

# **SOUTH DAKOTA**

Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Sun	8:30 p
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	5:45 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

# **TENNESSEE**

Athens	WLAR**	1450		
Chattanooga	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	WDXN*	540	Sun	2:15 p
Cleveland	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Cookeville	WHUB*	1400	Thurs	9:00 p
Dyersburg	WDSC*	1450	Thurs	5:30 p
	WDSC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Etowah	WCPH*	1220	Sun	2:15 p
Harriman	WDEH*	800		
	WDEH*	800		
	WHBT**	1230		
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	9:15 p
	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	
	WDXI†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL-TV**	11	Wed	10:30 a
Knoxville	WKXV*	900		
	WTSS-TV**	26	Thurs	8:00 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*	900		
	WCOR*	900	Sun	2:00 p
Lexington	WDXL*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
Maryville	WGAP*	1400	Sun	9:00 p
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGNS*	1450	Sun	2:30 p
Newport	WLK**	1270		
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	2:30 p
	WTPR†	710	Mon	8:30 p
Sevierville	WSEV*	930	Sun	4:15 p
South Pittsburgh	WEPG*	910	To be announced	
	WEPG*	910	To be announced	
Springfield	WDBL*	1430	Sun	2:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDT†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

# **TEXAS**

Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
Beaumont	KBMT-TV**	31	Mon	7:00 p
Beville	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL*	1490	Mon	7:00 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Big Spring	KBST-TV**		Wed	6:30 p
Bonham	KFYN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFYN*	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KSTB*	1430	Sun	12:45 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	6:15 p
Brownwood	KBWD†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Bryan	KORA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	KCAR*	1350	Sun	1:45 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
Colorado City	KVMC*	1320	Sun	12:30 p
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Wed	9:45 p
	KVDO-TV**	22	Sat	1:30 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY*	1290	Sun	3:30 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV**	4	Sat	3:45 p
	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA*	570	Mon	10:30 p
	WRR†		Mon	8:30 p
Eastland	KERC*	1590	Sun	4:00 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690		
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Galveston	KLUF*	1400	Sat	6:15 p
	KLUF*	1400	Sun	7:00 p
	KLUF*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Greenville	KHBR*			
Hillsboro	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Houston	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Huntsville	KEBE*	1400	Sun	7:00 p
Jacksonville	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kermit	KINE*	1330	Sun	6:00 p
Kingsville	KINE*	1330		
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:15 p
Laredo	KHAD-TV**	8		
Levelland	KLVT*	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Longview	KLTI*	1280	Sun	3:30 p
Longview	KFRO*	1370	Sun	12:15 p
Lubbock	KDUB-TV**			
Lufkin	KTRE†	1420	Mon	8:30 p
	KTRE*	1420	Sun	6:00 p
	KTRE-TV**	9	Tues	10:30 p
Marlin	KMLW*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
Midland	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:15 p
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960	Sun	12:30 p
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
Odessa	KOSA*			
Pampa	KPAT*	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Sat	8:00 p

(Continued on Page 63)

# **What they're saying . . .**



# **about FACTS FORUM**

I want to commend you highly on the article, "Of Bread and Circuses," by Admiral Ben Moreell, February, 1956, issue. I would suggest that you have more along the same line. . . .

GEORGE ALT  
Faith, South Dakota

I want you to know how much I enjoyed the January issue of *Facts Forum News*. The article, "Mr. Average American Goes to Washington," was outstanding and very timely since this is the year of major elections. . . . We need rugged individuals to guide our great country toward a wiser tomorrow. We should encourage people from all walks of life. Thanks a million for printing the Constitution.\* I have long awaited such a printing. . . .

KAREN FADELEY  
196 Omar Avenue  
Struthers, Ohio

\*Appeared in the January, 1956, issue.

. . . I hope that enough people can be brought to listen to your programs to eventually bring our people to the common sense reasoning from which our politicians have so effectively diverted them over a period of years. . . .

H. LAWRENCE REHMEYER  
Route 1  
New Freedom, Pennsylvania

You deserve to be highly commended for publishing, and the author for writing the article entitled, "The Trend in Teacher Training," by Jean H. Henry, in the February [1956] number. During my twenty-eight years as a professor in three colleges, I have been confronted with the problems so well discussed by the author. Though many of my colleagues were aware of the situation, the public has remained apathetic. . . . This question of our national education policy is one of vital importance to our entire citizenry.

CARROLL D. BILLMYER  
Kingston, Rhode Island

. . . I do admire that wholehearted effort you put in your attempts to get the facts to the public in the clearest, most concise manner possible. Although I am only 17 and a senior in Lubbock High, I believe that I can appreciate the many major problems facing the free world today. . . .

WARREN DUNN  
3616 30th Street  
Lubbock, Texas

. . . I think you are doing a wonderful work in educating the public, regarding religious, as well as political affairs. Since my name appeared in your *Facts Forum News*, I have had letters, pamphlets, etc., from all over everywhere — the U. S., Stockholm, Sweden, and London, England. . . .

MRS. A. G. VAUGHAN  
Drawer 1080  
Staunton, Virginia

\*Facts Forum

\*\*Facts Forum Panel

†Reporters' Roundup



## LETTERS to the EDITORS

★ ★

**First Award**  
**OVERDOING FOREIGN AID**

To the *Indianapolis Star*:

Doctors are worried about the "stooped" posture of Americans. A few more years carrying foreigners on their aching backs and Americans will be walking on all fours!

The federal debt is nearly \$300,000,000,000, so this year's foreign aid of \$4,500,000,000 means they're picking the pockets of generations yet unborn.

Out of 165,000,000 "stoops," only one man, J. Bracken Lee, courageously announced he won't pay another tax to support foreigners. Governor Lee should receive the Congressional Medal of Honor, but when the "great Humanitarians" finish with him, he'll only be eligible for the "Purple Heart"!

ELIZABETH LIPPITT  
2414 Pacific Ave.  
San Francisco, Calif.

**Second Award**  
**MORE TURNCOATS**

To the *Chicago American*:

We are hearing a lot, and will hear more, about "turncoat Americans."

But why stop with the GIs? Why not include all Fifth Amendment pleaders?

Why not include the men who sent American boys into a UN war in which they were denied the right to win?

Why not include those who accepted the Status of Forces Treaty, by which our draftees in foreign countries are deprived of their rights as American citizens, though State Department employees who go voluntarily, and receive greater wages, are cloaked in American protection?

Isn't it time Americans put their ethical and moral codes back into working order?

LESLIE A. SHAW  
122 East Avenue 45  
Los Angeles 31, California

Thus, it is now UN law that the U. S. has lost all jurisdiction over its citizens in UN employ.

## GRANDMA'S POINTED EARS

I agree with Mr. Batzner that it is not enough for the American Legion to urge Congress to quit UNESCO. Our slogan should be to get America out of the UN and get the UN out of America.

We cannot afford to argue ourselves into the belief that it is better to be a living slave than be a dead free man. If we can only have peace at the price of surrender to forces that take from us every precious thing we have known, then it comes too high.

Thanks to some sound-thinking Americans, the wolf between the sheets does not look like grandma yet. When aroused these citizens can make themselves heard.

MRS. MAY BEST  
Lanagan, Missouri

To the *Houston Chronicle*:

An editorial in the *Houston Chronicle* states that \$140,000,000 American money was paid to British plane manufacturers for British-made jet fighter planes to be given to Britain's Royal Air Force.

British labor gets the jobs; American labor is taxed to pay British labor for goods to be delivered to Britain.

Britain boasts of a balanced budget and lower taxes.

For years the Communist leaders have told us in detail just how they intend to take us over, they keep repeating it, and what's more, they go right ahead and keep their word. We smile at them and shake hands with them, wine and dine with them — could it just be that we are trying to help them achieve their goal — our destruction?

LOUISE GARDNER  
3401 Sunset  
Houston, Texas

To the *Wall Street Journal*:

It is heartening to note that the dealers are joining the ever-growing parade to Washington, D. C.

Some economic illiterates might have



assumed that an industry as virile as the automotive might consist of throwbacks to the discredited era of free enterprise. A businessman in those days when confronted with such problems as increasing competition, declining sales and profits, did not prostrate himself before the great gods in Washington. Instead by hard work and thought he met those problems by himself.

Happily no such old-fashioned concepts confuse the minds of the auto dealers, for in keeping with the sophisticated trend today, they look to the State for the solution of their problems.

And, of course, no progressive-minded American worth his salt pays any attention to the fast-disappearing handful of crackpots who believe that the essence of socialism is to look to the State for the solution of the individual's problems.

O. B. JOHANNSEN  
825 Walnut Street  
Roselle Park, New Jersey

### NOT KNOWLEDGE ALONE

To the *Louisville Courier Journal*:

Years ago, the president of one of our oldest colleges seemed to have had a premonition of the times ahead, long before the infiltration of communism and infidelity, when he said, "the influence of our educated men will gradually undermine the fair fabric of our freedom when the spirit of Christianity has no permanent abode. Neither liberty nor learning, nor arts, nor arms, nor wealth, can stay the decline of the people."

A situation of this kind will come to a head in the life of any nation that leaves God out of the affairs of men; for the way of the world is heedless, rugged and wild with little regard for the morrow or humanity. But Lincoln's immortal words are still with us: "Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

THOMAS L. BRITTON  
Oneida, Kentucky

### AMNESTY FOR REDS

To *The Statesman*:

The pre-Christmas petition to the President for amnesty for imprisoned Communists that Eleanor Roosevelt and other like-minded notables signed, was, on its face, seemingly timely. Maybe it was not so expressed in words, but it probably was meant to be implied that amnesty was due as an act of pacific reciprocity harmonizing with the recent release of Red-held American prisoners. America's notables who signed this petition conveniently forgot that American citizens are not imprisoned, are not being exiled or executed for non-conformity as in police state countries, for being "avowed" party members.

Could it be that these petitioning notables fancied that informed citizens generally would forget that it is one of the cardinal Red tactics to summarily imprison free nations' citizens for just such "good-will" gesture reciprocal bargaining strategy?

ADELBERT CORNELL  
Middleton, Idaho

## CONSERVATIVES ASKED TO JOIN NEW NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY

To the *New Bedford Standard Times*:

How many stay-at-home voters will there be in the 1956 presidential election? Probably millions, who cannot in good conscience vote for either a New Deal Democrat or a New Deal Republican.

We believe the American people have a right to a choice. Americans should have the opportunity to vote for a man who stands for the political principles expressed in our Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Because the nominating machinery of both major parties is in the hands of the Socialist-Internationalists, we believe that the only way for the American people to have a *real choice* in 1956, is for a NEW PARTY TO BE FORMED which will nominate Constitutionalist, States Rights candidates.

KENT COURTNEY  
7314 Zimpel St.  
New Orleans 18, La.

### THINKS MORE ADOPTIONS SHOULD BE ALLOWED

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

Why must we continue to have orphanages in this country when the desire for children for adoption far exceeds the number of children available? These institutions remain crowded with children when there is absolutely no need at all for them to have to remain there. These children need a home and the love of a mother and father, and certainly no institution can offer even a reasonable substitute for these.

I can easily understand the need for orphanages in war-torn countries, but in this country of ours, no. There would be a lot of Christmas trees that would glow just a little brighter this year if these children were placed in homes where they could live a normal, happy life. They belong in our society. Let's put them where they belong.

H. S. MARTIN  
5110 Reiger  
Dallas 14, Texas

### STRANGE DOCTRINE

To the *Los Angeles Times*:

How much so-called "inherent power" has our federal government and its agencies?

On Nov. 8 the U. S. Civil Service Commission claimed "inherent power" to withhold information from the Congress, the press and the public.

It also appears that "inherent" treaty power for the executive department was upheld by the Supreme Court in the Curtis-Wright case.

Is there no limit to how far the federal government can go under the claim of "inherent power"?

The Constitution provides for a government of limited and delegated powers. But if Americans are willing to accept this strange new doctrine of unlimited inherent power for the government, of what use is the Constitution?

FRANCES BECK  
516 East Mayberry Ave.  
Hemet, California

## RADIO and TV SCHEDULES

### TEXAS — (Continued from Page 61)

Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:15 p
Post	KRWS*	1370	Sun	3:30 p
San Angelo	KTXL-TV**	8	Sun	4:30 p
San Angelo	KTXL*		Sun	1:00 p
San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
	WOAI-TV**	4	Sun	1:00 p
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
	KRRV**	910	Sun	7:30 p
Snyder	KSNY†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	1:45 p
Sulphur Springs	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Temple	KTEM**		Wed	7:00 p
Texarkana	KTFB*	1400	Sun	4:45 p
Texarkana	KCMC*	1230	Sun	4:00 p
Texas City	KTLC**		Sun	3:15 p
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Waco	KANG-TV**	34	Sat	3:30 p
	KYBS*	630	Thurs	8:30 p
	KYBS**	630	Fri	9:30 p
Waxahachie	KBEC*	1290		
Weslaco	KRCV*	5	Wed	9:45 p
	KRCV-TV**	5	Fri	8:30 p
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV**		Sat	12:00 n

### UTAH

Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Salt Lake City	KSL*	1160	Sun	2:15 p
	KWHO*			
Vernal	KJAM*	1340	Mon	6:00 p
	KJAM**	1340	Sun	3:00 p

### VERMONT

Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN**	1340	Sun	8:30 p

### VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christiansted,	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Croix				
St. Thomas	WSTA**	1340	To be announced	

### VIRGINIA

Arlington	WEAM**	1390	Tues	10:00 p
Bedford	WBLT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Clifton Forge	WCFV*		Sun	12:45 p
Crewe	WSVS*	800	Sun	4:30 p
Galax	WBOB†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Hopewell	WHAP*	1340	Tues	7:00 p
	WHAP**	1340		
Newport News	WACH**	1270	To be announced	
Newport News	WACH*	1270		
Norfolk-				
Hampton	WVEC-TV**	15	Sat	5:30 p
Richmond	WMBC*	1380	Fri	7:30 p
Roanoke	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun	3:00 p
Staunton	WAFC*	900	Sun	5:30 p
Suffolk	WLPM*	1450	Sun	7:45 p
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	To be announced	
Win-				
chester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p

### WASHINGTON

Colfax	KCLX*	1450		
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
	KSEM**	1450	Sat	8:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE**	1150	Sun	2:00 p
Spokane	KHQ-TV**	6	Sun	2:30 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p

### WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield	WKOY†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
New Martinsville	WETZ*	1330	Fri	10:00 a
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV**	4	Tues	10:00 p
Ronceverte	WRON*	1400		
	WRON**	1400		
Wheeling	WKWK*	1400	Sun	10:15 p
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	9:30 p

### WISCONSIN

Appleton	WBHY†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon	8:30 p
Janesville	WCLH†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
La Crosse	WLCK†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	8:00 p
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Reedsburg	WRDB*	1400	Sun	6:00 p
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	Sat	7:30 p
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced	

### WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Sun	7:15 p
Lander	KOVE†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	7:30 p
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	7:30 p
Torrington	KGOS**	1490	Tues	7:30 p



# HELP THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM

- Call or write friends to listen in on Facts Forum air shows. Type or write a list of stations on which they can hear and see FF programs and mail the list to them.
- If you cannot hear or see FF Radio and TV programs in your area, ask your station to carry them.
- Commend TV and radio stations for presenting FF. Your letters will help offset the ones they receive from critics of the FF idea of giving both sides.
- Ask newsstands for the *Facts Forum News* and if they do not carry it, ask them to do so.
- Get your club or discussion group to raise FF poll questions in their meetings.
- Write editors, columnists and commentators your informed opinions on problems facing the American people. Enter the published clippings of letters containing 150 or less words in the FF letter contest. Read rules of the FF contest on page 62 of this issue.
- Write Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas, for material which will assist you in getting business friends interested in **ADDING PATRIOTISM TO THEIR ADS.**
- Pass your copy of *Facts Forum News* around to friends so they may judge if they wish to subscribe.
- Submit three questions to enter in the May Poll Question Contest (72 spaces or less). Vote the April poll on page 65 of this issue.
- Send your friends a subscription to *Facts Forum News*. Where else could you find so much of value for so little cost? 1-year subscription, \$2, 3 years for \$5.

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*America's Most Thought-Provoking Magazine*

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## SWEDEN MADE IT STICK

To the *Chicago Tribune*:

The smiling Russian farmers, visiting here, should fool no one in his right mind. The Russian tyrant has not changed. "By their works ye shall know them."

There is, however, one country Russia has not fooled. That country is little Sweden. Russia is Sweden's traditional enemy. The Swedes have not been taken in by Russian sweet talk and smiles; they just keep on building up their defenses on land, sea and air. Not so long ago, the Russians shot down a Swedish plane over the Baltic Sea, whereupon the Swedish government issued strict orders to "shoot to kill" any Russian plane attacking a Swedish plane. The result — no more Swedish planes shot down. If little Sweden can talk this way to Russia, and make it stick, so can we, the strongest nation on earth.

We have had ample proof that Russian tyrants cannot be trusted. America, keep your guard up.

OTTO H. OLSON  
804 East C Street  
Iron Mountain, Michigan

## UNESCO

(Continued from Page 27)

As I understand what Mr. Combs is saying, there is no inherent conflict between UNESCO and a belief in God. I quite agree with him. And I think arguments against UNESCO based on the ground that one cannot support UNESCO and be a practicing Christian are, of course, sheer nonsense. I do understand people urging good Christians to join UNESCO precisely because it would be rather good to infiltrate such organizations, for example, that nominate a man like Ralph Turner to head so important a project as a history of the world. Mr. Ralph Turner happens to be a very aggressive atheist. Although it is true there is nothing inherently atheistic in UNESCO, it is certainly an organization whose tendencies in certain very critical respects have been to put in strategic positions people who are aggressively atheist.

Let's look at who heads this organization. It's had three heads. The first was Julian Huxley, a noted atheist Socialist. The second was Mr. Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico, a Minister of Education in Mexico, also a noted Socialist and centralist, and also an atheist. And most recently, Mr. Luther Evans, who came from the Library of Congress, where he rushed to hire security risks the moment they were fired from the State Department; for example, Mrs. Esther Brunbauer.

**QUESTION:** Recently, a United Nations tribunal in Geneva decided it was not necessary at all for a United States citizen working for UNESCO, or any other United Nations organization, to have allegiance or loyalty to the United States. What is your opinion?

**KENDALL:** Enthusiasts for UNESCO get to assuming that the new world order, to be governed by the new world bureaucracy, has already been created, that we're really living in that kind of world. Therefore they sort of repeal the obligation to be patriotic to one's own country. Let's all agree that conceivably it might be desirable that a millennium should be ushered in, when patriotism to one's own country will no longer be necessary. I don't particularly look forward to it.

**COMBS:** I thoroughly agree that it is wrong that the UN appellate tribunal should have ordered either the reinstatement or the payment of these men because the UNESCO Director-General had fired them, since UNESCO provides that loyalty to one's own country must be a touchstone of his availability as an employee of UNESCO. That is still true, except that the UN tribunal, since this is a part of it, has ordered the payment of these salaries as an alternative to their being rehired. I think it's wrong; I don't agree with it.

## WHAT ARE MAGAZINES MADE OF?

WE COMMONLY think of magazines in terms of art work, photographs and subject matter or copy. These are the ingredients which largely determine our interest in any periodical. The manner in which these elements are presented (layout and type faces) governs a magazine's readability and pleasing appearance.

Likely you have had the feeling that *Facts Forum News* is easier to read than it used to be, perhaps without realizing why. There is a reason. We are now using a new and more legible type face to set the body matter. It is slightly larger, more rounded, and fuller in its design than the type face that we previously used. The words stand out clearly and legibly, thus making it more readable. This improvement will be easily apparent if a copy of any issue before February is compared with this one.

Better typography is only one of the many improvements that are constantly being made to give our readers a better magazine.



## FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes April 1

- | Yes                      | No                       |  |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should government spending be reduced until we pay our national debt?  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should federal government enter the flood and storm insurance field?   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should our youth be taught the evils of communism in the schools?      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should parents have to answer for juvenile offenses of their children? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Are government controls weakening American system of production?       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Has doing away with segregation been thrust on the people prematurely? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Is peace at any price a good thing?                                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should labor be penalized for violence during strikes?                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should every American boy have one year training in our armed forces?  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Are racial prejudices in the South a threat to democracy?              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should we refuse foreign aid to countries that lean toward communism?  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should we have more than one vice-president in the U. S. government?   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should immigration laws be loosened up?                                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Will the farm vote be the deciding factor in the coming election?      |

Remarks \_\_\_\_\_

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)	NO. AND ST.	CITY AND STATE
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• PLEASE NOTE: Voters are requested to write in your votes by listing your answers on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which you have no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.) and mailing to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). Your votes shown in this manner, or indicated on the above form, represent your ballot in the Facts Forum Poll.

☐ Send me FACTS FORUM NEWS for 1 year. I enclose \$2.00.

## FEBRUARY POLL RESULTS

- | % Yes |   |
|-------|---|
| 2     | Can a Christian country compromise with communism?                      |
| 74    | Will supply and demand solve the critical farm situation?               |
| 94    | Should pleading Fifth Amendment disqualify one from positions of trust? |
| 11    | Should Secretary of State continue to hold conferences with Russia?     |
| 8     | Should U. S. trade with Russia?   |
| 78    | Should students be required to memorize Constitution and Amendments?    |
| 32    | Are farmers getting a fair share of America's unprecedented prosperity? |
| 92    | Should the government force a public accounting of union welfare funds? |
| 14    | Should we leave foreign policy out of the '56 campaign?                 |
| 81    | Do you approve the stand taken by the American Legion relative to UN?   |
| 36    | Will the labor merger lead to a third party?                            |
| 71    | Should surplus food in government warehouses be given to charity?       |
| 9     | Do the so-called "junkets" of members of Congress justify the expense?  |
| 1     | Should a Communist be permitted to be a member of a college faculty?    |

SLOGAN FOR APRIL, 1956

# SPEAK UP FOR AMERICA

Submitted by  
BILL HAMMER, JR.

6 Peter Cooper Road, New York 10, N. Y.

## April Poll Questions Winners

An award of \$10.00 each has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

1st: MRS. ESTHER ANDERSON  
523 Lebaron Street  
Mesa, Arizona

2nd: MRS. LOUIS BOECKMAN  
511 Montecito Drive  
El Paso, Texas

3rd: W. A. BRITTLE  
500 Spring Street  
Richmond, Virginia

4th: THOMAS L. BRITTON  
Oneida, Kentucky

5th: SAM H. COLLINS  
1201 West North Avenue  
Pittsburgh 33, Pennsylvania

6th: MRS. C. A. CROCKETT  
501 Poplar Street  
West Terre Haute, Indiana

7th: MRS. WM. CUNNINGHAM  
10855 South Maplewood  
Chicago 43, Illinois

8th: JOHN P. DEAR  
220 South First Avenue  
Paden City, West Virginia

9th: BILL HAMMER, JR.  
6 Peter Cooper Road  
New York 10, New York

10th: MRS. H. A. JEWELL  
Route 2, Box 13  
Warsaw, North Carolina


11th: MRS. GEORGE KNIGHT  
RFD No. 1  
Salado, Texas

12th: ALFRED E. OLDAKER  
79 Hudson Road  
Bellerose 26, New York

13th: G. WELCH  
111 Eighth Avenue  
New York 11, New York

14th: HARRY ZWARYZ  
Route 4, Box 173  
Jefferson, Ohio





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*Facts Forum Panel  
Radio and TV*

*Reporters' Roundup*

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Alaska to the  
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