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Exclusive:

Interview with

**GENERAL
CHENNAULT**

**Felix Wittmer
vs. F. D. R.
on
YALTA**



**McClellan
of
Arkansas**

**"I am the
China Lobby"**

--by ALFRED KOHLBERG

Provocative Prose

"Giving away other people's money is not benevolence—it is embezzlement."
—CLARENCE MANION

"We try our soldiers for cowardice—after a war which we didn't have the guts to win."
—REAR ADMIRAL D. V. GALLERY, USN

"The American people undervalue the part they must play if their form of government is to endure."
—JAMES M. BECK

"Rome endured as long as there were Romans. America will endure as long as we remain American in spirit and in thought."
—DAVID STARR JORDAN

"...It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately, one or the other must conquer....Coexistence is impossible; conflict is inevitable."
—STALIN
Questions of Leninism

"It will always remain the best joke made by the democratic system that it provided its deadly enemies with the means of destroying it."
—GOEBBELS

"The more a man is educated, the more is it necessary, for the welfare of the State, to instruct him how to make a proper use of his talents. Education is like a double-edged sword. It may be turned to dangerous usages if it is not properly handled."
—WU TING-FANG
in Elbert Hubbard's Scrapbook

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April 18, 1955 The Dallas Morning News
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Tuesday, April 19, 1955

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We list some of the programs we enjoy for their patriotism!

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Dean Manion.....Sunday.....	1310	8:30 p.m.
Paul Harvey.....Sunday.....	570	9:00 p.m.
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Fulton Lewis Jr., Mon. thru Fri..	1310	6:00 p.m.
Robert Hurlleigh Monday.....	1310	8:30 p.m.
Henry J. Taylor Monday.....	820	7:00 p.m.
Facts Forum.....Monday.....	1040	9:15 p.m.
Hardy Burt.....Monday.....	570	10:30 p.m.
Dan Smoot.....Wednesday.....	820	9:45 p.m.
Facts Forum.....Wednesday TV-Ch. 4	1310	10:30 p.m.
Hardy Burt.....Thursday.....	1310	8:30 p.m.
Sid Hardin.....Saturday.....	1080	8:15 p.m.
Dan Smoot.....Saturday.....	910	6:00 p.m.



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FACTS FORUM NEWS

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May, 1955.

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FACTS FORUM NEWS, May, 1955

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Copies of *Facts Forum News* now sent me through the courtesy of Add Patriotism to Ads Club are sincerely appreciated.

In my column . . . mention is made of your February issue, which ought to be read by all loyal Americans. . . . It is my intention to recommend the reading of this magazine to the readers of the *Borger News-Herald*. . . .

J. C. PHILLIPS, Chairman
Committee on Un-American Activities
The American Legion, Dept. of Texas
Borger, Texas

. . . I am editor of the monthly newsletter of the United Americans Against Communism and trying to bring to their attention as much information that is needed in our fight as is possible. I would like to comment that the Facts Forum book plan, its circulating library . . . is a great help to the anti-Communist.

ERIC TARNLEY
55 Clinton Pl., New York, N. Y.

. . . I surely do enjoy the *Facts Forum News*. . . . I wish I had enough money to send it to every thinking American.

MISS MARY HELEN MAYER
240 S. Vermont Ave., Sedalia, Mo.

. . . It is my ambition to see that the *Facts Forum News* will be better known in my vicinity. . . .

MISS FRANCES HILLA
Donnelly, Minn.

. . . We find your magazine very interesting and informative, even those of us who ordinarily find little time for extra-curricular reading. Keep up the fine work.

T. NELLIGAN, C. M. F.
Dominguez Seminary, Claretian Fathers
18127 S. Alameda Blvd., Compton, Calif.

Please convey to Dan Smoot my appreciation for the splendid presentation of the two sides to the many controversial questions.

FRED HANSELMANN
Casper Junior College
Casper, Wyoming

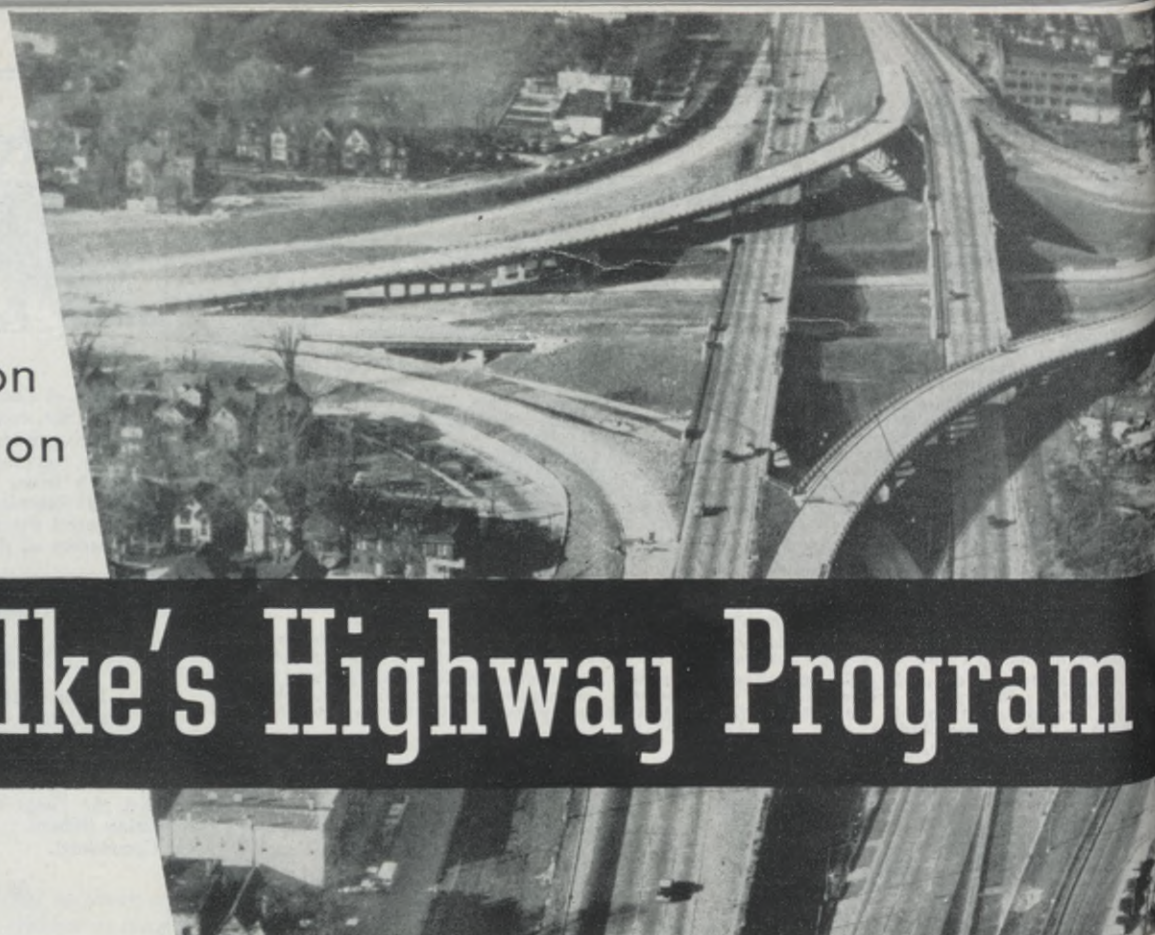
Always look forward to your program [ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS] since it is very enlightening and you have a wonderful panel . . . discussing the various subjects.

MRS. R. CARLSON
c/o Rich Products Co.
404 New City Hall Bldg., Rockford, Ill.

We look forward eagerly to receiving each issue of your excellent magazine and are so happy to know that, at last, we have a magazine upon which we can depend to receive honest information.

Best wishes for the success of Facts Forum.
MR. AND MRS. FREDERICK H. DAY
3525 Ocean Drive, Vero Beach, Fla.

A
Dan
Smoot
pro-and-con
presentation



Ike's Highway Program

Do you approve of Ike's proposed ten-year highway building program?

• • •

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

• • •

From the beginning of our nation's history, the federal government has been interested in national highways and other transportation.

George Washington, for example, envisioned the penetration of the forests that lay between the Atlantic seaboard and the Ohio Valley, and he supported recommendations for public improvement of post roads.

Jefferson, too, favored improvements in transportation. As early as 1806 the federal government aided financially in the construction of the "Cumberland Road," stretching from the East Coast to the Ohio. Lack of funds, however, prohibited further government participation in road building.¹

During the next forty years, the Cumberland Road was extended to Jefferson City, Missouri, at a cost of approximately six million dollars in federal money.¹

In 1829 the first steam locomotive in the United States was given a trial run, and the railroad dominated transportation for the rest of the century. Highways were merely dirt roads, used only by a few travelers and for hauling freight to railroad junctions.²

The good-roads movement became a major issue with the coming of the automobile, which revolutionized the American way of life.

In 1912, \$500,000 was appropriated by the federal government to pay one-third of the cost of improving roads over which the mails were carried.¹

In this same year, Congress instituted a study of the highway problem. This study was completed in 1915 and served as the basis for the Federal Road Act of 1916, the real beginning of the federal road-aid program as we know it today.¹

By this act the federal government was empowered to grant assistance to the states for road construction. To be eligible for such assistance, the states had to set up highway agencies and match the federal funds with an equal amount of state funds.¹

Encouraged by this federal interest and assistance, the states set up large road construction programs. In the 1920's, the main effort was to do something for the mud-bound farmers. Vehicles moved slowly—the average speed was twenty-six miles an hour—and traffic congestion was unknown. The main objective of highway builders was to get the country out of the mud, and they sacrificed better future planning for quantity building of narrow, ungraded highways. These 1920 standards for roads were not raised during the 1930's, because of the depression years with their accent on maximum on-

the-job labor and the minimum use of materials and equipment.³

MODEL-T ROADS FOR SUPERCARS

We are, in fact, still using highways built for the Model-T, and they are deathtraps for today's superautomobiles.

In 1925 there were twenty million motor vehicles on our roads and streets. By 1930, the number of motor vehicles had increased beyond all expectations, and every highway became a raceway. Trucks became as large as freight cars. Under the strain of numbers, weight, and speed, the old roads were wearing out and costing too much to maintain.³

World War II interrupted the steps being taken to solve the highway problem. Civilian travel was limited by gasoline rationing. Manufacture of new vehicles and tires was cut off. The highways were called on to carry huge quantities of war goods. Millions streamed onto the highways to commute each day to work at distant war plants.

By the time the war was over, the toll in damaged, neglected roads was heavy. And the normal program of replacement and improvement was delayed for years because of high prices and shortages of materials, men, and machinery.

Within a year after World War II, peacetime traffic had broken all pre-war records. But road building programs did not get going until 1948. Driving a car became a peacetime battle on roads that were already ancient.



—Wide World Photo

Yet our entire economy depends on automotive transport. We are a nation on wheels.⁴

Our automotive transport system is actually an extension of our nation's assembly lines. Our products come out the doors of the plants onto trucks which move across our interstate highway system, bringing these products into every state, village, and home.

Every delay because of highway congestion adds a few cents here, a few dollars there, to the cost of everything we produce.⁴

Our roads are obsolete. They are also a dangerous drag on our prosperity. They interfere with the market for cars and trucks. By so doing, they cut the demand for all the materials going into cars and trucks. They curb the growth of our metropolitan areas. By so doing, they curb the growth of the economy generally.⁴

TRAFFIC DEATHS EXCEED WAR TOLL

The human cost is even greater. Already, we have killed more than a million people in fifty years with automobiles. Thirty million more have been injured. The economic loss from these accidents is close to three billion dollars. Automobile accidents have taken twice as many American lives as we have lost in all our wars. And the number injured in traffic accidents is twenty-five times the number of men wounded in wars since the first minuteman fell at Lexington 178 years ago.⁵

The problem continues to grow worse. In 1954 there were fifty-eight million motor vehicles registered in this country. It is estimated that in 1965 we will have eighty million registered vehicles on our highways, and that they will travel 315 billion miles during that year.⁶

If that sounds appalling, just think of 1975—for then we must expect a registration of ninety-two million vehicles which will travel an estimated trillion miles a year.

That means, in simpler figures, that for every two cars on the crowded roads of today, there will be three cars in 1975.

Traffic accidents will kill forty thousand Americans this year and injure 1,350,000.⁷

The worst bottlenecks in our highway systems are in the great cities. Here is where the most costly delays occur. Traffic jams waste billions of man-hours a year and seriously interfere with the distribution of industrial products.

ROAD TO SURVIVAL JAMMED?

Suppose war broke out tomorrow? In this age of the H-bomb, there is no longer safety in digging in. It will be necessary to evacuate the great industrial cities within range of the Red air force. How could they possibly be evacuated when, even on a normal peacetime day, the highways are jammed?⁸

If the bomb ever comes, our chances for survival will depend on our mobility—the speed with which we can evacuate these urban areas and the facility with which we can shift our defense forces and get our battered industrial plants back into operation.

The bold, imaginative plan for highways proposed by President Eisenhower is indeed welcome in this critical time. It shows that he is aware of the necessity for an adequate highway system to meet not only wartime needs, but peacetime needs as well.

A huge increase in road building is necessary if the national economy is to continue expansion—if the nation's living standards are to continue upward. Future highway construction must be planned to serve an economy which the President has estimated will rise to 500 billion dollars worth of goods and services annually within ten years.

This highway construction must be planned far in advance, with an eye toward future rather than present needs, if we are to avoid our past mistakes. The plan proposed by the President and his advisers looks ahead to the needs of 1975, with its estimated ninety-two million vehicles.⁹

The best part of the plan is that it can be paid for without increasing taxes, without increasing the national

debt, without increasing federal appropriations.

It will, in fact, actually save the people of the United States fifty billion dollars over the next ten years.⁹

Here's how it works. Under the 1954 Federal-Aid Highway Act, the government is committed to spend 965 million dollars on federal highway aid for the year ending June, 1956. This appropriation is just about equal to the gasoline and oil taxes the government collects and funnels into the United States Treasury.⁹

PAY-AS-YOU-USE PLAN

The President will use a part of these federal-aid funds to finance the new program. A federal corporation will be set up to issue bonds for the ten-year project. One-third of the federal aid funds collected from gasoline and oil taxes will pay the interest and amortization on the bonds.

In simpler language, this is a kind of pay-as-you-use plan—a proposal to make tomorrow's traffic pay for the highways it will be using—highways which are planned and built today to accommodate the traffic of tomorrow.

Where does the fifty billion dollars saving come in? From the decreased costs of operation of trucks and automobiles. Eisenhower's advisory committee has pointed out that the recommended improvements to our road system will cut vehicle operating costs a cent a mile—a national saving of fifty billion dollars in ten years.⁹

This is probably an understatement of the actual savings to be realized from the improved highway system.

An adequate highway system will mean a savings of billions of man-hours.

Jobs would be provided for many thousands of construction workers. Companies selling cement, steel, and

(Continued on Page 23)



—Wide World Photo

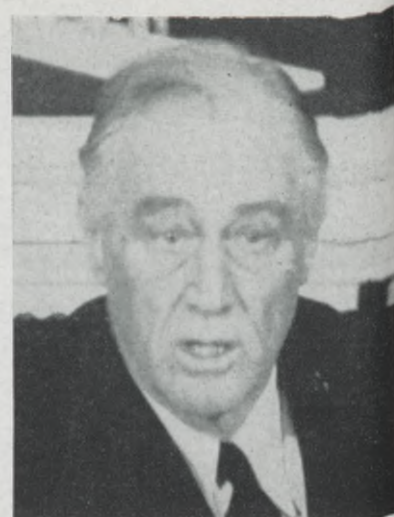
President Eisenhower is shown receiving from retired General Lucius Clay recommendations for a 101-billion-dollar federal-state highway program. The President and Clay hold a map of a "strategic network" of interstate highways. Clay is chairman of a presidential advisory committee which drew up the proposed program.

The crime of Crimea? Or the beginning of the structure for a better world? How will the 1945 international conference at Yalta go down in history? Cross fire crackles over public disclosure of the Yalta Papers and their implications. In its tradition, Facts Forum presents opposing views on this controversy. No sharper contrast could be presented than that between Dr. Wittmer's views and the original report by President Roosevelt to a joint session of Congress, March 1, 1945.

Report on the YALTA CONFERENCE

Address by President Franklin D. Roosevelt

Reprinted from *The Congressional Record*



—Wide World photo

Mr. Vice-President, Mr. Speaker, and members of the Congress:

I hope you will pardon me for the unusual posture of sitting down during the presentation of what I wish to say, but I know you will realize it makes it a lot easier for me in not having to carry about ten pounds of steel around the bottom of my legs [laughter] and also because of the fact I have just completed a 14,000-mile trip. [Applause.]

First of all, I want to say that it is good to be home. It has been a long journey, and I hope you will also agree, a fruitful one.

Speaking in all frankness, the question of whether it is entirely fruitful or not lies to a great extent in your hands, for unless you here in the halls of the American Congress, with the support of the American people, concur in the general conclusions reached at that place called Yalta, and give them your active sup-

port, the meeting will not have produced lasting results. And that is why I have come before you at the earliest hour I could after my return. I want to make a personal report to you and, at the same time, to the people of the country.

Many months of earnest work are ahead of us all, and I should like to feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international peace it will be an achievement toward which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly together.

I am returning from this trip that took me so far, refreshed and inspired. I was well the entire time. I was not ill for a second until I arrived back in Washington, and here I heard all of the rumors which had occurred in my absence. [Laughter.] Yes, I returned from the trip refreshed and inspired. The Roosevelts are not, as you may sus-

pect, averse to travel [laughter]; we seem to thrive on it. [Applause.]

And far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracles of rapid communication have made this world very small. We must always bear in mind that fact when we speak or think of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington, I might say from not only the executive branch with all its departments, but also from the legislative branch in its two departments; and, except where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I could continuously send messages any place in the world; and, of course, in a grave emergency we could even have risked the breaking of the security rule.

I come from the Crimean Conference with a firm belief that we have made a

(Continued on Page 56)

What really



—Photo by Clark H. Getts

the YALTA PAPERS

by Felix Wittmer

ON March 16, 1955, slightly more than ten years after the Yalta Conference, our Department of State released 150 copies of an 834-page volume entitled *The Conferences at Malta and Yalta—1945*. By this gesture, the Republican administration at last fulfilled a pledge given during the campaign of 1952.

One week later, on March 23, 1955, President Dwight D. Eisenhower stated: "There is nothing, as I can see, to be gained by going back ten years and showing that, in the light of after-events, someone [sic!] may have been wrong, or someone [sic!] may have been right." The President also said: "But don't let's try just to damage reputations by such means."

Obviously President Eisenhower wanted to take all the edges (the rough



—Wide World Photo

What Happened at YALTA?

ones and even the smoother ones) off the personality issue. The President himself had been absent from both the Malta and the Yalta Conferences. Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith, Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force, had attended the Malta Conference, immediately prior to that of Yalta. General of the Army George Catlett Marshall, Chief of Staff, United States Army, had been present at Yalta.

Possibly our Republican administration would be equally chivalrous if none of its high-ranking members had been involved in the general Soviet appeasement of which Yalta and Potsdam were but the climax; but the fact cannot be denied that through our bipartisan World War II policy—a patriotic neces-

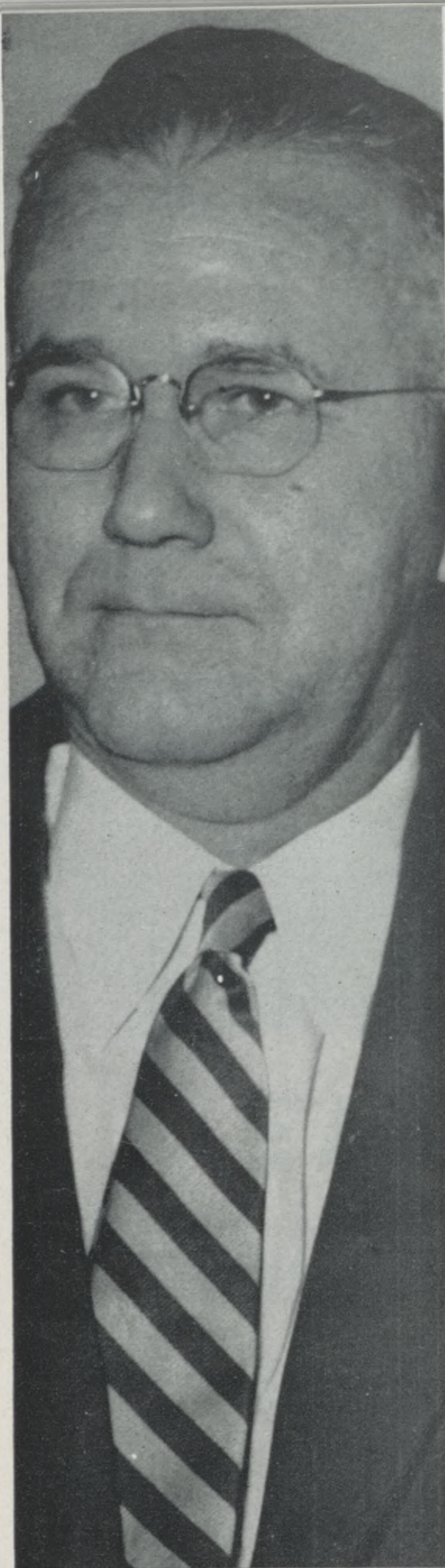
sity in view of the war effort—the Soviet appeasement of Yalta cast its shadow on Republicans who at the time were neither able nor willing to enter any vigorous protest.

President Eisenhower, by taking lightly the catastrophe of the Yalta surrender, by failing to make a clear-cut stand against it, has not helped to clarify the issue; on the contrary, he seems almost in harmony with such New Deal apologists as John Gunther, Raymond Gram Swing, Sumner Welles, and Robert Sherwood, and with those intimates of President Roosevelt who participated in the Yalta Conference. No comment has come from anyone in his Cabinet on such a Roosevelt stalwart as Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief of the

United States Army and Navy, who in "Notes on the Yalta Conference," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, as late as winter 1954-55, said (on page 112): "Soviet action in subsequently violating agreements that were formally approved could not have been anticipated at Yalta by anybody. It occurred to none of us there that anybody was being sold down the river." Thus confusion is perpetuated.

I herewith contend—and I believe I have furnished the proof of this contention in my book, *The Yalta Betrayal*, that the apologetic views of General Eisenhower and Admiral Leahy do not stand up in the light of facts. I myself can furnish evidence to show that at the time, in 1945, men who preferred

(Continued on Page 49)



PAUL CROUCH

In the April *Facts Forum News* Crouch told how he first met Robert Oppenheimer in 1941 at a Communist party meeting in Berkeley, California, although at that time he knew Oppenheimer only as Professor Z, "a very famous scientist." Oppenheimer has denied attending this meeting. Crouch formerly was a party leader in California's Alameda County, where the University of California and its Radiation Laboratory and the important research laboratories of Shell Development were top targets for Communist infiltration.

the untold...

OPPENHEIMER

PART II: by Paul Crouch

HIROSHIMA revealed to the American public the existence of the atomic bomb in 1945. To me it also revealed the nature of the "research" at the radiation laboratory mentioned to me by Marcel Scherer in the fall of 1941 and gave a full explanation of why a national figure like Scherer spent so much time in Alameda County in 1941 and 1942.

Soon after Hiroshima, newspapers reported Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's role in the development of the atomic bomb and carried pictures of him. My wife Sylvia and I immediately noted the striking resemblance between these pictures and the man at the Communist special section meeting who had been described by Kenneth May as "a very famous scientist."

We believed Professor Z and Robert Oppenheimer were one and the same, although newspaper pictures are difficult to use for positive identification. However, to us it was only a matter of casual interest. We knew that the radiation laboratory and the faculty of the University had been honeycombed with Communists and that it would have been absolutely impossible for any research to have been done at the radiation laboratory without the most detailed information being transmitted immediately to the Soviet government.

To go back again to 1941, Scherer.

In Behalf of

One of the many character witnesses who testified before the AEC Personnel Security Board (Gray Board) in behalf of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was David E. Lilienthal, former AEC chairman.

Witness: David E. Lilienthal
Interrogator: Samuel J. Silverman
Date: April 20, 1954

Q. Mr. Lilienthal, what is your present occupation?

A. I am in private business in New York City as adviser on industrial matters to financial and industrial enterprises. I am also a corporate officer as chairman of the board of the Minerals and Chemical Co.

Q. Do you have any Government employment or position at this time?

A. I do not.

Q. You were formerly Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission?

A. I was between late October, 1946, and the 15th of February, 1950.

Q. When did you first meet Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. On the occasion of the bringing

together of a board or panel—a board of consultants or panel—by the Department of State in January, 1946. That panel was organized under a committee called the Secretary of State's Committee.

The purpose of the panel and the directions of the panel were to seek to find some basis for a plan or program for the international control of atomic weapons. There were five members of this panel designated, I think, by the Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, and Dr. Oppenheimer was one of those panel members.

Q. And you were the chairman of the panel?

A. I was the chairman of the panel. The other members were Mr. Harry Winne, vice-president of General Electric Co. at that time; Dr. Charles A. Thomas, who was then executive vice-president of the Monsanto Chemical Co. and now its president; Mr. Chester Barnard, then president of the New Jersey Telephone Co., and Dr. Oppenheimer.

Q. Will you tell us something of how

then the national head of the Communist apparatus for work among scientists, arrived in Alameda County in August of that year. He personally assumed charge of party and Red front activities at the radiation laboratory and at research laboratories of Shell Development, remaining in the county for eighteen months.

He was accompanied by his wife and

ESTORY

assistant, who went under the assumed name of Lena Davis. (Her maiden name was Lena Chernenko.) Lena also was an important national leader of the Communist party, having served on the National Committee and the Politburo.

The presence of such national leaders over an extended period of time was evidence of the great importance attached by the international Communist movement to nuclear research in progress in Alameda County. In conversations with me Scherer referred to "important research" in progress at the radiation laboratory, stating "it will change the entire nature of modern warfare."

He also stated that "our comrades" there were performing tasks of the "greatest importance" and that their work would have "tremendous results" in the international situation and would be "of the greatest value to the Soviet Union."

Scherer didn't give me any details about that "research," but that was not necessary for my duties as political head of the party in the county and as a member of the District Bureau.

There was not the slightest doubt in my mind, however, that the Soviet government was informed immediately of every discovery made in all research at the University's radiation laboratory and at the Shell Development research laboratories.

Under Scherer's direction, members of the party core recruited many scientists into the FAECT's Chapter 25 in those vital places. Kenneth May worked closely with Scherer and under his supervision. Rudy Lambert also participated in the activities.

About September, a new party unit was formed in the Shell Development laboratories, with David Adelson* as a leading member of it. This unit was attached to the special section. Kenneth

*In May, 1950, the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities was desirous of questioning David Adelson about his activities in 1941 and 1942. When subpoena servers came to his place of employment, Adelson instantly walked off the job and fled through a back door. He remained in hiding until after the committee hearings in Oakland.

(Continued on Page 14)

OPPENHEIMER

much contact you had with Dr. Oppenheimer during the work on this panel?

A. The panel was convened and met briefly with the Secretary of State's



—Wide World Photo

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

committee. Perhaps I should indicate the personnel of that committee. This was the first meeting with Dr. Oppenheimer. That committee consisted of Under Secretary Acheson—perhaps Assistant Secretary at that time—John McCloy, Gen. Leslie R. Groves, President Conant of Harvard, and Dr. Vannevar Bush, Chairman of the Joint Research Board of the Defense Establishment.

That meeting with this top committee was briefed and then this board of consultants virtually lived together for six or seven weeks until we finally presented our report to the committee which we reported.

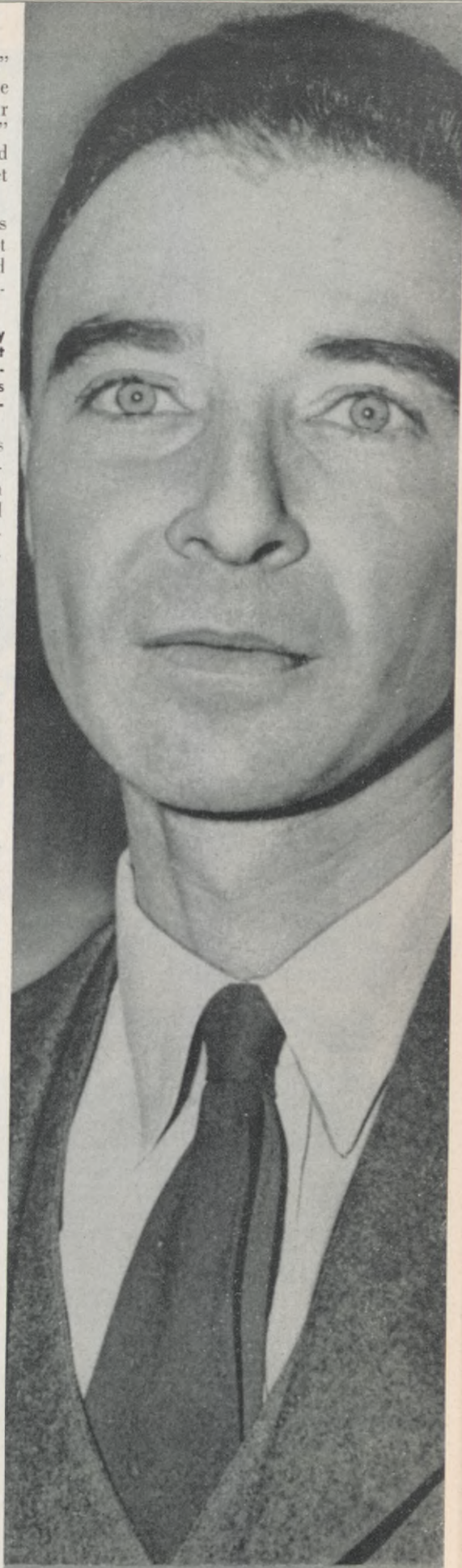
Q. Was Dr. Oppenheimer active in this work?

A. Yes, he was indeed.

Q. Would you tell us something about the positions that Dr. Oppenheimer took and the work he did in the drafting of that report, particularly as it bears on his attitude toward the problem presented by our relations with Russia?

A. I think the theme of this group in which Dr. Oppenheimer's views contrib-

(Continued on Page 27)



OPPENHEIMER

—Wide World Photo



American Communists in the UN

— by Dan Smoot

American Communists in the United Nations!

This is another topic in Facts Forum's series of pro and con discussions on the United Nations. Before taking up the pros and cons, let's define the problem.

The United Nations Secretariat staff is composed of some 3,385 people, drawn from sixty-one nations. As of the end of 1952, the number of American members of the Secretariat staff was 377 in professional positions and higher. The American employees are hired directly by the United Nations, although some are recommended by our State Department.¹

A federal grand jury, empaneled in April, 1952, to investigate subversion and espionage in the Southern District of New York, reported in essence as follows:

The startling evidence discloses the infiltration into the United Nations of an overwhelmingly large group of disloyal American citizens. Scores of individuals, mostly with long records of federal employment, have been connected with subversive movements.²

All this appears to have resulted from the contrivance of certain highly placed officials who have surrounded themselves in each government agency. Almost without exception these subversives, formerly United States employees, had been transferred from one federal department to another, ending up in key posts of the UN. The evidence shows this is not coincidental, but part of a definite planned pattern.²

In October, 1952, a Senate subcommittee began open hearings into subversive activities among American employees in the UN. Of the thirty-three UN employees subpoenaed, twenty-six invoked their constitutional privilege against self-incrimination when asked about Communist membership or espionage activities.³

Secretary General Trygve Lie consulted an international commission of three prominent jurists (one American, one Belgian, and one Briton) for legal advice.⁴

UNFIT FOR UN WORK

The commission advised that an American who invokes the Fifth Amendment and refuses to answer questions of a congressional committee is unfit

for employment in the United Nations.

Acting upon this advice, the Secretary General dismissed twenty-one of the employees who had invoked the Fifth Amendment.

The discharged employees appealed to the UN Administrative Tribunal, consisting of three Europeans and an Egyptian alternate. On September 1, 1953, this UN tribunal ruled that it was illegal for the UN Secretariat to fire eleven of these employees, saying that claiming the Fifth Amendment privilege did not violate any UN staff rules.⁴

The UN tribunal put membership in the Communist party on a par with membership in any other political party and concluded that UN employees could not be fired because of their political opinions or because of their affiliation

with political parties.⁴

The UN tribunal ordered four of the eleven reinstated with full back pay and directed that the other seven, who didn't want their jobs back, be paid compensation or damages aggregating some \$135,000.⁴

The United States, expressing dissatisfaction with the tribunal's findings, laid the problem before the United Nations General Assembly.

In the fall of 1954, the UN General Assembly disposed of the case by upholding the UN tribunal and voting to award almost \$200,000 in damages to the discharged employees involved.⁴

That concluded the matter from the legal point of view; but the subject of American Communists in the UN remains an issue of keen interest to Americans.

* * * * *

Let's consider this topic first from the viewpoint of some who like the UN and who think that this issue of American Communists in the UN has been satisfactorily handled.

* * * * *

The United Nations is bigger than any political party or any one nation. It does not consider that its employees should be hired or fired because of any political affiliation. It is working all over the globe to get rid of war and to promote peace. This is a big job; and whenever there's a big job to be done, you will always find a strange assortment of people trying to hurt instead of help.⁴

Some are ignorant, misinformed, or frightened; some are professional troublemakers; and some are even more sinister than that. They hide behind high-sounding names and organizations; and they terrorize innocent people.⁵

The United Nations came into existence as a bright new hope for lasting peace, and some people just have a mental quirk which makes them afraid of anything new.

The United Nations is not, of course,



—Wide World Photo

Henry Cabot Lodge, head of the U.S. delegation to the UN, in 1953 appeared before the Jenner Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to give a report on steps taken on subcommittee recommendations about screening U.S. employees of the UN. Lodge said that fingerprint forms had been distributed to American personnel employed and that fingerprinting was the first step taken.

a perfect organization; and there are sincere people who criticize its imperfections. But this is constructive criticism, designed to improve the UN, not to destroy it.⁶

We need as much honest public debate about the United Nations as possible, but we should insist on facts instead of falling for slogans.⁷

For example, a sincere UN critic who doesn't like the Security Council voting system which enables Russia to veto so many constructive proposals may recommend that the veto be abolished. The phony UN critic, on the other hand, who is out to ruin the United Nations, merely screams for Uncle Sam to get out. The dishonest critic never mentions all the useful things the United Nations has done. They don't remember how Russian troops withdrew from Iran after United Nations objection. They don't remember how the UN ended the fighting between the Dutch and the Indonesians. They don't remember how the United Nations cease-fire settled the India-Pakistan problem. They don't remember how the United Nations settled the guerrilla war in Greece; nor do they think about the United Nations armistice between the Arabs and Israel. There are many more things they forget: for instance, how the United Nations fights famine, disease, poverty, and ignorance—thus eliminating the causes of war.⁸

Some UN-haters even complain about the cost of the United Nations. The United Nations spends in the United States (on supplies, utilities, and other items) twice as much as our total contribution to the UN.⁸

TROUBLEMAKERS IGNORE FACTS

The professional troublemakers never give us these facts. They give us, instead, superpatriotism, flag-waving, and clichés about Americanism. The case of the so-called American Communists in the UN was a great boon to the makers of fiction and distorters of fact about the UN. The UN Administrative Tribunal did rule that the Fifth Amendment witnesses had been fired illegally. The tribunal did not decide that the United Nations must keep American subversives on its payroll. Rather, it held that refusal to answer questions asked by a congressional committee on grounds of possible self-incrimination is not sufficient reason for dismissing an employee of the United Nations. In other words, the UN tribunal merely ruled that the United Nations, in handling its own personnel, should act on the basis of real evidence and not on mere suspicion. It might promote the cause of justice all over the world if all agencies of government would adopt such a rule.⁹

A McCarthyite arbitrarily decides that anyone who invokes the Fifth Amendment is guilty.⁹



—Wide World Photo

India Premier Nehru (left) and Pakistan Premier Liaquat Ali Khan (right) affixed their signatures to India-Pakistan agreement in New Delhi April 8, 1950.

Statesmen in the United Nations have a somewhat more detached and judicious attitude about it.

They assume that the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was written to protect the inhabitants of the United States.⁹

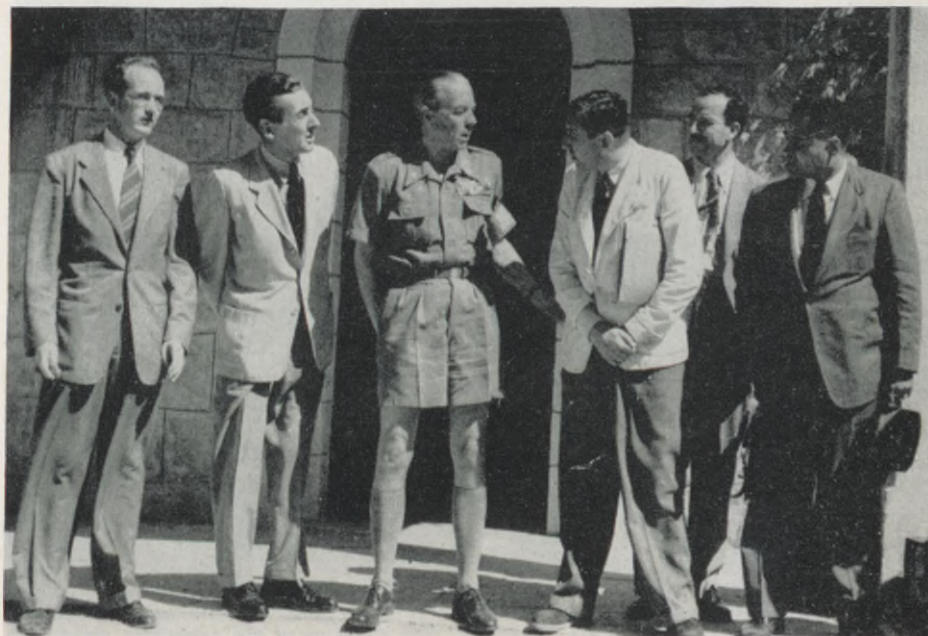
They, therefore, fail to see any proof of guilt in the fact that an American chooses to accept the protection which his own Constitution offers him.

Let's see just how dangerous these so-called American Communists in the UN really were.⁹

Ruth Crawford, an American, was a

United Nations information officer. In 1939, Miss Crawford had informed the FBI that she had been a member of the Communist party for a little more than a year, beginning in 1935. Thereafter, she was employed by the United States government for eight years. When she was questioned by senatorial investigators looking into possible subversion in the United Nations, she told of joining and of leaving the Communist party but she refused to say who had invited her to join.⁵

For the decency of refusing to help smear former friends and acquaint-



—Wide World Photo

Jerusalem Truce Commission shown as it met Count Bernadotte (in uniform at center), mediator for Palestine. At extreme right is Ralph Bunche, UN representative.

ances, Ruth Crawford was labeled a dangerous Fifth Amendment Communist—although she had been quite open and candid about herself.⁵

The United Nations Secretariat is an international career service. The founders of the United Nations provided that its Secretariat should be wholly independent. Americans employed by the Secretariat are not, in any sense of the word, representatives of the United States. They are employees of the United Nations.

LOYALTY PLEDGED TO UN

In fact, UN employees take an oath of loyalty to the UN, pledging that they will work for the interests of the UN—that they will not work for the interests of any one nation.

How else could an international organization operate?

How could any organization operate if it were staffed with people who had no loyalty to it, who were, in fact, working for the interests of outside agencies—staffed with people working for separate masters and at cross-purposes with each other?⁶

Remember that the Americans fired from the UN were fired because they were suspected of being members of the Communist party.

Let's analyze this. Communism is a legitimate political party in several of the nations which are members in good standing of the United Nations.

Yet, we were asking the UN to brand the Communist party as subversive.⁶

Suppose that next month the Soviet

Union exerts enough pressure to get the political parties of America branded as subversive? Where would such a road end?

Obviously, in chaos.

The UN could have no staff if personnel were to be hired and fired at the whims of member states or because of affiliation with domestic political organizations.¹⁰

President Eisenhower has ignored all of the rabble-rousing about the UN with the same statesman-like calm with which President Truman before him ignored it.

In September, 1953, Henry Cabot Lodge, our ambassador to the UN, candidly and unemotionally announced that America did not like the UN tribunal's decision awarding \$135,000 in damages to discharged American employees. Ambassador Lodge promised that America would resist that decision—but in the democratic way prescribed by the UN Charter. We would submit the question to a vote in the General Assembly of the UN, where, as Mr. Lodge pointed out, we certainly had enough friends and influence to insure that justice would be done.¹¹

RESISTANCE SHELVED FOR GOOD GRACE

When, in the fall of 1954, the UN General Assembly settled the matter by voting indemnities of approximately \$200,000 to the discharged Americans, we accepted the decision in good grace like a progressive nation accustomed to democratic processes.

No one, of course, argues that all of the rules and regulations of the UN are perfect. No one claims that majority decisions of the United Nations General Assembly are always expressions of absolute truth.¹²

It should be obvious, however, that America could not keep the high esteem of the world if we did not continue to conduct ourselves in the UN as a law-abiding member.

We must accept the decisions and mandates of the UN's highest tribunals—working in legal and parliamentary ways within the UN itself to alter any rulings or procedures which we think unfair or unsatisfactory.¹²

We would incur the contempt of the world—and we would kill the UN—if we stalked off like an undisciplined child every time the UN made a decision which some of our politicians or super-patriotic organizations do not like.

* * * * *

That was one side. The other side will come next.

Here are arguments of some who do not like the UN and who think that the problem of American Communists is, and always has been, a very serious matter.

* * * * *

It is difficult to measure the problem of American Communists in the UN, because we don't know how many are there.

A complete investigation has never been made.

We know that all Communists work against the United States and for international communism. We can assume that the United Nations is run by the people who are in it.¹³

If we discover that the operations of the UN have helped communism and hurt America, it will be reasonable to assume that Communists exert a controlling influence in the UN.

If that is the case, then every disloyal American in the UN is a triple danger to us. He works for the Soviet Union. He works against us. And he keeps us from having in the UN an American who might work for American interests.¹³

So, let's look quickly at the record of what has happened during the ten years that we have been in the United Nations and have made the UN the keystone of our foreign policy.

In 1945, America occupied a position of power, prestige, and international influence never before in history enjoyed by any nation.¹⁴

AMERICAN FLAG REVERED

America was loved and respected as the liberator of oppressed peoples. All over the world, the American flag was revered as a banner of liberty.¹⁴

In 1945, the Soviet Union was in desperate condition. Nearly one-half of its territory was in shambles; its in-



—Wide World Photo

In 1952, a Senate Internal Security subcommittee investigated possible subversive activities among American United Nations employees. Five members of the committee were (left to right) Senator Willis Smith (D-N.C.), Committee Research Director Benjamin Mandel, Senator Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), chairman; Committee Counsel Robert Morris, and Roy Cohn, counsel to the Attorney General.

dustries were nearly all destroyed; and it was being supported, in great part, by American military and economic aid. It was despised all over the world. The Chinese people, for instance, feared and hated the Soviets as much as they loved their old friends, the Americans.

All of this was ten years ago—in the year that the United Nations was formed. Since then, Soviet power has expanded until today it directly enslaves one-third of the population of the earth, one-fourth of the world's land surface.¹⁴

Meanwhile, America has reached a point of desperation and isolation from people who used to be our friends all over the world—and all of this despite the fact that during those ten years we have poured out the tax money and resources of the American people with an openhanded generosity unparalleled in history, trying to help the very people who now seem to hate us or who want to remain neutral in the struggle between us and the Soviets.¹⁵

WHY PATRIOTS CRY

During those ten years America, mighty and magnificent, has suffered such national humiliation as to bring tears to the eyes of any true American patriot.¹⁵

Tito, the Communist tyrant of Yugoslavia, shooting down American planes and murdering American soldiers! We rewarded him with billions of dollars of economic and military aid which he is still getting.

American soldiers arrested on trumped-up charges and imprisoned in the bandit jails of a seventh-rate power like Hungary! We paid ransom money to get them out.

April, 1950—Soviet fighter planes



—Wide World Photo

TITO GETS THE BIRD—President Tito of Yugoslavia fondles white carrier pigeon in Belgrade in May of last year after the bird delivered greetings to him on his sixty-second birthday.

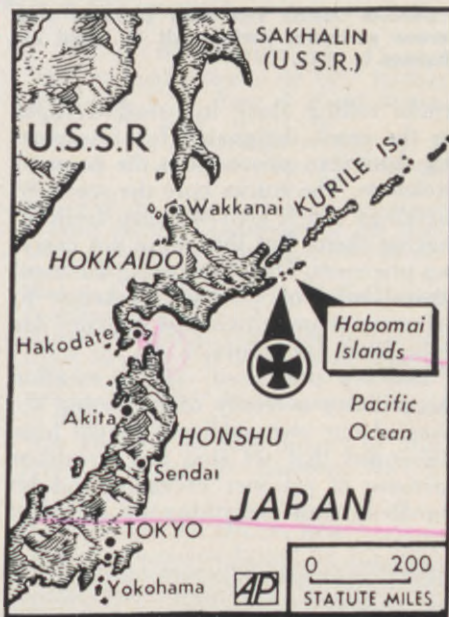
shot down a United States Navy plane over the Baltic Sea, killing ten Americans. The United States government protested.¹⁶

November, 1951—Soviet planes shot down a United States P2V over the Japanese Sea. The entire American crew was lost. The United States government protested.¹⁶

October, 1952—Soviet fighters shot down an American B-29 off the Kurile Islands. Eight Americans were lost. The United States government protested.¹⁶

July, 1953—Soviet plane shot down a United States plane off Siberia. Sixteen Americans were lost. The United States government protested.¹⁶

September, 1954—Soviet planes shot down a United States Navy fighter off Siberia. One American lost. The United States government protested.¹⁶



—Wide World Photo

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PROTESTED—Map locates Habomai Islands off the coast of the Japanese island of Hokkaido, where the Reds shot down a U.S. B-29 on October 7, 1952. On September 25, 1954, the United States demanded that Russia pay \$1,620,295.01 damages for the "incident." The U.S. also denied Soviet claims to the Habomais, which Japan also claims.

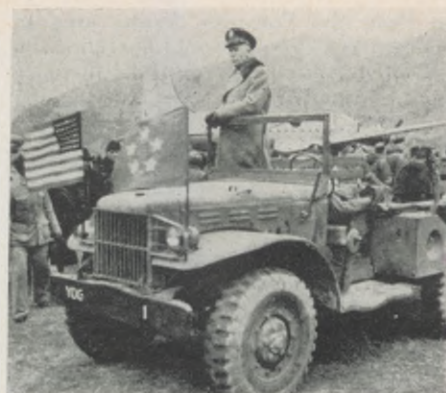
November, 1954—Soviet plane shot down a U.S. B-29 off the Kurile Islands. One American lost. The United States government protested.¹⁶

In all instances, our protests brought nothing but insulting replies.

In November, 1954, when the American President was asked to comment on all of this, he expressed high hopes for peace because, in connection with the latest Soviet outrage, the Soviet attitude had been less insulting than before.¹⁷

Consider what has happened to America's position in the Far East during the ten years of our reliance upon the United Nations to keep peace in the world.

In 1945-46, America's emissary to China—General George C. Marshall—



—Wide World Photos

Top, in March of 1946, General George C. Marshall boarded a reconnaissance car preparatory to leaving for Communist headquarters at Yen-an. Below, Marshall inspects Chinese Communist troops at Yen-an. Left to right, Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Marshall, National General Chang Chih-chung, and Communist Commander in Chief Chu Teh.

on three separate occasions saved the Communist armies from destruction by forcing an armistice in the civil war which Chiang Kai-shek's forces were winning. Marshall kept Chiang from getting economic aid which the American Congress had voted for him.¹⁸

Meanwhile, United Nations member Russia was arming North Korea and the Chinese Communists—in violation of the UN Charter; but the UN did nothing.

HELP FOR CHIANG SCUTTLED

Entire boatloads of equipment designated for Chiang's government were dumped in the Indian Ocean. The Chinese government which was friendly to America was driven from the Asian mainland; and 600 million Chinese who used to be our friends became the tools and slaves of the Communists.¹⁸

The first direct result of all this was the Korean war—the first war the United States ever lost.

The United Nations made us lose it.

After General MacArthur's brilliant maneuver which landed American troops behind enemy lines at Inchon and put them in position to destroy the mediocre North Korean Communist army, the United Nations Military Command stopped MacArthur at the 38th parallel and held him there for nearly three weeks. During those three weeks the Chinese Fourth Army was moved

up from the Formosa Straits area to Manchuria, where it could operate from a United Nations-guaranteed sanctuary against Americans in Korea. Because of the United Nations, Chinese Communists could fly their Soviet planes across the Yalu River and attack our men; but our air force couldn't strike back, even in hot pursuit.¹⁹

After MacArthur was gone, General Van Fleet—despite all the restrictions and handicaps placed upon him—was several times in position to destroy the Chinese Communist armies; but United Nations policy would not permit it.

The Korean war was supposed to be a war between UN forces and Communist forces. These Communist forces were armed and trained by the Soviet Union. They were advised by Russian experts, and their airplanes were flown by Russian pilots. Russian officers even commanded sections of the Communist armies; yet all the while Russia remained in the United Nations and on the Security Council and presumably had access to United Nations battle plans.²⁰

In April, 1953, we entered a good-faith agreement with the Communists in Korea to exchange all sick and wounded prisoners.²¹

On the day the exchange began, American fliers sent up to watch the progress of the operation—in accordance with the agreements—had to fight their way through Communist anti-aircraft fire.

PRISONER EXCHANGE HOAX

They reported hundreds of enemy



—Wide World Photo
General James Van Fleet pictured with Korean youngster during visit to Seoul orphanage in 1952.

trucks rolling along in broad daylight on the roads designated for transporting American prisoners to the point of exchange. The trucks bore the specified markings which kept our men from attacking them. But they were not carrying prisoners. They were using the monstrous hoax of prisoner exchange to bring up ammunition and supplies for their front line troops.²²

Decency and honor—not to mention the military necessity of protecting the lives of our own soldiers—should have demanded that we stop the disastrous pretense of prisoner exchange and hit the Reds with everything we had. But

we didn't. We couldn't. The prisoner exchange hoax was a United Nations arrangement. A United Nations commission headed by pro-Communist India supervised the operation. We went through with it.²³

We returned over six thousand sick and wounded Communist soldiers. They returned one hundred and twenty Americans. And we knew they were holding back thousands of Americans in desperate need of decent hospitalization.

But we couldn't do anything about it. This was a United Nations affair. And Russia alone has three votes in the UN to our one—not to mention all of the Communist puppet states whose UN votes the Soviets control.²⁴

During the Korean truce talks, the Communists, in violation of their own initial agreement, required our representatives to come, white flags in hand, to a neutral zone under the muzzles of Communist guns, looking to all the world as if we were begging for terms.

While the talks were going on, we knew that the Communists were stalling for time to rebuild on their side of the truce line—in violation of the truce agreements—airfields which we had destroyed.²⁵

COMMUNISTS USE UN MEGAPHONE

From the beginning of the Korean war, we began amassing concrete evidence on Communist atrocities committed against our soldiers taken prisoners. We presented this documented proof to the United Nations but were unable to get the United Nations even to put the matter on the agenda for discussion. At the same time, however, the United Nations permitted itself to be used as an international megaphone for broadcasting the Communist lies about American germ warfare in Korea.²⁶

The final armistice terms in Korea were dictated by the Communists and written by pro-Communist India. The Communists began violating the terms the day they were signed.



—Wide World Photos

BARRIERS ON THE ROAD TO PEACE IN KOREA—Top photo, North Korean soldier armed with Russian-made burp gun shown outside his camouflaged guard post near the house used by UN peace delegation at Kaesong in July, 1951. Below, UN forces correspondents enroute to cover Kaesong conference were stopped by Communists who would not permit them to proceed further. Photo at right shows North Korean soldier who moved himself squarely in front of an AP photographer's camera in an attempt to prevent him from taking pictures at Panmunjom. The enemy soldier was guarding the neutral truce area.



—Wide World Photo

UN negotiators, Major General L. C. Craigie (left) and Vice Admiral C. Turner Joy (center) shown as they left the first Kaesong peace conference July 10, 1951, to walk past a bemedaled Chinese guard with Russian-made burp gun.



—Wide World Photo

UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld (left) conferred with Red China's Premier Chou En-lai in Peiping in an effort to obtain release by Red China of American fliers held prisoners.

According to the armistice, they were supposed to return all American prisoners. Yet we knew from the beginning that they were holding back over a thousand of our soldiers, keeping them as political hostages with which to bribe and intimidate us in the future.

On Thanksgiving Eve, 1954, the Communists openly announced to the world that they had convicted and sentenced thirteen of these Americans.²⁵

What have we done about that? We have applauded the head of the United Nations for going to Peiping, hat in hand, to beg for us.

Sinister forces in the United Nations tied the hands of all the great American generals who served in Korea, and brought death to thousands of gallant American boys who fought there.

Who are these sinister people in the United Nations?

Obviously they are the people who run the United Nations. You can be sure that every United Nations employee from every Communist country is a Communist. Everyone from a Socialist nation is a Socialist. Everyone from a neutral nation is either a neutralist, a Socialist, or a Communist. Now, if the UN employees from America are also Socialists, Communists, or neutralists, what chance does America have?

WHAT CHANCE DOES U.S. HAVE?

The record of the last ten years answers that question: we have none. It would help if we could clean all of the subversives, Communists, Socialists, and miscellaneous un-American pinkos out of the American quota on the United Nations Secretariat staff; but the hour is already too late for that to be enough.²⁶

The United Nations has become a snare for frustrating American policy and dissipating American strength. It has become a spider web for trapping human freedom. During every minute of the ten years that we have been in the United Nations, we have been plunging headlong toward national disaster. The only way to stop that fatal plunge is for us to get out of the United Nations, and get the United Nations out of the United States.



—Wide World Photo

Jeeps of the UN Military Armistice Commission observer team were marked with white flags as they entered the neutral zone in Korea in 1953.

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—Wide World Photo

The U.S. Army released this photo and described it as some of the thousands of victims massacred by the Communist-led North Koreans at Taejon in the summer of 1950.

OPPENHEIMER STORY

(Continued from Page 7)

May took me to several meetings of this unit.

The meetings I attended were devoted exclusively to lectures on Communist theory and objectives, including the overthrow of the American government by armed force at the opportune time in the future, and to answering questions of the members.

There were some theoretical discussions based on my lectures. No "business" was taken up or practical work planned during my visits to the unit.

In 1941 I met many party members who either then or later were engaged in important research work leading to the development of the atomic bomb. Among them was Dr. Frank Oppenheimer. He and his wife Jacquinette were regarded as active and reliable Communists.

Jacquinette applied for a leave of absence from party work and activities on grounds of poor health in the summer of 1941. I granted the request, with approval of Drasin and May, the other members of the party Secretariat for the county. This did not mean leaving the party—only being excused from the strenuous activities that fill the lives of Communists.

The fall of 1941 was marked by several rather unusual events in the party in Alameda County. One day, District Organizer Schneiderman called me to San Francisco party headquarters and gave me some rather strange directives. I was able to go to the Hotel Woodrow in Oakland, ask for a man in a second floor room, identify myself by a code name. Then I was to give full, complete, and honest answers to every question this man would ask me.

I had never seen the man before, although I personally knew every ranking party leader in the United States, and there were few secondary leaders I had not at least seen in conventions and at "enlarged" meetings or "plenums" of the National Committee. The man spoke English fluently, though in the rather mechanical way it is often spoken by people from other countries who have learned our language well in school. Although he didn't tell me who he was or his position, I regarded my questioner as a representative of the Soviet GPU (now the MVD). He questioned me at some length regarding party organization, strength of sections, and places of employment of the members. But most of the questions related to many individual leaders and members of the party, my evaluation of their ability and their reliability and

devotion to the Communist movement.

About December 20 I was called to a meeting of the District Buro in San Francisco. There Schneiderman informed me that a special Buro meeting had just been held to which I had not been called, although a member of it, and two decisions had been made. First, I was to go with my family to Los Angeles and receive a new party assignment there—the nature of my work to be revealed after arrival. Second, I was to be succeeded as Alameda County organizer by Steve Nelson.

I asked for the reasons for the decisions. Louise Todd, the District Organizational Secretary, replied:

"As an old Communist leader you should know that an organizer carries out orders and does not ask the reasons for them. The reason for the decision is connected with the war and the international situation. I can not say any more; I have already said too much."

My wife, however, took a different view of the decisions. The long story of our gradual disillusionment and loss of faith in communism does not concern the Oppenheimer narrative except for the mere fact that we were looking for a way to get out without physical danger of "liquidation." The new party order offered a perfect excuse.

My wife refused to go to Los Angeles, declaring she did not wish to take our two children out of their schools or to quit her wartime job with the Western Die Casting Company. Her dramatic personal clash with Schneiderman and her defiance of party orders led to our removal from leading positions, and to the right I had long desired to obtain private employment.

We were "permitted" to remain in Alameda County. In 1942 we both dropped out of the party by failing to attend meetings and pay dues, despite repeated visits, pressure, and threats from Steve Nelson, who had succeeded me in early January. On one occasion Nelson said, on a visit to my home, "You should know that the party does not allow people who have held such leading positions as you have to 'drop out.'"

During the war years my wife and I were both employed in defense industry. In January, 1945, for reasons of health I had to leave the Bay area and move to Brownsville, Texas, where I obtained other defense work with Pan American Airways.

• • •

During the subsequent years we were



—Wide World Photo

Steve Nelson (right) talks with his attorney, Emanuel Bloch, after a House Un-American Activities Committee session during which Nelson admitted being a Communist but accused investigators of "trying to compel me to testify against myself."

amazed at the naive belief of most Americans, including some of the highest officials of the government, that the atomic bomb was an "American secret" and that the Soviet Union did not know how to make it! We were astonished and dismayed to see American foreign policy based on such a fantastic theory and conclusion. We could not imagine intelligence agencies failing to be aware of the fact that many Communist scientists helped to develop the bomb and knew every step and process in its manufacture. It was far more impossible to conceive of American Communists being aware of something of importance without passing that knowledge on to the only government to which they owe allegiance—the Soviet government.

The most fundamental and elementary principle of communism is that the governments of the United States and all other "capitalist" countries are enemy governments, that Communists and "class-conscious workers" owe them no allegiance, and that ultimately American Communists, with the aid of the Soviet Union and its Red Army, must overthrow and completely destroy by force the present government of this nation. Any Communist or so-called "former" Communist who makes assertions to the contrary is either a deliberate liar or a moron; and few if any morons ever pass the party screening and get into the organized Communist ranks.

It is unreasonable and unthinkable that members of a party aiming at the defeat and destruction of the American government with the aid and support of the Soviet Red Army would ever hesitate to pass on any valuable military secrets to his "true fatherland," the Soviet Union. Any true Communist would regard important and effective espionage against the American government as a great privilege. Many would be ready to give their lives if necessary to bring about the victory of the Kremlin and the annihilation of the hated

American "capitalist" government.

Those foolish enough to believe any true Communist would not welcome an opportunity to engage in espionage for the Soviet Union should read *The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists*, adopted at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International and reaffirmed by the Seventh and last World Congress. In it they will find such language as this:

The Red Army is not an 'enemy' army, but the army of the international proletariat. In the event of a war against the Soviet Union, the workers in capitalist countries must not allow themselves to be scared from supporting the Red Army and from expressing this support by fighting against their own bourgeoisie, by the charge of treason that the bourgeoisie may hurl against them. (From page 29.)

• • •

Sylvia and I slowly regained our faith in the American government after our disillusionment and break with communism. After we became convinced that the victory of world communism would bring about a thousand years or more of slavery and terror and destroy everything worth while in civilization, we still, for a long time, looked upon the American government as "a lesser evil."

When our faith in American institutions was gradually restored and we recovered completely from the virus of communism, we hesitated about going to the FBI and placing our vast knowledge of the Red conspiracy at the disposal of the government. There was great physical danger involved, and the fear we might meet the fate of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Laura Law of Aberdeen, Wash.; Everett Hudson of Los Angeles, and others who had been liquidated after breaking with the Reds was no imaginary danger. And if we did not meet that fate, we well knew how the Communists would smear our characters, fabricate false charges and would seek to remove all opportunities for employment. If we escaped physical murder, Sylvia and I and our two children might well starve to death. These factors long sealed our lips as we read of congressional investigations of wartime atomic espionage in Alameda County and elsewhere.

In December, 1947, after a family conference that included the children, I phoned the FBI for an appointment, and Sylvia and I placed our knowledge at the disposal of our government. For a year and a half this was on a secret and confidential basis, but in May, 1949, we were subpoenaed by congressional committees.

Before going to Washington for testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I casually remarked to a reporter on the Miami newspaper where I was then employed that I believed Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer had been at a Communist meet-



—Wide World Photo

William Schneiderman

ing where I made a report in 1941, though my wife and I could not be positive from newspaper pictures, and that I intended to mention this to the committee investigators in Washington. After phone conversations with someone in Washington, someone I presumed to be in the government and to speak authoritatively, this reporter called me into a side office.

He said that I should not mention the name of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer in Washington, that he had been advised by the man he had talked with, not identified by name, that Dr. Oppenheimer had cooperated with the government and had assisted in "catching Soviet agents."

I accepted this story in good faith. I was told that this did not in any way apply to Dr. Frank Oppenheimer and that my wife and I could testify fully regarding knowledge of him.

On May 25, 1949, in the crowded corridors of the old House Office Building and the waiting rooms of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Sylvia and I recognized at sight three former "comrades" we had not seen for more than seven years. They were all important atomic scientists—Professor Clarence Hiskey, Dr. Joseph Weinberg and Professor David Bohm. We were amazed to find that David Bohm had been on a "loyalty board" of atomic scientists!

Sylvia and I identified Dr. Frank Oppenheimer and his wife Jacquinetta as having been members of the Communist party in Alameda County in 1941. Three weeks later both were called before the House Committee and when placed under oath they admitted "former" membership, until sometime in 1941. But they refused to prove that their loyalty to the Reds was completely in the past by their refusal to name

others who had belonged to the same units with them. Dr. Frank Oppenheimer, indeed, gave the most amazing reason for leaving the party. He told the Congressmen that he "left the party because it did not try hard enough to convince people of the fundamental correctness of its program!"

The younger of the Oppenheimer brothers did not explain why, in 1947, he had threatened a libel suit against the *Washington Times-Herald* for saying that he had once belonged to the Communist party.

During the next six months, after conversations with many people in intelligence agencies, I learned that there was no foundation for the statement that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer had helped "catch" any Soviet agents. When I met the Miami newspaperman who had in 1949 told me of the phone call from Washington, I asked him the identity of the man who had made these statements. He said he could not recall.

Seeing an issue of *LIFE* magazine in October, 1949, I positively recognized the cover picture of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer as being the same man as the individual previously referred to as Professor Z.

I saw the copy of *Life* in the Minneapolis airport as I was enroute to Seattle. I immediately sent an airmail postcard to my wife in Miami, telling her to get a copy. She was almost sure, but not as positive in her identification as I had been. She did not make a definite and unqualified identification of Dr. Oppenheimer until she saw another picture of him, also in *Life*, in the winter of 1950. That picture, with Sylvia's handwritten identification on the margin, has been in the files of the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities since March of 1950. A short time after publication of that picture both Sylvia and I saw Dr. Oppenheimer in *March Of Time*. She saw it in Miami; I saw it in California. *March Of Time's* close-up sound movies of Dr. Oppenheimer provided even more positive identification than the *Life* photos.

In November, 1949, I was called to San Francisco as a witness in the perjury trial of Harry Bridges. During the weeks I was waiting to take the stand, FBI agents spent considerable time with me in intensive searches for all or any of three houses in the Bay area.

The first house in which the government was interested was the place where the District Bureau had met during May and June of 1941, in San Francisco. It was a very unusual house, easy to recognize, and I drew diagrams of the exterior and interior. I had been taken to meetings there by Walter Lambert, Steve Nelson, and other Bureau members from San Francisco, and had never known the address. All efforts to find it failed at that time, but I have been informed

that it was subsequently located from my descriptions. It was found to have belonged to a former U.S. government official, living in Washington, D.C., in 1941, who has been identified by Elizabeth Bentley as a Soviet espionage agent.

A second house the FBI desired to find was the place where I had attended meetings of the Young Communist League with Dr. Joseph Weinberg and others in 1941. Again I drew diagrams of the exterior and interior and in this case I knew the general location in Oakland.

In a government car with FBI agents, Charles Brush and a Mr. Modehouse, we drove up one street and down another, searching for the place. Although I was sure I would recognize the house at sight, with its curved archways, it was not easy to locate.

Finally, as we drove by 146 Maraga Street, Oakland, I recognized it as the place. The 1949 occupants were most cooperative and permitted me and the FBI agents to look at the interior. It corresponded to my description. Government investigation revealed the fact that in 1941 the house at 146 Maraga Street had been occupied by a known member of the Young Communist League, and that another known Communist, a veteran of the Red "Abraham Lincoln" Brigade in Spain, had given that address in registering his car in 1941.

FBI Agents Brush and Modehouse also took me on many extensive searches in the hills around Berkeley for a third house important to government investigations. It was the place where Kenneth May had taken me and Sylvia in 1941—the house where I had made a report on the new party line to special section units. I had given the FBI the most minute description of the interior and exterior of the house and its physical surroundings, and had drawn diagrams showing the main features.

The FBI agents and I did not have the slightest lead to indicate the owner or occupant of the house where the 1941 meetings were held, and the hill areas around Berkeley are extensive. We drove up one street after another with absolutely no success.

About January 1, 1950, after my testimony in the Bridges trial had been completed, I was asked by Mr. Richard E. Combs, chief counsel of the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee, to remain for a time in California as a special investigator on the staff of his committee. I accepted the invitation and immediately began work.

During the five months of my employment most of my time was devoted to work with Mr. Combs or other investigation and study in connection with

two matters. First was the murder of the brilliant 21-year-old Everett Hudson, a student of UCLA, in September, 1948. All evidence pointed to murder by Soviet MVD agents because they feared Hudson was in process of breaking with the Red movement after he had acquired inside information of great importance. It was a typical Soviet liquidation job, carried out with scientific precision, and indicates the danger hanging over those who have considerable confidential information about the Red apparatus if they are suspected of intent to break with the Kremlin masters.

The cold-blooded murder of Hudson obviously was done by hypodermic injection of a little known but deadly drug I will not name for obvious reasons. This and other MVD murders reveal the true and brutal nature of communism behind a thin and false veneer of pseudo-idealism.

My second major field of work was in investigation of Soviet atomic espionage in Alameda County during the war years. I studied extensive minutes of meetings of Scherer's FAECT apparatus that had fallen into the hands of the California committee, and other documentary material, and in light of my own California experiences and first-hand inside knowledge I was able to understand things that would have been a puzzle to others.

The FBI and the California state committee were equally interested in finding the house in the Berkeley hills where I had made my 1941 report. During January and February the searches continued. Sometimes I went with FBI agents, sometimes with Mr. Combs and Mr. X, a California security official. We got nowhere and realized that by random drives through the hills we might spend months or a year before we located the house.

After the first of March I suggested the possibility that the meeting might have been held in the home of a subscriber of the Communist daily, *People's World*, and proposed that we obtain the publication's 1941 mailing list and check the residences of every subscriber who lived in the hill areas around Berkeley. From an intelligence source in San Francisco Mr. Combs and I obtained the 1941 *People's World* mailing list, and with the aid of maps listed names and addresses of all who lived in the Berkeley hills.

On the subscription list we found that among those living in hills around Berkeley were Professor Haakon Chevalier and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the latter with address at 1 Eagle Hill. Along with many others we went to the addresses of both Professor Chevalier and Dr. Oppenheimer. Only a glance was necessary to show me that neither was the house we were looking for.

We went on down the list, checking off name after name, and were perhaps two-thirds of the way to the end when we came to the address of a

People's World subscriber, Erle Loran, 10 Kenilworth Court. That day Mr. Combs and I were in a car driven by Mr. X of the state security forces. We found that Kenilworth Court really is only a drive, and ended at a house partly concealed on its front side by high trees.

Mr. X and Mr. Combs remained in the car, parked on the paved street, while I walked up the drive known as Kenilworth Court. *As soon as I came to the house I instantly recognized it as the place of the 1941 meeting.* There were two cars parked in the basement garage. I took down the license numbers and returned to inform Mr. Combs and Mr. X that the long search had come to a successful end.

It is important to point out here that long before the house was found I had given Mr. Combs the same detailed information on the exterior and interior that I had furnished to the FBI. Mr. Combs even took the precaution to file the drawings that I had given him.

We drove to Mr. X's office and by phone checked the license numbers I had obtained. One of the cars was registered in the name of Erle Loran, the other in his wife's name. The FBI immediately was advised that the house finally had been located. The only remaining tasks were to check on the interior and to find out all we could about Erle Loran before we questioned him regarding the 1941 meeting. Both the California committee and the FBI began independent searches of utility and other records to establish the "fact" we expected to prove—that Loran was the occupant at the time of the meeting.

Investigations revealed surprisingly little to connect Erle Loran, an art professor at the University of California, with the Communist party other than subscription to its daily paper over a period of years. We presumed, however, that he had been a very careful undercover member.

The FBI was the first to obtain detailed information on the interior of the house and its agents informed me that it corresponded exactly with my drawings and the descriptions I had given them in all major respects. (There has been some minor remodeling of the interior since 1941.)

Perhaps two weeks after the house was located, an agent of the FBI gave me a great surprise. He told me that the house had been occupied at the time of the 1941 meeting, not by Professor Erle Loran, but by Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and his wife Katherine. Investigations had disclosed the fact that in the fall of 1940 Professor Loran had leased his home at 10 Kenilworth Court to Dr. Oppenheimer and had gone to New York, remaining there until the latter part of August of 1941.

(To be continued next month)



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FRANCE—The Tragic Years 1939-47.

By Sisley Huddleston, Devin-Adair, \$5.00.

Reviewed by KARL BAARSLAG

France—The Tragic Years 1939-47 is an excellent but misnamed book. Huddleston might better have entitled it "The Tragedy of Marshal Petain." Actually it also includes a great measure of the tragedy of Sisley Huddleston, an Englishman who obviously loved France far more than he did the land of his birth. Born in England in 1883 Huddleston died a French citizen in 1952. He was an internationally famous journalist and for a time served as European correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Huddleston's book is indispensable in understanding French political instability today. A nation whose governments rise and fall almost with the frequency of the tides is obviously already off the stage of history no matter how glorious her role in the past or how eager her desire once more to get the center of the stage. Huddleston, a fine and sensitive writer, as well as a sagacious observer, not only stubbornly refuses to concede this, but tries his best to convince the rest of the world that France will yet recover her soul and her greatness.

Military judgments would seem safer and sounder to the average layman. The private opinions of General Eisenhower and other American military leaders on the military potential of France are well known. British General J. F. C. Fuller, author of "*Tanks in War*" and a recognized psychological warfare authority, summed up the estimate succinctly when he told an American magazine:

"A truly prudent commander, with advanced forces in Germany, would have to earmark several divisions to protect his lines of communication through France. There is too much danger of Communist disruption and sabotage."

General Fuller was then asked whether he thought France could become strong again within a reasonable time. He replied:

"I am pessimistic about that. It's been a hundred years, away back in the Crimean war, since France had genuine military vitality. Ever since 1870 the French have been slipping in terms of stability and power."

Any cold-blooded and realistic appraisal of France's recuperative powers must necessarily include that of morale.

The sad verdict of history is that France was bled white and really defeated in World War I and never recovered from that terrible bloodletting. She managed to hang on to the end and emerge as a "victor" thanks to her allies. This is no disgrace to a once great country.

Our common mother Europe gave birth to many countries that rose to great power and glory only later to play out their roles, exhaust themselves and to sink back into obscurity as fourth-rate powers.

Huddleston's book attempts two difficult tasks. A primary one of rehabilitating the truly tragic figure of Marshal Petain to his rightful place in French history and world esteem. The second one of explaining away France's fatal weakness—loss of national pride and morale—and convincing the West that the land he so deeply loved is really young, beautiful, and strong. I would say that Huddleston fails in the latter effort largely by the mass of evidence which he himself produces. The little known story of the ghastly mass murders of well over 100,000 innocent people including even children as "collaborators" during the Liberation by the so-called "heroes of the French Resistance" is amply confirmed by Huddleston. American and other intelligence officers in France at the time were fully cognizant of this sickening and disgraceful infamy even though the American press and government carefully suppressed the story.

The bloodthirsty microphone warriors at Algiers had screamed over the radio beamed to their homeland that "two million heads will roll" once Anglo-American forces liberated France. The fact that only a hundred thousand perished will presumably be offered as proof of Communist magnanimity and restraint. Nor were Communists, according to Huddleston, the sole perpetrators of these foul murders, tortures, and acts of mass terror. In the chaos that followed the retreat of the Germans to their own soil, the prisons were emptied of criminals and then refilled to the bursting point with French patriots, innocent people, and others

whose guilt the courts themselves could not finally decide after years of legal wrangling.

The whole poignant story of a great French national hero who at the advanced age of eighty was recalled from a deserved retirement to head up the defeated and partially captive French state is told with sensitive dignity. Huddleston makes no attempt to disguise his complete admiration for and confidence in the integrity of Marshal Petain. He confirms our own Admiral Leahy's estimation of the marshal at Vichy. Huddleston paints a truly tragic figure of an old military hero pathetically striving beyond his feeble powers to salvage something from the total catastrophe into which his beloved country had been plunged by "politicians."

But if French politicians were responsible for the debacle of 1939 then forty million Frenchmen were in turn responsible for their politicians. The latter most certainly had not seized power against the will of the majority nor were they a fascist dictatorship. Huddleston was an educated Englishman. He certainly must have been familiar with the "Golden Bough" and other standard works on the history of human scapegoats. Nor were unprincipled and base French politicians solely responsible for the moral dry rot that had already eaten through the very heart of France.

For a time the total collapse of France in 1940 in a matter of four weeks stunned and baffled the world. The Poles fighting tanks with cavalry and devoid of air cover had managed to hold out against both the Nazi and the Russians stabbing them in the back for nineteen days. France we had been told had the "finest army in the world." Yet two million of these "finest soldiers" surrendered en masse or melted away in the few weeks of the Blitzkrieg. They were demoralized and scattered to the wind not by Hitler's fast-hitting Panzers and Stukas but by France's own three horsemen of the Apocalypse—the Communists, Socialists, and pacifists. Americans might well ponder the real reasons for France's fall in 1939. We have the same forces working towards the same end in this country.

Huddleston's severely critical account of DeGaulle's role and actions seems a fair one judged by the record. He is, however, wrong in charging DeGaulle with espousing the Communists and flirting with Moscow because of his

KARL BAARSLAG was a U.S. Navy Intelligence officer attached to the top secret "T Force" under the Combined Intelligence Objectives Subcommittee of SHAEF. He landed in France shortly after the liberation of Paris and was assigned to Marshal Montgomery's 21st Army Group as Special U.S. Navy Representative for the invasion of Holland and Northwest Germany. While France itself was outside his field of interest he did learn from other American intelligence officers in France of the mass murders, atrocities, and bank robberies by the French Communists, semi-criminal elements, and hoodlums perpetrated as our troops drove the Germans out of France. Commander Baarslag was the first American naval officer to reach Kiel with the special British "T Force" which seized the great naval base before Admiral Donitz had surrendered northwest Germany.

hatred for Petain. DeGaulle's curious pro-Communist action at Algiers puzzled and worried many Americans at the time. Only a few top military and O.S.S. leaders knew the real reason.

When France collapsed in a matter of weeks and the German secret police and Sicherheitsdienst occupied the country, the French neglected to leave behind an underground. Thanks to the Soviets' highly efficient and well organized espionage and sabotage network only the French Communists had the necessary passport forgers, secret printing plants, couriers, and other necessary implements for underground work. It was also well known that French Communists in the underground with characteristic treachery promptly fingered to the Germans and almost certain death all strangers and foreign agents who had not cleared through their network. Gen. DeGaulle simply had to make a deal with Moscow in order to get his own secret agents and couriers in and out of occupied France. Once the Germans were driven out of France, DeGaulle quickly enough broke off his affair with the Communists.

Nevertheless his connivance at the disgrace and condemnation of Marshal Petain was strictly C.P. line at the time and indefensible on any grounds. DeGaulle also has a great deal to answer for in that he did little or nothing to stop the worst excesses and horrors committed during the *epuration*.

Huddleston's book also helps deflate one of the greatest hoaxes of the last war—the alleged daring, ferocity, and magnitude of the French “resistance” movement. Our own OWI under the direction of the ineffable Elmer Davis helped enormously in pulling off this biggest swindle on the public since the “South Seas Bubble.” Any American intelligence officer on the spot at the time will tell you that except for the Maquis most of the “heroic French underground” did all of their German-killing with their mouths after the war was over. Except for some telephone and telegraph line cutting, a few blown bridges, some railroad sabotage, and the assassination of a few isolated German soldiers, the German occupation forces recorded no serious inconvenience traceable to the “heroic French underground” that Mrs. Roosevelt gushed about.

Huddleston estimates that less than 3,000 resistance fighters played any significant role in the Paris area fighting. A few months later when Paris was alive with Allied troops, no fewer than 125,000 applications were made for official certificates of service in the F.F.I.—*Forces Francais de l'Interieur*! Huddleston writes: “In one town that I know well, there were a few hundred adherents (of the Resistance)—until September 1944, when suddenly thousands put on armlets (sold for a few

francs) and paraded with the real Resistants. The scorn of the real Resistants for the ‘Septembrisards’ is justified.”

I can testify that I saw exactly the same shabby show in Holland which I entered before the armistice was signed and while German troops still clogged the highways. The Dutch underground had played an heroic role, suffered grievous losses but never numbered more than a few thousand brave men and women. As my special task force, attached to Marshal Montgomery's 21st army group, rushed into Holland to seize certain key Germans, we were continuously amazed at the hordes of “resistance fighters” and “underground workers” we met swarming the towns and byways wearing orange brassards with the letters of the Dutch underground. Real underground men told me they were outraged and dismayed but helpless to do anything about these phonies. At least it could be said for the Dutch fakers that they committed few known murders or other excesses.

In France the self-elected “heroes of the Resistance” at the price of a couple of francs for an armband, demonstrated their German-killing prowess after the Germans were gone by stripping naked girls and women who allegedly had consorted with or merely served Germans and parading them through the streets with shaved heads and Nazi swastikas painted on their bare backs with hot tar. The more vicious and criminal elements paid off old grudges against their betters by holding kangaroo courts and condemning to summary executions their luckless enemies or innocent people whose property or belongings they coveted.

The Communists improved the shining hour by murdering in cold blood as “Petainists” or “collaborators” all known anti-Communists including even known Socialists and radicals. Huddleston points out that some of the worst real collaborators saved their own skins by quickly changing sides and joining the murder mobs seeking innocent victims. He also confirms Possony and others who have set the total figure of murders during the *epuration* at 105,000 now generally accepted as official. American services set the figure at 80,000. It was estimated that 20,000 persons lost their lives under the Reign of Terror in 1793-4 and that 18,000 perished in the butcheries of the Commune of 1870. And this mass murder of most known anti-Communists shortly after liberation won by American and British blood explains why there is no anti-Communist movement even today worth speaking about.

Huddleston also correctly appraised the real secret meaning of Teheran when he wrote:

“In the month of December, 1953, Russia won the war. It was not on the battlefield that the fate of the world was

decided. It was at Teheran, where, after many *demarches*, many cajoleries, many flatteries, the master of the Kremlin consented to meet Churchill and Roosevelt and was rewarded beyond his wildest hopes by his associates.

“Looking back, it is incredible that we should have consented so completely to the demands of Stalin. The consequences of the Teheran surrender were to fructify later, but today we see clearly that the world was made safe for Bolshevism at Teheran. Later conferences merely confirmed the promises there given.”

And now another “Big Four” conference is coming up with France one of the “big” four.

This raises the question—“Is France still a great power?” Huddleston tries very hard to convince us that France despite her ignominious defeat and disgrace of the *epuration* will yet recover her past stature and glory. But do great nations ever come back once they start to slip from the top? In 1939 with a smaller population and no outside economic or military help, France was able to arm and train 160 divisions. In 1955, ten years after the Liberation, with practically unlimited American military and economic aid, France still pleads total inability to raise the minimum NATO quota of ten divisions. But if the French seem loath to shoulder a rifle for *La Patrie* they are not coy about becoming militant Communists. Despite some recent small decline in membership the C.P. of France can still boast of a quarter of a million hard core, fanatical members and five million supporters at the ballot box.

From James Burnham, “CONTAINMENT OR LIBERATION”, page 71:

“In France, after more than five billion dollars in grants since the war, not to speak of two rescues from military defeat in a generation, there is not a single newspaper or magazine with an editorial policy that is pro-American, or even consistently friendly to America.”

Huddleston's last chapter of less than six pages appropriately is devoted to the last years and death of Marshal Petain, whom he calls “the last of the great marshals of France.” The hero of Verdun had hurried back to his beloved fatherland from a German prison after the war. A grateful country promptly arrested the Pershing of France, tried him before a kangaroo court of no legal standing, and sentenced the 89-year general to death. “Admiral Leahy sent a letter attesting to his firm belief in the marshal's integrity and sincere devotion to the security and interests of France.” The death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment—solitary confinement in an old fortress on an island off the harsh Vendean coast. Neither from his cell nor the courtyard

(Continued on Page 43)

Facts Forum Radio-TV

ALABAMA				
Albertville	WAVU*	630	Sun	4:00 p
Alexander City	WRFS*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
Andalusia	WCTA*	1340	Mon	7:15 p
	WCTA†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Anniston	WSPC*	1390	Wed	7:30 a
Birmingham	WBRC*	960	Tues	6:30 p
Brewton	WEBJ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	WEBJ†	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Carrollton	WRAG*	590	Sun	12:30 p
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Cullman	WFMH*	1300	Thurs	7:15 a
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
	WHOS*	800	Sat	12:15 p
	WMSL†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WMSL-TV*	23	Sat	7:30 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Sun	6:00 p
	WXAL†	1400	Thurs	8:30 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560	Sun	12:15 p
Eufaula	WULA**	1240	To be announced	
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	1:00 p
	WWWF*	990	Sun	12:30 p
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGAD*	1350	Sun	12:45 p
Geneva	WGEA*	1150	Sun	12:45 p
Greenville	WGYV*	1400	Thurs	9:15 p
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Hamilton	WERH*	970	Fri	7:30 a
	WERH*	970	Sun	1:00 p
Huntsville	WBBS*	1550	Mon	7:00 p
	WBHP†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	WBHP†	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
	WPBB*	1290	Mon	4:30 p
Jackson	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Marion	WABB*	1480	Wed	7:00 p
Mobile	WAPX*	1600	Mon	7:15 p
Montgomery	WJJJ†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOV-TV*	20	Fri	1:00 p
	WCOV-TV*	20	Mon	9:30 p
Muscle Shoals	WLAY†	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Ozark	WOZK*	900	Sun	5:00 p
	WOZK*	900	Sat	5:15 p
Phenix City	WPNX*	1460	Sun	7:15 p
	WPNX*	1460	To be announced	
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	To be announced	
Ronoke	WEIR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR*	920	Sun	3:30 p
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Troy	WTBF*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p

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

ALASKA				
Anchorage	KFIA-TV**	2	Thurs	6:30 p
	KFIA-TV*	2	Tues	9:00 p
Fairbanks	KTVF-TV*		To be announced	
	KTVF-TV**		To be announced	

ARIZONA				
Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Phoenix	KOOL-TV**	10	Sat	6:30 p
	KOY†	550	Sun	8:30 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	7:30 p

ARKANSAS				
Arkadelphia	KVRC†	1240	Mon	10:30 p
Benton	KBBA*	690	To be announced	
Camden	KAMD†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KAMD†	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Fayetteville	KGRH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Forrest City	KXJK**	950	To be announced	
Fort Smith	KWHN†	1320	Mon	8:30 p
	KWHN†	1320	Thurs	8:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sun	6:00 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
Hope	KFSA-TV*	22	Wed	9:00 p
	KXAR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Hot Springs	KXAR†	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Little Rock	KWFC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
	KARK*	920	Fri	8:45 p
	KXLR†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
	KXLR†	1150	Thurs	8:30 p
Magnolia	KARK-TV*	4	Sun	1:30 p
	KSSC*		To be announced	
Mena	KVMA**	630	Sun	3:30 p
	KENA*	1450	Sun	9:15 p
	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KENA†	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
	KENA*	1450	Sun	8:00 p
Mountain Home	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KTLO†	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Pine Bluff	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
Russellville	KXIJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KXIJ†	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Stuttgart	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Tuxarkana	KCMC-TV*	6	Sat	8:30 p

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

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

...Your Facts Forum News is the finest vehicle I have yet seen for the dissemination of TRUTH. Communism is slowly but surely creeping upon us. The Commie line now is to weaken those who hurt them the most, and I can appreciate fully the constant fight against chaos and confusion that you must face. The public will never understand this as fully as those of us who are before the public. I know of which I speak....

OLIVER VICKERY, Lecturer
357 Hanover Ave., Oakland 6, Calif.

...I am highly in favor of Facts Forum and its policy....The Lanier Kappa Hi-Y club...would enjoy seeing some of your films...also like to know more about your circulating library....We all particularly enjoy Dan Smoot's program....

BOB STEPHENS, President
Lanier Kappa Hi-Y Club
P. O. Box 1425, Montgomery, Ala.

I was very much interested in your broadcast... "American Communists in the UN." [reprinted on p. 8] I would like to use some points in a talk I am giving....

OLLIVER SIEBENLIST
Grand Lake Lodge, Box 515
Grand Lake, Colo.

...I shall be glad to accept your films and select titles for re-distribution to others in our area.

CARLTON W. H. ERICKSON, Director
Audio-Visual Center
The University of Connecticut
Storrs, Conn.

...Dan Smoot is a "must" with us—in our opinion the "thinkinest" program on the air. May he and his program long continue.

McFERRIN C. RITTER
2819 E. 22nd St., Tucson, Ariz.

I have listened to your broadcasts over TV ...with great interest and feel I have received more of an education from listening to you give both sides of the different topics on which you speak than I ever have from newspapers and books.

I would like to have a copy of "Origin and Purposes of the UN" [Facts Forum News, April issue]....

MRS. JEAN THOMPSON
Mt. McKinley Bldg., Apt. 301
Anchorage, Alaska

Please include my name on your Facts Forum Poll list. The Facts Forum News is a must for my family....

LUCILE S. WINDHAM
1759 Christian Ave., Macon, Ga.

...As an American housewife, mother and citizen, I want to thank you for what you are doing in behalf of all of us, because I... sincerely believe you are doing more to place the real truth before the public than any one else today....Regardless of adverse criticism, I hope you can keep up the good work....

MRS. DAVID L. HENDRY
1221 N. Garden Ave., Boise, Idaho

CALIFORNIA—Continued

Oroville	KMOR**	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KAFP*	1490	Sun	4:45 p
	KAFP*	1490	Mon	7:30 p
San Bernardino	KFXM†	590	Sun	8:30 p
Sacramento	KXOA†	1470	Sun	8:30 p
San Diego	KGB†	1360	Sun	8:30 p
	KFMB-TV**	8	Sun	4:30 p
San Francisco	KGO*	810	Sun	9:45 p
	KFRC†	610	Sun	8:30 p
	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	9:30 a
San Luis Obispo	KVEC†	920	Sun	8:30 p
	KVEC-TV*	6	Sun	7:00 p
	KVEC-TV**	6	Sat	
Santa Cruz	KSCO*	1080	Thurs	7:30 p
Stockton	KTVU-TV*	36	Tues	8:30 p
	KTVU-TV**	36	Sun	6:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE*	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	To be announced	

COLORADO

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

CONNECTICUT

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

DELAWARE

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

Washington	WMAL*	630	Sun	6:15 p
Washington	WEAM*	1390	Thurs	10:00 p
	WEAM*	1390	Thurs	10:00 p
	WTTG-TV*	5	Sun	6:30 p

FLORIDA

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

Vote the May poll questions, Page 65

GEORGIA

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

HAWAII

Hilo	KILA*	850	Sun	8:45 p
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IDAHO

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

(Continued on Page 30)

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

Testimony of Owen Lattimore before Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Internal Security, February 28, 1952. Senators present:

Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), Chairman
Herbert R. O'Connor (D-Md.)
Willis Smith (D-N.C.)

Homer Ferguson (R-Mich.)
Wm. E. Jenner (R-Ind.)
Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah)

Owen Lattimore on the CHINA LOBBY

(Senator O'Connor presiding)

SEN. FERGUSON: Would you name the China Lobby?

MR. LATTIMORE: The China Lobby, Senator, is, I think, something that has been characterized, in a political rather than legal use of terminology, as an open conspiracy.

SEN. FERGUSON: I understood yesterday you did not know what a "conspiracy" was.

MR. LATTIMORE: That is why I said this morning, "in political rather than legal terminology." I don't know what a conspiracy is in legal terminology.

SEN. FERGUSON: Do you know what it is politically?

MR. LATTIMORE: The expression "open conspiracy" is one that is fairly frequent in the writing of political scientists.

SEN. FERGUSON: What is it? What is an "open conspiracy," politically?

MR. LATTIMORE: I was just trying to get to that, Senator. An open conspiracy may be said to exist when people who are leagued together, not as members of an organization but because they have a common purpose, do not claim to be a membership organization but openly state what their objectives are and openly advertise their sympathies with each other, and quote each other's opinions and works, and so forth.

SEN. FERGUSON: Would you give us the common purpose of the China Lobby?

MR. LATTIMORE: The common purpose of the China Lobby is to make support of the driftwood government on the beaches of Formosa a primary objective of American foreign policy, subordinating other questions of policy to the consideration of all-out aid to Chiang Kai-shek; the activation of a campaign, based on Formosa, for the recovery of the mainland, and so forth.

SEN. FERGUSON: As I understand it, then, you speak of the Nationalist government as the "driftwood" government?

MR. LATTIMORE: I think that that is

a fair circumstantial characterization, Senator.

SEN. FERGUSON: You once worked for Chiang Kai-shek.

MR. LATTIMORE: It was not a driftwood government at that time. I worked for Chiang Kai-shek and I did the best I could for him.

SEN. FERGUSON: Did you know that the Communist line changed in July of 1943, and that your magazine carried the change of the party line, as far as Chiang Kai-shek's government was concerned?

MR. LATTIMORE: Senator, in the Tydings hearings, it was repeatedly asserted—

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is: Did you know it? That can be answered "yes" or "no."

• • •

MR. LATTIMORE: Yes, I knew of it as of 1950.

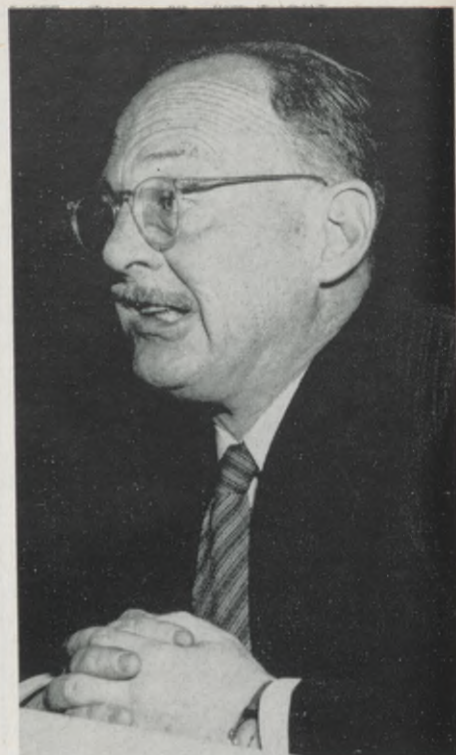
SEN. FERGUSON: Now, when did you change against the Nationalist government, against what you called the "driftwood government"?

MR. LATTIMORE: I, Senator, did not change against any government. I would find it hard to document my answer here exactly, but I think about 19—oh, by the end of the war, I had grave doubts whether the Nationalist government could survive a civil war; and by 1947 I was sure that they couldn't win a civil war; and I think by about 1948 I was convinced they were going to lose the civil war.

SEN. FERGUSON: Do you know now that your own government, the United States government, is supporting what you class as the "driftwood" government?

MR. LATTIMORE: I do, and I think it is a mistaken policy.

SEN. FERGUSON: And you are challenging the opinion and the honesty of people who you claim are assembled together as the China Lobby, who are supporting the very thing that their government is supporting, that is, the Nationalist government of China; is that not a fact?



—Wide World Photo

Owen Lattimore

MR. LATTIMORE: No, sir, not exactly. I am maintaining my own opinion as an expert, so far as I am an expert, that the government on Formosa is not viable for a long period. I think any policy based on that assumption is a mistaken policy that will lead us eventually into great difficulties. You have said that I have challenged the good faith—

• • •

SEN. SMITH: You are using an expression that I have been hearing off and on ever since I have been here, for the last year and a half, and you say "victims of the China Lobby." And I have never yet been able to get anybody to identify the China Lobby. Who are the personnel of the China Lobby, now, would you mind telling me, not only for past understanding but also for future guidance? Who are the China Lobby?

MR. LATTIMORE: Senator, your question follows on from a question asked me by Senator Ferguson a moment ago. However, I will do my best to amplify it.

As I say, I believe it is a rather amorphous body, an open conspiracy rather than a tight membership organization. I believe that one might say that it consists partly of professional or amateur lobbyists in the usual sense; that it has mercenaries, and that it also has occasional allies, sort of guerrilla troops skirmishing around the fringe; and, therefore, if one names any one person, that person might not be a member of the China Lobby in exactly the same sense as another person. But I should

(Continued on Page 42)

DURING the last five years millions of words have been printed and broadcast in the United States about the "China Lobby." Hundreds of thousands more have been published in Europe.

Yet none identify those mysterious figures who compose the "China Lobby." *The New York Times* constantly referred to me in its news columns as "head of the China Lobby." Finally I wrote asking them to name some of the persons who made up the lobby I headed. They replied:

Meanwhile, the reference to you as "head" of the China Lobby... will not be repeated.

Recently, on the television program, "Youth Wants to Know," Senator Magnuson was asked about the "China Lobby" by one of the high school boys. He said that all he could tell them was that he received frequent circular letters from a man in New York named Alfred Kohlberg, but had never seen him.

In the long Senate hearings on the dismissal of General MacArthur, more than fifty pages of the printed record is devoted to wrangling about the "China Lobby." Senators Morse and McMahon called for an investigation. Senator Morse said:

While American Communists and their fellow travelers have ardently backed the Chinese Communists... it was alleged that there was operating at the other extreme a propaganda and pressure group working for the Nationalist Chinese-Kuomintang-Chiang Kai-shek interests. This latter group is generally referred to in the American press as the China Lobby. (MacArthur hearings, p. 2116.)

... I have never had any contact or conversations or experience in any way with any person... that would justify my saying that I know anything about a China Lobby from firsthand contact therewith, if such a lobby exists. (*Ibid.*, p. 2119.)

Senator Sparkman said:

Mr. Secretary, I keep hearing a great deal about the so-called China Lobby. I must say I know nothing about it... (*Ibid.*, p. 2205.)

Senator Wiley said:

If there is such a thing as a China Lobby I know nothing about it, except as I have read in magazines... (*Ibid.*, p. 2190.)

At Senate request, Secretary Acheson called for all the material available in government and stated:

There is a very large collection of newspaper, magazine and other public articles... reports from other agencies such as the CIA reporting things which have been said to them... meetings between officers of the State Department and officers of other departments... these are all hearsay statements... This information is not sufficient or would not warrant me in making charges of any sort. (*Ibid.*, pp. 2206-7.)

The mystery continues.

The first known reference to the "China Lobby" was in a letter of instructions on the stationery of the Communist party of New York State, dated March 1, 1949, addressed to "All Sections and Counties" and signed "May Miller, Assistant Organizing Secretary." (*Ibid.*, p. 2266.)

Listing three major projects to be worked on by the party faithful, it read in part:

1. Demand a congressional investigation.
- A. Of the Chinese Lobby in Washington. One of the largest spending foreign influences in our Capital, not registered as foreign agents.

This Communist party order did not identify the personnel of the "China Lobby."

In May, 1950, testifying before the Tydings Committee of the Senate, Owen Lattimore blamed the "China Lobby" for all the charges against him by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, the anti-Communist crusader from Wisconsin. He identified only me and a Mr. Goodwin.

Lattimore's testimony was followed by a flood of articles and broadcasts about the "China Lobby." With the outbreak of the Korean war, June 25, 1950, public interest subsided.

All remained relatively quiet on the "Lobby" front until June 6, 1951, during the MacArthur hearings before the U.S. Senate, when questions about the "China Lobby" again hit the front pages. Learning that I was flying for a two weeks vacation in Europe, the press reported me as "fleeing." This excitement served to obscure William J. Goodwin (of whom more later) and left me as the entire identified "China Lobby" in the thousands of news items, articles and broadcasts, including numbers of articles I noticed in the European press after arrival there.

The following year Owen Lattimore, testifying before the McCarran Committee, blamed all the exposure of his colleagues in the Institute of Pacific Relations on the "China Lobby." On February 28, 1952, he was questioned (p. 3037):

Senator Smith:... you say 'victims of the China Lobby.'... Who are the China Lobby?

Mr. Lattimore:... one of the conspicuous members of the China Lobby is a Mr. William Goodwin... There is the well-known Mr. Alfred Kohlberg... Senator Knowland... is frequently referred to as 'the Senator from Formosa'... an employee of the China Lobby has been a Miss Freda Uteley... And that is all the names that I will name.

After consultation with his counsel, Mr. Lattimore further stated:

I should name Mr. George Sokolsky, a newspaper columnist and I believe radio commentator. I should name the *Chicago Tribune*...

I should name a Mr. Victor Lasky...

In April, 1952, two issues of *The Reporter* (a bi-weekly magazine of small circulation) were largely devoted to the "China Lobby." The first contained an editorial and five articles totaling twenty-seven pages. The second, six articles and an editorial totaling twenty-five pages. Persons identified with the "China Lobby" in one way or another were:

I received a letter dated Paris, July 23, 1954, from Boris Souvarine, first biographer of Stalin, as follows:

"The French press is still accusing the 'China Lobby' of all the sins. By the way, is there a reliable short text explaining what is exactly, or is not, the China Lobby? I would like to publish it here."

Knowing of no such article, it occurred to me to write it. Who could be better qualified, for...

I AM THE CHINA LOBBY

Alfred Kohlberg



—Wide World Photo

Dr. T. V. Soong
Dr. H. H. Kung
Mme. Chiang
Kai-shek
Amb. V. K.
Wellington Koo
Chen Li-fu
Chen Chih-mai
Major Louis Kung
Amb. T. F. Tsiang
Ludwig Rajchman
Roy W. Howard

Henry R. Luce
Alfred Kohlberg
Whiting Willauer
Gen. Claire L.
Chennault
Lauchlin Currie
Rep. Walter H. Judd
Norwood Allman
William J. Goodwin
Richard M. Nixon
Frederick C. McKee
Joseph R. McCarthy



Sokolsky

Howard

Chennault

Chambers

Rajchman

—Wide World Photos

I AM THE CHINA LOBBY

Six weeks after *The Reporter* articles, Senator Harry P. Cain of Washington made a speech on the floor of the Senate entitled "The China Lobby." In it he included a reprint of the entire thirteen articles from the two issues of *The Reporter*. His conclusion was that there was no "China Lobby" in the usual meaning of a group of lobbyists working for the interests of the Chiang Kai-shek government, but that there was a vast and all-pervasive Communist conspiracy extending into the press, radio and even the government itself, working against Chiang Kai-shek's cause and for the

Knowland, Richard M. Nixon, and Joseph R. McCarthy were Senators. Walter H. Judd is a Congressman.

Freda Utley is a writer, author of books on Japan and China, who has turned her attention to Europe since the late forties. Mr. Victor Lasky is an author who has never written about China.

This leaves only Norwood Allman, Frederick C. McKee, William J. Goodwin and Alfred Kohlberg as possible China Lobbyists.

Mr. McKee is a reputedly wealthy businessman of Pittsburgh, who became

I have pleaded for investigation by letter to the Buchanan House Lobbying Committee, to the McCarran Senate Committee, to Senator Morse, Senator Connally and others. No such investigation has been initiated, but the McCarran Committee granted me the privilege of filing an affidavit. My affidavit appears in Volume 14 of its hearings, beginning on page 4934. It sets forth, under oath, my long career as a businessman in China; my trip there during the war in 1943 as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China; my discovery of "monkey business" in our embassy; my return to America and complaints to the State Department; my discovery of the center of the conspiracy in the Institute of Pacific Relations, of which I was a member; and my open fight to get rid of the Reds in the Institute, ending in my defeat in 1947. Prior to that I had joined the anti-Communist American China Policy Association founded by J. B. Powell, and had also founded and become publisher of the only American magazine devoted exclusively to the exposure of communism, *Plain Talk*. My "lobbying" has consisted of open letters to the Congress and the press, articles in various publications, and the supply of information to Congressmen, writers, and others, on request.

The affidavit continued that I have never had any financial connection or transaction with any Chinese government or any person ever connected with same. Nor have I ever accepted any contribution from any person whatever. My efforts had been arduous; my results small. In spite of public warnings, beginning in 1944, I have seen America sell out China at Yalta and Potsdam, and in hundreds of erroneous decisions.

After the fall of China I saw its result in the Korean war, the fall of Indo-

(Continued on Page 29)



Goodwin

Lattimore

Utley

Allman

Currie

—Wide World Photos

Chinese Communists. He called for an investigation of both sides.

Referring to *The Reporter* articles, Senator Cain said:

Either Mr. Ascoli (publisher), Mr. Wertenbaker and their associates have been 'suckered' by the Communists from start to finish, or they have deliberately participated in a Communist maneuver.

Now to go back to all the persons named by Lattimore, *The Reporter*, and Senate statements about the "China Lobby," we may very well begin by scratching out all the Chinese names as they were all officials of the government of the Republic of China, in America on diplomatic missions. None was registered as a lobbyist. If they worked ardently for the best interests of their country, I think most Americans would agree that they set an example we would wish our own diplomats to follow.

Of the others named, Ludwig Rajchman is a Polish Communist; Roy W. Howard is Chairman of the Board of the Scripps-Howard papers; Henry R. Luce is publisher of the *Time-Life-Fortune* magazines. General Claire L. Chennault and Whiting Willauer are the owners and managers of CAT airline in the Far East and resident in Formosa and Monroe, Louisiana. Lauchlin Currie is the former Administrative Assistant to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, charged by Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley with being part of their Communist espionage network. William H.

interested in China only about 1949, long after America had abandoned that unhappy country.

Norwood Allman, a former judge in the Mixed Court in Shanghai, returned to the U.S. late in 1950, after a year behind the bamboo curtain, to raise his voice against Communist atrocities and America's inept policies.

William J. Goodwin was retained as public relations consultant by the Chinese government for one year beginning March, 1948. At the end of the year his contract was renewed for another year. He registered as both foreign agent and lobbyist under U.S. laws. His activities ended March 31, 1950. Goodwin's sworn reports revealed expenditures for the two years of \$55,000 for salary and \$32,633 for expenses.

As Goodwin ended his activities before the Lattimore testimony, May, 1950, which started all the hullabaloo, that leaves only me.



Morse

Magnuson

McMahon

McCarthy

Knowland

—Wide World Photos

Ike's Highway Program

(Continued from Page 3)

other supplies and road-building equipment would get billions in additional business. With the extra business, the construction industry would stay strong. New roads would stimulate the building of new factories, suburbs, and shopping centers.⁹

Once the job is done and traffic can move more freely and rapidly, the financial benefits will flow to automobile and tire manufacturers, to the gasoline and travel industry. All commerce will be made more efficient through easier, quicker movement of goods.

Some criticism of the President's plan has come from people who have the mistaken notion that toll roads can correct our serious highway problem. But toll roads, as experience has shown, can be made to pay for themselves only on the most heavily traveled highways, and these are a minute proportion of the total. Less than a thousand miles of toll roads are in use today. If twenty thousand miles of toll roads were built, that would still be only one-half of one per cent of all the federal aid highways.⁹

Only the federal government can properly supervise the planning and building of a highway system which will serve the needs of all the people in our expanding economy. The President's highway program is a good beginning toward the solution of a critical problem.

The program might also point the way to new programs for school and hospital construction. As we widen

activity in these fields, we will make jobs, create buying power, improve our defenses, and raise our health and education standards.

That was one side. The other side will come next.

Here are arguments of some who **DO NOT** approve of Ike's proposed ten-year highway building program.

We undeniably have a critical shortage of safe and adequate highways in the United States. But why must we turn to the federal government to solve this problem?

The standard assumption of all dictators and Socialist planners is that people do not have enough sense to manage their own affairs; that people don't have enough decency to help take care of the aged and sick in their own community—or even to educate their own children. Therefore, government must do all of these things for them. Government must take everything that everyone earns, put it in a big pot, and then dole back out to all the portions which government thinks each one ought to have. That is total socialism. It is also, of course, total slavery.¹⁰

Today we in the United States are just about half-slave and half-free. If you could compute all of the taxes that you actually pay—in direct income tax, various federal and state and local excise and retail sales taxes, plus the hidden taxes which go into the high cost of everything you must buy—you would discover that somewhat more



—Wide World Photos

Toll fees are charged those who use certain roadways. Top, an automatic collector on the Garden State Parkway near South Amboy, New Jersey, collects quarter toll. Device also photographs license plates of those who try to "beat" the collector. Lower, "For Whom Belles Toll." New York State Thruway Authority has issued toll collectors' badges to seventeen women. Photo shows collector receiving money from motorist at an interchange south of Albany. In all, the Thruway Authority has 343 toll collectors.

than 50 per cent of everything you make (regardless of how low your salary may be) goes to government.

Everyone of us as an individual knows that if he could keep all the money that government takes away from him, he could make better use of it than government does.¹⁰

Yet, collectively, as a nation of people, we permit government to take half of every dollar we make on the silly, socialistic assumption that politicians and bureaucrats can make better use of it than we can.¹⁰

Yet, if you (whom we presume to be incapable of managing your own affairs) are elected to Congress, or by any means become a bureaucrat or government official, then we assume that you have enough sense to manage everybody's affairs.

MORE BRAINS OUTSIDE?

What have we ever seen in the performance of government that justifies this naive faith in the mystical transformation of people who become bureaucrats? If you watch the performance of people in Congress, in the administration, and in the governmental agencies, you can hardly fail to conclude that there are more brains out-



—Wide World Photos

HIGHWAY HEADACHES—Across the nation, traffic snarling is a major problem. Top left, holiday week-enders crowd eastbound lane to New York City as they return from New Jersey while no cars are in sight on westbound lane. Top right, during transit strike in Washington, D.C., cars utilized street car tracks for parking space along Pennsylvania Avenue. Lower left, California highway patrolmen set up roadblock to check cars and drivers as part of Los Angeles' extensive campaign to cut traffic fatalities and accidents. Lower right, traffic congestion at an intersection in Detroit.



—Wide World Photo

Painting shows workmen putting up first U.S. 40 highway sign in Ohio back in 1926. Highway No. 40 follows the historic route of the National Pike conceived by George Washington in 1780.

side the governmental establishment than inside.¹¹

Why are we justified in insulting the people of Mississippi by saying that unless the federal government builds roads there, the people of Mississippi don't have enough pride or sense to build roads for themselves?

It is probably true that if Texas were left alone to build her own roads in her own way, the roads of Texas might not look like the roads of Illinois. But it's also true that unless Texas builds adequate roads, the great industrial establishments which have been moving to Texas for a number of years will quit moving there. If the forty-eight states were left alone, they would have to build adequate road systems for purely competitive reasons, if for none other.¹²

But suppose a state simply doesn't have enough money?

The federal government gets all of its funds from people who live in the individual states, and the indebtedness of the federal government is considerably more than ten times greater than the combined indebtedness of all the state, county, and municipal governments in the United States.¹³

If it were not for excessive federal taxes, the states, counties, and local communities could levy enough taxes to build the roads they want. In fact, proceeds from the retail sales taxes on gasoline which people are already paying—if used to build roads—would provide an adequate highway system; and, if so used, they would be the only equitable and sensible taxes we have, because they are levied only on the people who directly benefit from them. A man who has an automobile ought to help pay for the roads on which he drives the thing. If he uses the roads a great deal, he should pay a great deal. If he uses them little or not at

all, then he should pay little or not at all.¹³

If we really had a profound faith in the free market principle which built this nation, we would not assume that only the state can build roads. Why couldn't roads be built on a private speculative basis, the way houses and skyscrapers are built? What's wrong with private toll roads, if private individuals want to risk their money in building them?

If the federal government were completely out of the highway picture and the state governments had access to their own tax resources in their own states to build what highways they

wanted to build, and if the state governments at the same time would permit private individuals to build whatever private toll roads they wanted to risk their money in, we would very likely discover that private individuals can build better and cheaper roads to serve all of the people more economically than government at any level can build them.¹⁴

Consider the three basic factors which go into automotive transportation as we know it today. They are the automobile, the fuel, and the road. All three factors are essential. It does no good to have a fine car unless you have adequate fuel for it and a good road. It does no good to have the fuel unless you have the automobile. The road is useless if you don't have both of the other two.

How has this system of automotive transport developed in the United States? Private initiative has been in control of two of the essential factors: the fuel and the automobile. Government, at one level or another, has been in control of the third factor: roads. Which of these three factors have made the most progress?¹⁵

INITIATIVE-WROUGHT MIRACLES

Spurred on by the incentive of profit, private individuals, in voluntary association, have accomplished miracles in developing automotive transport. The main thing that has slowed them down is that the third essential factor in automotive transport—roads—has been under public, political control and therefore has not kept pace with the develop-



—Wide World Photos

HIGHWAY IMPROVEMENTS—Top left photo shows one of the new fog dispellers on the New Jersey turnpike. The dispellers blow smoke and fog off the turnpike, lessening hazardous driving conditions. Motorists could not use the best-lighted stretch of highway in the world (top right) at Richmond, Calif., because it was set up by the University of California to study roadside lighting. The study was prompted by the great proportion of auto fatalities occurring at night. Lower left, volunteer workers at Temple, N. H., have set aside one day a year for the repair of roads. A town hall meeting decided where volunteer "road gangs" would work. Lower right, workmen laying concrete at a point where the Ohio and Pennsylvania turnpikes meet.



—Wide World Photos

Trucking presents highway problems. Top left, loaded trucks roll along Maryland highway. Tests were run to determine how much damage trucks inflicted on roads. Inset photo beneath trucks show measurement being taken of crack in road surface caused by heavy truck traffic. Engineers studied road cracks daily to record their growth. Top right, long line of trucks wait to unload tomatoes. Lower right, Ohio Highway Patrol keeps close check to prevent overloaded trucks from crushing roadbeds.

ments made possible by private initiative.¹⁵

When you suggest private toll roads, a whole generation of Americans who have been taught to believe in public works, who have somehow absorbed the Communist notion that profit is evil and that the only good activity is that supervised by bureaucrats and politicians, start screaming about the importance to the American way of life of maintaining our free roads.¹⁴

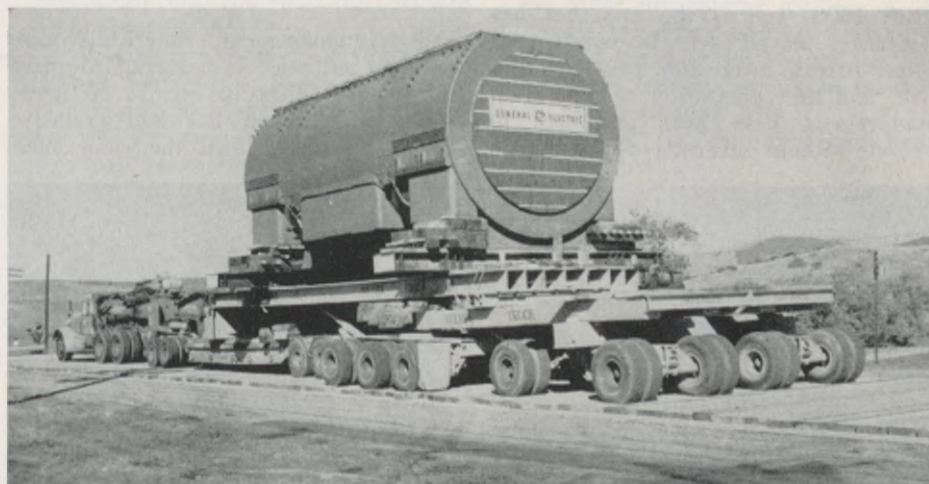
But no road is free. Everyone who has ever driven an automobile on a road in the United States has helped to pay for that road.

Moreover, to permit privately-owned toll roads would not necessitate curtailing the building of state-owned roads paid for out of taxes levied on people who use them.¹⁴

Toll roads, in all states where they have been built, are a financial success, because people who have a choice between the so-called free public roads and the toll roads elect to use the toll roads. They have discovered that the toll roads are freer than the so-called free public roads. That's why they use them.¹⁵

The federal government proposes, over a period of ten years, to stimulate a 101-billion-dollar highway program by putting up federal funds to match state funds. The federal government is already operating in the red, and therefore can't raise its portion of the money unless it goes in debt for it. But a federal law says that the federal government cannot go any deeper in debt than it already is.

How does the federal government propose to violate its own law? Why, the financing of this multi-billion-dollar



—Wide World Photo

SLOW MOTION—A 228-ton stator, on a many-wheeled trailer hauled by truck, inches along a California highway over planks laid on the road to prevent concrete breakage. This was believed to be one of the heaviest loads ever hauled by truck. The stator was moved from Camp San Luis Obispo to Morro Bay for installation in a new power plant.

road program is going to be done outside the federal budget. The government will set up a federal corporation which has no resources, but which nonetheless will guarantee the bonds whose sale will raise all of this money.¹⁶

PROPOSAL IS AN OUTRAGE

The proposal is an outrageous, poorly-concealed effort to evade the federal law and plunge the government many billions of dollars deeper in debt for a federal aid-to-highways program which the federal government should not be involved in in the first place.¹⁶

Suppose we undertake the administration's 101-billion-dollar, ten-year highway building program? We know that government spending programs never stay within the original estimate. When private individuals project a

spending program, they have to be fairly accurate in their predictions, because there is a limit to the amount of money they can get; and if they miss their guess, they will go broke. Government spenders, however, work it the other way around. They simply name a figure that sounds all right to get a program started, knowing full well that once government is committed to the program, the people will have to keep putting up the money to complete it, regardless of how much it costs or how economically unsound it may turn out to be.¹⁶

The network of highways now being planned is based on the needs as government schemers now see them, and it will take ten years to complete the plan. But what will our needs be ten years from now?

General Lucius Clay claims that the road system he's planning is actually being designed to handle the needs of this nation in 1975. How does General Clay or anyone else know what the needs of the American people in the field of automotive transport will be

in 1975?¹⁵

Suppose General Clay and his group of advisers, or Harry Truman, or Mrs. Roosevelt, or even Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., had been running things in 1900 and had been given the task of finding a solution within fifty-five years to any one of the following problems?

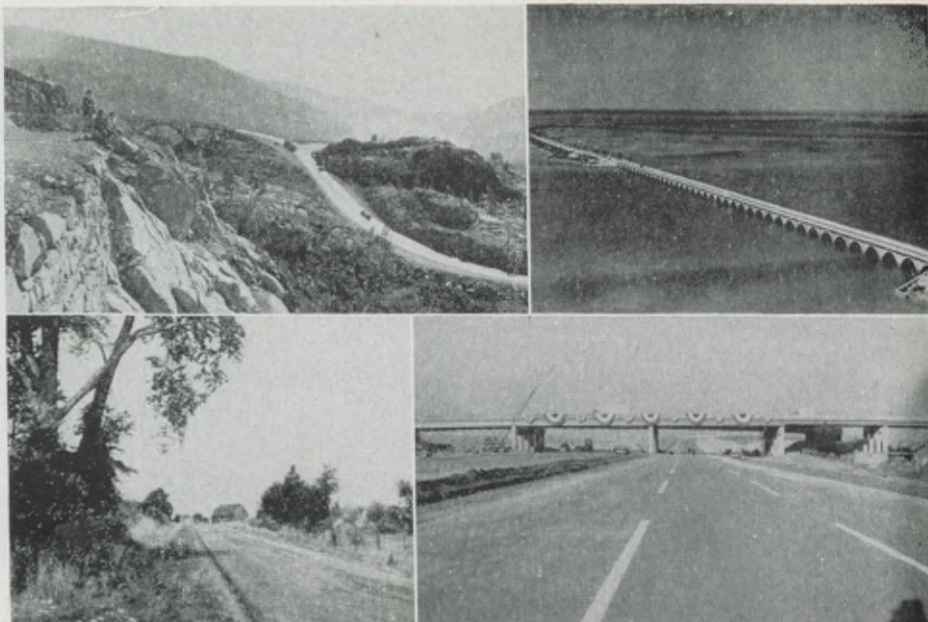
1. To increase the average span of life of human beings by thirty years.
2. To convey instantly the sound of a voice speaking at one place to any other point or any number of points all over the world.
3. To convey instantly the visual image, the animated picture, of an action or individual to men and women in their living rooms or clubs all over America.
4. To develop a medical cure for pneumonia.

5. To transport physically a person from Los Angeles to New York in less than four hours.

6. To build a horseless carriage as good as any of those described in the advertising folders of any automobile manufacturer of today.

Do you think that any of our present political advisers, economic planners, miscellaneous do-gooders, or welfare-staters could, in 1900, even have imagined a solution to any of these problems? Yet all of these problems have been solved by private individuals, left free to plan and try, to risk and manage their own affairs, with the hope of reward for success.

Let's go back to 1900 a moment. Suppose that any of our government planners today or then had been confronted in 1900 with the task of planning, building, and maintaining roads adequate to serve the people. There is not a governmental planner in the world who thinks that he couldn't do that. Yet that is the one problem that was turned over to governmental planners, has been in the hands of governmental planners since 1900, and is the one that has not been solved yet. In every area where private ownership, private initiative, and the expectation of individual achievement have been permitted to operate without government interference



—Wide World Photos

ON THE AMERICAN SCENE—Picturesque view (upper left) of Donner Pass, with Donner Lake a thousand feet below in the background, on U.S. Highway 40 near the California-Nevada border. Upper right, Florida's overseas highway—122 miles of reinforced concrete bridges and double-surfaced roads, links Key West to the mainland. Lower left, a country road near Yorkshire, N. Y. Lower right, opening day decor at sector of New Jersey's turnpike near Newark Airport.

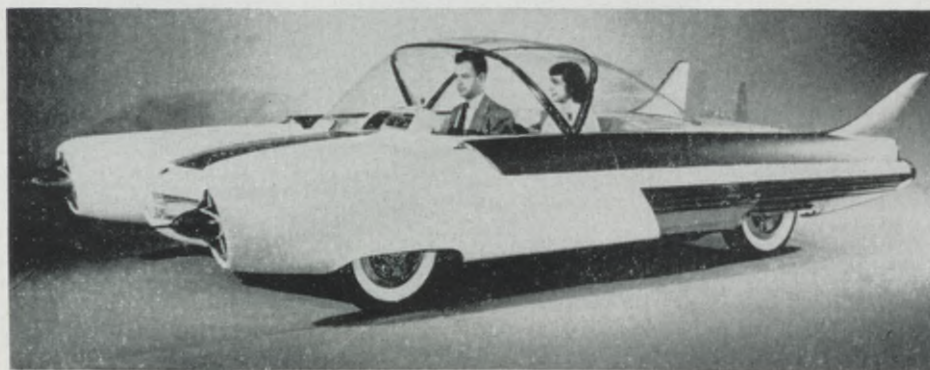
and mismanagement, Americans have wrought miracles in material progress in the past fifty-five years. In areas where government has had exclusive control, we have had the same inef-

iciency, waste, lack of incentive, and lack of wisdom which has kept the socialistic experiment from succeeding in Russia, Europe, and everywhere else on earth where it has ever been tried, from the time of ancient Babylon to now.

* * * * *

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—Wide World Photos

Top, an experimental car of the future, the Ford FX-Atmos. An example of possible style concepts of tomorrow, it will never be built for sale. Lower, a 1908 Ford climbs mountain grade.

In Behalf of Oppenheimer

(Continued from Page 7)

uted substantially was that we should try to absorb the facts about atomic energy and see if we could not come up with some practical, we hoped, and workable and acceptable system of control and protection for the United States and for the world. So Dr. Oppenheimer's approach, as the rest of us, was first to ascertain the facts as a matter of technology and so on. Of course, in that respect he and Dr. Thomas were really teachers for the rest of us. Then as to policy, I can recall perhaps a few illustrative instances.

Dr. Oppenheimer — and there was unanimity on this but he certainly probably initiated the idea, and certainly pressed it and elaborated it—which relates to the attitude of Russia and Soviet communism, the first idea we discussed was that of international inspection of countries in the United Nations, to see whether they were carrying on atomic weapon enterprises.

This we rejected and an important part of our reasoning for rejecting it was that it was not a foolproof method. Something more than inspection would be necessary, that without international ownership and control of the raw materials and the operations in the atomic energy field, the United States could not trust the Russians merely by inspection to comply with the requirements of this scheme.

The actual development of this idea that inspection was inadequate to protect ourselves from the Russians or was an inadequate idea to go before the world—the protection of the world—was largely formulated by Dr. Oppenheimer and technical associates of his like Dr. Bacher, who had studied the physical problem of the ease with which inspection could be avoided by an operating organization in Russia as distinguished from having a United Nations operating and management team running the plant, that periodic inspection was not a foolproof system.

Q. In your view was the report of that panel one that was reasonably soft, or what have you, in respect to the hope of cooperation or with respect to what one could expect from the Russians?

A. We tried to make it as nearly foolproof as we could. There was early discussion that any proposal that a United Nations operating organization should operate a gaseous diffusion plant within Russia would obviously conflict with the Russian views about the Iron Curtain and access of foreigners and so on.

The question was raised first by Mr. Winne, as to whether it made any sense to make a proposal which we were pretty

sure the Russians would reject. We concluded, and I took responsibility for this idea initially, that we should present an idea we could stand for, leaving the question of whether it should be submitted to the Russians, with a rather strong likelihood of it being rejected, to others.

It was our job to develop a workable, foolproof system. Therefore, to answer your question about denominating this, I think we did devise what would be called a tough program. This was reviewed later by Mr. Baruch and his associates. They accepted these essentials and they too were insistent on what Mr. Baruch called a foolproof system, a tough system.

Q. And Dr. Oppenheimer was in accord with this tough system?

A. Yes, and contributed a great deal to it.

Q. When did you say you became chairman of the AEC?

A. I think it was the twenty-eighth of October, 1946.

Q. Some time after you became chairman was the question of Dr. Oppenheimer's past associations and his left-wing activities and so on called to your attention?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. Will you tell us the circumstances of that, please?

A. The board will recall that there is a kind of grandfather clause in the Atomic Energy Act, by which those who had been cleared under the Manhattan District continued to hold their clearances—I have not looked at this provision for some time—but the effect is to hold their clearances until a re-examination by the FBI was made, and the question is re-examined on the basis of new additional information, or something to that effect. So we had a number of such re-examinations coming to us.

I have located the date of March 8 as being the date on which I appeared—give or take a day or so—a call from Mr. Hoover saying he was sending over by special messenger an important file involved in this re-examination.

I received this file. It related to Dr. Oppenheimer. It contained in it a great deal of information from the Manhattan District, and perhaps some subsequent investigation. I called the commissioners together on the tenth. The day of Mr. Hoover's call appears to be Saturday. In any event, I called the commissioners together on Monday, March 10, in the morning, I believe.

• • •

Q. Let me interrupt you for a moment. You have seen the Commission's

letter of December 23, 1953, which suspended Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance?

A. I have.

Q. So far as you can recall what is the relationship between the derogatory information contained in that letter and the material that was before sent to you by Mr. Hoover in 1947?

ED. NOTE: Later in the hearing Mr. Lilienthal responded as follows:

RELATIVE MATTER

Q. Have you read the letter from Mr. Nichols to Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Do you recall in there the statement that Dr. Oppenheimer had contributed \$150 a month to the Communist party up to about April of 1942?

A. No, I don't recall that.

Q. Well, do you recall whether or not you had any such allegation as that before you in March of 1947?

A. Oh, no, I couldn't remember as fine a point as that, no, I don't recall it.

A. From my careful reading of the Commission's letter and my best recollection of the material in that file, and the charges cover substantially the same body of information—

Q. Except for the hydrogen bomb stuff, of course.

A. Yes, up to the point of 1947, I suppose.

Q. You were saying that you found that the file contained derogatory information, but did not contain affirmative matter, shall we say?

A. It did not contain any information about those who worked with Dr. Oppenheimer in the Manhattan District. So we asked Dr. Vannevar Bush, who we knew had been active in the pre-Manhattan District enterprise, as well as since that time, and Dr. James Conant, both who happened to be in town, to come in and visit us about this file. They expressed themselves about Dr. Oppenheimer and his loyalty and character and associations and particularly the degree to which he had contributed to the military strength of the United States.

Interrogator [Mr. Silverman]: I would like at this point to read letters from Dr. Bush and Dr. Conant and Secretary Paterson. . . .

THE JOINT RESEARCH AND
DEVELOPMENT BOARD
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.
MARCH 11, 1947

MR. DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
CHAIRMAN, ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
NEW WAR DEPARTMENT BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.
DEAR MR. LILIENTHAL:

At our conference yesterday you asked me to comment concerning Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and I am very glad to do so.

Dr. Oppenheimer is one of the great physicists of this country, or of the world for that matter. Prior to the war he was on the staff of



—United Press Photo

Dr. Vannevar Bush

the University of California, and was regarded as a leader in the theoretical aspects of atomistics and similar subjects of physics. Shortly after the Army entered into the development of atomic energy, he was given a very important appointment by General Groves. This appointment made him director of the laboratory at Los Alamos, which was in all probability the most important post held by any civilian scientist in connection with the entire effort. General Groves undoubtedly made this appointment after a very careful study of the entire affair from all angles, as this was his custom on important appointments.

Subsequent developments made it very clear that no error had been made in this connection, for Dr. Oppenheimer proved himself to be not only a great physicist, but also a man of excellent judgment and a real leader in the entire effort. In fact, it was due to the extraordinary accomplishments of Oppenheimer and his associates that the job was completed on time. Subsequent to the end of the war Dr. Oppenheimer has had a number of important appointments. He was invited by Secretary Stimson as one of the scientists consulted by the Secretaries of War and Navy in connection with the work of the Interim Committee. He was appointed by the State Department as a member of the board which drew up the plan on which Mr. Baruch based his program. He has recently been appointed by the President as a member of the General Advisory Committee of your organization. I have appointed him a member of the Committee on Atomic Energy of the Joint Research and Development Board. All of this has followed from his extraordinary war record in which he made a unique and exceedingly important contribution to the success of the war effort of this country.

I know him very well indeed and I have personally great confidence in his judgment and integrity.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) V. BUSH, Chairman

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
MARCH 27, 1947

MR. DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
CHAIRMAN, ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. LILIENTHAL:

I am writing you this letter because I un-

derstand certain inquiries have been made in regard to the loyalty of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

It is quite unnecessary for me to recite in this letter the tremendous contribution to the war effort made by Dr. Oppenheimer. As director of the Los Alamos Laboratory he carried a heavy responsibility both of a scientific and technical nature and as an administrator faced with an extremely difficult problem. He fulfilled his duties in an admirable manner. I think it can be said that he is one of three or four men whose combination of professional knowledge, hard work, and loyal devotion made possible the development of the bomb in time to end the Japanese war.

My first personal acquaintanceship with Dr. Oppenheimer started in the summer of 1941. From then until the present day I have seen him intimately and discussed with him all manner of questions. During the war I visited Los Alamos frequently and in so doing came to know him very well. Since the war, I have discussed not only atomic energy for industrial and military purposes, but all phases of the



—United Press Photo

Dr. James B. Conant

international problem of control. Likewise, our conversation has ranged over the whole field of American politics and foreign policy. Therefore, I feel sure that the statements that I make about him are based on an intimate knowledge of the man, his views, and his emotional reactions.

I can say without hesitation that there can be absolutely no question of Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty. Furthermore, I can state categorically that, in my opinion, his attitude about the future course of the United States Government in matters of high policy is in accordance with the soundest American tradition. He is not sympathetic with the totalitarian regime in Russia and his attitude towards that nation is, from my point of view, thoroughly sound and hard headed. Therefore, any rumor that Dr. Oppenheimer is sympathetically inclined toward the Communists or toward Russia is an absurdity. As I wrote above, I base this statement on what I consider intimate knowledge of the workings of his mind.

At the time of Dr. Oppenheimer's entering the work on atomic energy, I heard that there was some question of his clearance by the security agencies. I understand that was based on his associations prior to 1939 and his "left-wing" sympathies at that time. I have no knowledge of Dr. Oppenheimer previous to

the summer of 1941, but I say unhesitatingly that whatever the record might show as to his political sympathies at that time or his associations, I would not deviate from my present opinion, namely, that a more loyal and sound American citizen cannot be found in the whole United States.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) JAMES B. CONANT, President

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, MARCH 25, 1947

HON. DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
CHAIRMAN, ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR MR. LILIENTHAL:

In connection with your inquiry about Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, a member of the General Advisory Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission, I am glad to furnish the following information:

It is my understanding that Dr. Oppenheimer is a leading physicist of the world. During the war, he held the key post of Director of Los Alamos Laboratory under the Manhattan District project, which as you know was the enterprise under the War Department responsible for development of the atomic bomb. His performance in that post, under direction of General Groves, was a brilliant success.

For his exceptionally meritorious service, he was recommended by General Groves to receive the Medal for Merit in August, 1945. This recommendation was approved by Secretary of War Stimson, and the award was made by the Medal of Merit Board appointed by the President.

Dr. Oppenheimer was also appointed by the War Department to be a member of the Advisory Panel of Scientists, to assist the Interim Committee designated by Secretary Stimson in May, 1945, to recommend policies in regard to the atomic bomb and to suggesting legislation concerning atomic energy. I met Dr. Oppenheimer several times in the course of this work and received a most favorable impression of his ability, judgment, character, and devotion to duty.

Dr. Oppenheimer was recently appointed by



—United Press Photo

Robert P. Patterson

Dr. Vannevar Bush, Chairman of the Joint Research and Development Board of the War Department and Navy Department, to be a member of the Committee on Atomic Energy under that board.

I am enclosing with this letter a memorandum submitted to me by General Groves relative to the loyalty of Dr. Oppenheimer.

In conclusion, I should say that from my knowledge of the work that he has done toward making the atomic bomb a success and in other matters related to atomic energy, I have confidence in his character and loyalty to the United States.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ROBERT P. PATTERSON,
Secretary of War

I AM THE CHINA LOBBY

(Continued from Page 22)

china, the threat to Southeast Asia, and the shift in the balance of power from West to East since 1948. My constant objective has been the resurrection of the "Open Door Policy," abandoned by the Truman-Marshall-Acheson policies.

So I must conclude, regardless of the fact that the course of events is slowly opening the public mind to our serious danger in the Far East, that I have failed as the "China Lobby." It is still not too late to save Asia, but I find my-

self unable to secure public acceptance of those firm policies that could still return China, the "Key to Asia," to the free world. No wonder the *Daily Worker*, commenting on the legal outlawing of the Communist party by Congress, could say, "These legislators cannot halt the march of communism."

Nevertheless, for good or ill,

I AM STILL THE "CHINA LOBBY"

If there are any contenders for the title, my answer to them is a quote from former World's Heavyweight Champion, Gentleman Jim Corbett:

"Go get a reputation."

KOHLBERGIANA

December 13, 1954

HON. JOHN FOSTER DULLES
SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

NOT CONFIDENTIAL

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

Noticing in the press that you are to appoint an American to the UN Committee on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, I hereby apply. A job at high pay with little or no work has always been one of my secret wishes.

Of course, I know nothing about atomic energy. The logical man for the job, I am told, is Prof. I. I. Rabi of Columbia University, at present Chairman of the GAC (General Advisory Committee) to the AEC and top adviser to President Eisenhower. He is said to know his onions on isotopes.

Nevertheless, I think I can improve on Prof. Rabi's advice. In proof whereof I attach two letters, both published the same day, Feb. 16, 1946.

(a) Prof. Rabi's in the *N. Y. Times**

(b) Mine in the *New Leader* (The Social Democratic Weekly)*

Professor Rabi's advice to drop our fissionable material in the ocean is in the pattern of bad advice that led us so swiftly from the unconditional victories of 1945 to the Korean stalemate and abandonment of our POW's. Prof. Rabi's idea might even have contaminated the ocean.

On the merits of the two sets of 1946 advice, I await your call to be sworn in.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) ALFRED KOHLBERG

*Selections from the letters referred to by Mr. Kohlberg.

The *New York Times* letter of February 16, 1946, entitled "Urge Bomb-Making Vacation," signed by Prof. Rabi and others included the following:

In view of the establishment of the UNO Commission on the Atomic Bomb, we would like to suggest a declaration of policy... by the President....

1. The United States will at once stop the production of [atomic] bombs....

2. For one year... we will stop accumulating purified plutonium and uranium-235, which are the essential ingredients of atomic bombs.... As produced, these will be eliminated by appropriate means, such as dumping them into the ocean or returning them to their original mixture.

3. We are prepared to have the disposition of our present stockpile of bombs considered as one of the items in an agreement to be entered into by us and the other governments.

In the *New Leader* of February 16, 1946, Mr. Kohlberg, in his letter entitled "Atomic Untruths," stated:

...The Communist press everywhere professes to fear that America will use it [the atomic bomb] against Russia.... To the non-Communist American this is such utter nonsense that he wonders what's back of it....

The truth is that everywhere in the world people fear the atomic bomb only in the hands of Russia. None fear Costa Rica or Switzerland as its possessor; none fear Britain or the United States or Canada as its possessor; but they all fear that soft-headedness or treachery may give it to Russia. And rightly or wrongly, they all think Russia would use it.

They would be perfectly satisfied to have the United States and Canada and Britain keep it, except that they fear these countries may not be able to prevent leaks to Russia's all-pervasive intelligence service. What is the answer? Nobody knows, but all fear that the present lack of frankness and truthfulness in approaching the problem bodes ill for a sound solution.

March 26, 1955

HON. JOHN FOSTER DULLES
SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

BY NO MEANS CONFIDENTIAL

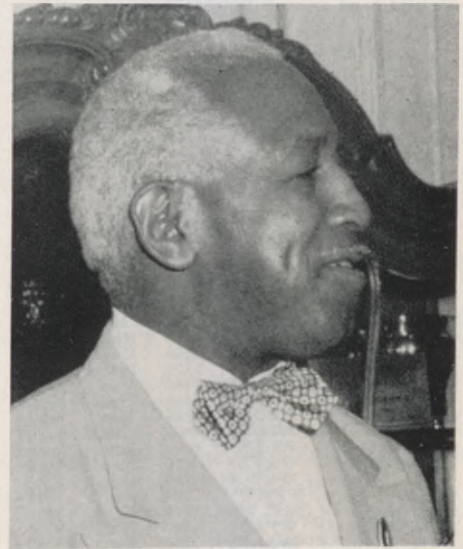
DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

Through one of my private eyes, it has come to my attention that one Mr. Alfred Kohlberg has applied for a job on the UN Committee on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

Of course, I hate to take anybody's possibility of a job away from him, and I know that Mr. Kohlberg is sorely in need of steady employment. He is a young man and has been married within the last few years. I always like to help young men but, in this case, I must warn you that he is a man of thoroughly bad character. I have good reason to believe that he has been siphoning out funds of the great Rockefeller tax-exempt institutions in such subversive work as trying to keep the American flag above the United Nations flag. His wife is no better than he is. In fact, due to her family origin, it is strongly suspected that she is still a Nazi. It is even rumored that she is a direct descendant of a mesalliance between Wagner and one of the Rheingold maidens—at least they used to be maidens before Mr. Wagner met them. She embodies all the worst qualities of the Teuton. She actually believes that it

is no disgrace to have earned her living and to have kept some of the money. You and I well know that, in this modern America, such thoughts are treason.

Mr. Kohlberg is also a man of strong racial prejudices. When given a chance to place the great Mr. Ralph Bunche on a committee, Mr. Kohlberg turned him down. Although he did not say it was on account of his racial prejudices, Mr. Kohlberg's actions show that it was. Mr. Kohlberg, instead of asking Mr. Bunche on the committee, appointed Mr. George Schuyler—a man with known anti-Negro propensities.



—Wide World Photo

George Schuyler

Please, of course, treat this letter as completely confidential. By this I mean, of course, do not let anyone know what I have said, but see to it that Mr. Drew Pearson and the Alsop brothers spread as many smears and derogatory lies, about the Kohlbergs, as is possible.

Sincerely yours,
ARCHIBALD B. ROOSEVELT

THE NEW YORK TIMES,
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13, 1955.

RABI NOT TO HEAD
U. S. ATOMIC GROUP

(Continued from Page 19)

ILLINOIS				
Bloomington	WBLN-TV**	15	Fri	9:00 p
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	8:30 p
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WKRO†	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Chicago	WGN*	720	Sun	9:15 p
	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
	WLS*		Sat	6:15 p
Chicago	WDAN-TV**	24	To be announced	
Danville	WEBQ-AM**	1240	Wed	2:00 p
Harrisburg	WEBQ-FM**	99.9	Wed	8:00 p
	WKEL†	1450	Sun	12:15 p
Kewanee	WKEL†	1450	Sun	1:00 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:30 p
Litchfield	WSMI*	1540	Sun	
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Rock Island	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
Rockford	WREX-TV**	13	Sat	4:00 p

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

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

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

KANSAS				
Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced	
	KCRB*	1460	Sat	5:15 p
Dodge City	KGN†	1370	Mon	8:30 p
	KGN†	1370	Thurs	8:30 p
Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Hutchinson	KWHK*	1260	Sun	
	KTVH-TV*	12	Sat	3:30 p
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
	KIND†	1010	Thurs	8:30 p
Lawrence	KLWN*	1320	Sun	6:00 p
McPherson	KNEK*	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburg	KSEK†	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Salina	KSAL†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
	KSAL†	1150	Thurs	8:30 p

KENTUCKY				
Campbellsville	WTCO*	1150	To be announced	
Cumberland	WCPM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL†	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	WKIC†	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Henderson	WSON†	860	Mon	8:30 p
	WSON†	860	Thurs	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX*	1300	Sun	5:30 p
Louisville	WAVE†	970	Sun	1:30 p
	WGRC†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW*	730	Sun	1:30 p
Monticello	WFLW†	1570	Sun	2:00 p
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	To be announced	

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

MAINE				
Orono	WORO*		To be announced	
Portland	WCSH*	970	Sun	1:15 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

... I should dislike being denied the privilege of expressing my opinion in the Poll. ... Also wish to compliment Facts Forum for selecting as their moderator on REPORTERS ROUNDUP that outstanding commentator, Robert F. Hurleigh. ... I find Facts Forum News more interesting with each new edition....

MISS CATHERINE ASHTON
400 "D" St., Sparrows Point 19, Md.

I must commend the H. L. Hunt article "Add Patriotism to Ads" in your March issue. It contains thought-provoking realism of a high level.... Such patriotic work can draw the public as a whole into active participation.

ED HORAN
43 E. Parkview Dr., North Lake, Ill.

... I have been giving talks to various clubs and groups re communism.... Interest has been gratifying, but there are several organizations.... that do not have the money to spend on the purchase of too many books. ... Therefore, the discovery of your Free Circulating Library was an answer to a prayer.... Facts Forum News is an excellent all-American magazine which everyone should read....

MRS. C. W. MESSINGER
104 Hubbell Ave., Houghton, Mich.

... Thank you for doing your best to tell the American people the truth about... what our Constitution stands for.... Please put my name on your list to receive the periodical that you publish....

STANFORD HURST, President
N. K. Hurst Company
230 W. McCarty St.
Indianapolis 2, Ind.

Your program [ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS] is certainly a valuable public service and... a definite aid in forming opinions on subjects of current controversy.

JOHN KNAPP
529 Knollwood Dr., S.E.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa

I enclose herewith your Facts Forum Poll. It gives me something of a wallop to be able to vote on these timely topics....

CHARLES A. WALSH
Concordia, Kan.

I listen to your program regularly and find it very interesting and stimulating. You are doing a good work for our country....

REV. L. A. BECKMAN, JR., Supt.
Home Missions, Meridian Presbytery
Box 122, Ellisville, Miss.

Could you possibly send me about six copies of that marvelous broadcast... on the subject of the United Nations? [See page 8 for second in series of UN discussions]... I want to send that talk to several people....

MRS. LEROY J. SNYDER
3706 Locust St., Kansas City 9, Mo.

MARYLAND				
Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Baltimore	WBAL*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
Cambridge	WCEN*	1240	Sun	7:00 p
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p
	WBOC-TV*	16	Tues	9:30 p

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

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

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

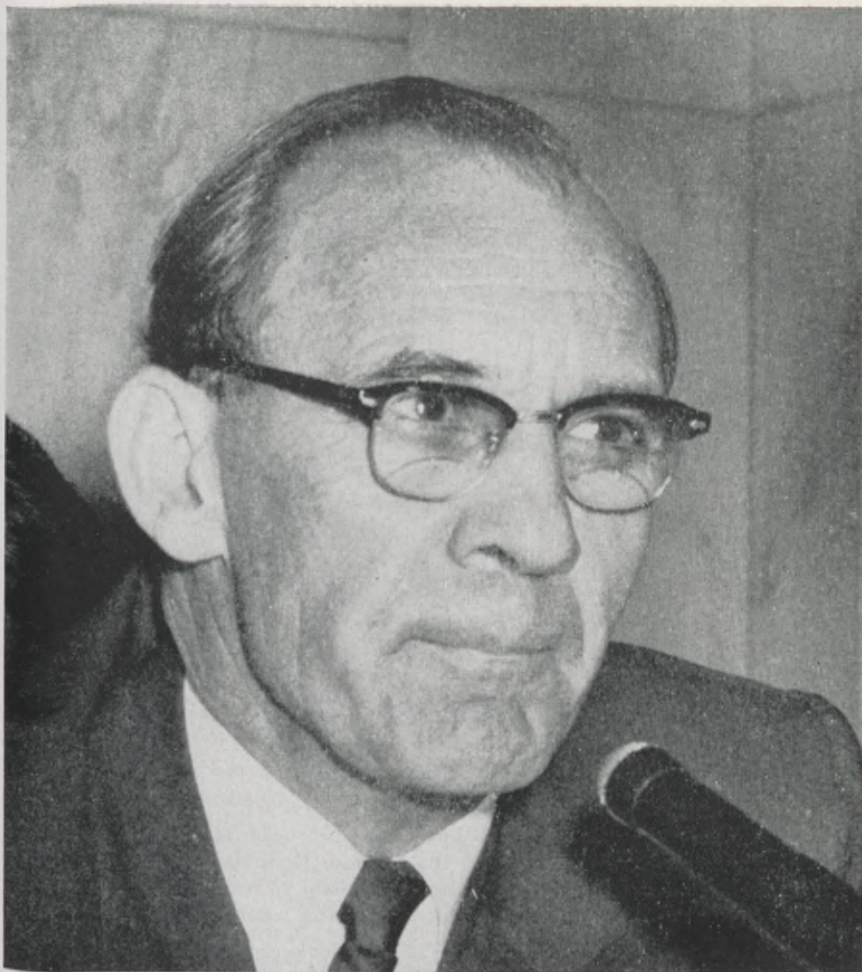
To subscribe, see Page 65

MISSISSIPPI				
Aberdeen	WMPA*	1240	Sun	5:30 p
	WMPA*	1240	To be announced	
Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMI*	570	To be announced	
Biloxi-Gulfport	WLOX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WLOX†	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Brookhaven	WJMB†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	WJMB†	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Canton	WDOB*	1370	Sat	11:30 a
	WDOB*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Hattiesburg	WFOR*	1400	Tues	7:15 p
Jackson	WRBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
	WRBC†	1300	Thurs	8:30 p
	WSLI-TV**	12	To be announced	
	WJTV-TV*	25	Tues	6:00 p
McComb	WAPF*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPF*	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO*	1230	Fri	6:30 p
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

MISSOURI				
Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
	KFVS†	960	Thurs	8:30 p
Charleston	KCHR*		To be announced	
Clinton	KDKD*	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
	KHMO†	1070	Thurs	8:30 p
Jefferson City	KLIK*	950	Sun	1:45 p
	KWOS†		Mon	8:30 p
	KWOS†		Thurs	8:30 p
Joplin	KFSB†	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues	
Kansas City	KMBC*	980	Sun	12:15 p
	KMBC-TV*	9	Fri	2:30 p
Kennett	KBOA*	830	Sun	12:15 p
Kirkville	KIRX*	1450	Sat	6:15 p
	KIRX*	1450	Sun	2:00 p
Lebanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	KLWT†	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
	KNIM*	1580	Fri	3:45 p
Moberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
Nevada	KNEM*	1240	Sun	1:05 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Sun	6:30 p
St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV*	2	Sun	1:00 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
	KSGM*	980	To be announced	
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KDRO†	1490	To be announced	
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

(Continued on Page 48)

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



—Wide World Photo

MCCLELLAN

DEUTERONOMY

Chapter 34

AND Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the Lord shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan.

2 And all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea.

3 And the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar.

4 And the Lord said unto him, This is the land which I swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.

5 So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord.

6 And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.

7 And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died: his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.

8 And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty

days: so the days of weeping and mourning for Moses were ended.

9 And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him: and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses.

10 And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face,

11 In all the signs and the wonders, which the Lord sent him to do in the land of Egypt to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land,

12 And in all that mighty hand, and in all the great terror which Moses shewed in the sight of all Israel.

JOSHUA

Chapter 1

NOW after the death of Moses the servant of the Lord it came to pass, that the Lord spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying,

2 Moses my servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou, and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them, even to the children of Israel.

3 Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said unto Moses.

4 From the wilderness and this Lebanon even unto the great river, the river of Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your coast.

5 There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.

6 Be strong and of a good courage: for unto this people shalt thou divide for an inheritance the land, which I swear unto their fathers to give them.

7 Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest.

8 This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success.

9 Have not I commanded thee? Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.

"I can envision five to ten million Chinese troops fighting in Europe."



GENERAL CLAIRE L. CHENNAULT

Claire L. Chennault, a native Texan, early moved to Louisiana. He attended Louisiana State University. In 1917 he was commissioned First Lieutenant of Infantry, but almost immediately requested and received transfer to the Air Corps, where he served twenty years.

In 1937 General Chennault was retired from service upon his own request in order to serve as official air adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of the Chinese Republic. It was then that he began to set up the now famed American Volunteer Group (Flying Tigers) in order that the Chinese government might have some protection against Imperial Japanese air fleets.

When the United States entered the war, Chennault was commissioned a general officer and appointed Commander of the 14th U.S. Air Force, which served throughout the war in the China-Burma theater. After the war, General Chennault organized and became chairman of the Board of Civil Air Transport ("The Orient's Own"), an air line with routes exclusively in Asia. Many of Chennault's former "Tigers" are officers and pilots of the line.

Chennault is now a resident of Monroe, Louisiana, and Taipeh, Taiwan.

General Chennault has repeatedly warned of the Communist pattern of conquest in Asia and was one of the very first to predict (almost to the day) the defeat of Nationalist China.

*Interview April 9, 1955, Monroe, Louisiana,
by James L. Ewing, III*

Q. General Chennault, what are the possibilities of a major outbreak of active hostilities in the Asian theatre of the war by the International Communist State?

A. The Chinese Communists will definitely attempt to take Kinmen (Quemoy) and the Matsu group of islands. They are now ready for such an undertaking, logistically speaking. They have made the necessary transfer of troops and supplies from other sections of the China mainland to effect such an invasion.

Q. Do you think that the United States will get into such a conflict?

A. That is hard to say. It appears that no one knows, including the American leaders. This much is very certain—it is urgently necessary that these islands be defended and saved for the free world. The United States must assist the Nationalist government of China to the hilt. If we don't use American forces, then we must arm the Chinese and keep them supplied. For each gun that the Chinese lose, we must replace a gun; each tank they lose must be replaced. Moreover, as the Nationalist Air Force will be engaged in attacking the Communist mainland and Communist sup-



CLAIRE L. CHENNAULT, one of the United States' foremost Far East authorities and a retired Major General, former Commander of the 14th U.S. Air Force, which served throughout the war in the China-Burma theater.



plies and Navy, it will be necessary that America fulfill her part of the present treaty and see that nothing happens to Formosa. In short, there must be American airplanes protecting the island.

Q. General Chennault, are the Communists ready for such amphibious warfare, and have they any new developments along these lines?

A. The Communist Chinese have apparently adopted General Douglas MacArthur's battle tactics in their amphibious operations. If you will remember, General MacArthur, in his campaign to regain the Pacific and close out the war against Japan, used what has been known as "island hopping." Moreover, in attacking these islands, he employed what has come to be known as "tri-phibious" tactics. In such operations, the forces of land, sea, and air are brought to bear against an island to be captured. I believe that the Yikianshan operation was the first good example of what is about to take place in the Far East. The Chinese Communists battered that island by air for more than a day, by sea for more than sixty hours, and then sent wave after wave of men against the little island. Nationalist experts say that Communist losses in dead for the Yikianshan invasion exceeded two thousand personnel. Yikianshan was held by 750 Nationalist irregulars.

Q. You feel, General Chennault, that the Chinese Communists are nearly ready for more activity against the Nationalists of the Yikianshan type, and that their air cover will be in such condition as to afford them the necessary protection for such an operation?

A. The Communists have been getting ready for this for a long time. The Yikianshan deal was merely a tryout to see how successful they might be. It is certain that the Generalissimo will fight hard to save those islands. He will send his air units against the Communist-held mainland and will attempt to knock out the Red Air Force both in the air and on the ground by concerted strikes against the Red airdromes and against the Red bomber and fighter aircraft. The Communists will assuredly retaliate in kind against Taiwan in order to prevent a catastrophe happening to their invasion armada. It is necessary that U.S. air units protect Taiwan because the Nationalists cannot fight on two such "fronts" at one time. They simply haven't the necessary equipment.

Q. In a strategical discussion of Kinmen (Quemoy), General, which reason do you think is most important for keeping the island—supposing that it is necessary to fight for it? Is morale, or geographical position the more important?

A. I will answer that question by stating flatly that if Kinmen and the Matsu are lost, a catastrophe will have occurred to the free world. It is absolutely necessary to keep these islands both for geographical and morale purposes. From a morale point of view,

the defense of Kinmen and Matsu is vital to both the U.S. and the Chinese Nationalists. We simply cannot back up another inch. Kinmen in Chinese means "golden gate" and this island is indeed the "golden gate" for a Nationalist return to the mainland. Strategically speaking, if they fall, the straits of Taiwan will be opened for Communist operations. Capital ships in defense of either or both groups would be within easy range of Communist airplanes, PT boats, and submarines—if any—between the mainland and Taiwan. The Communists have small, fast motor torpedo boats and heavy air power. These boats are heavily armed with 75 mm guns. It is extremely doubtful whether the U.S. will use any capital ships in a defense of Kinmen and Matsu, supposing in the first place that we decide to save those vital islands. Moreover, if Amoy is opened, there will be no stopping the supply of jet fuel to the large tanks near that city.

Q. General Chennault, in our conversations last year before your departure for Taiwan, we discussed your idea of a two-front war to be conducted against the Red Chinese by a strike against the South China coast conducted by the Nationalists and an attack from the north by the Republic of Korea. Do you still feel that such is possible?

A. Not only is it possible to do this, such a two-prong offensive is the only way to successfully drive the Communists from the Chinese mainland. In order for that to happen, the Republic of Korea must be heavily armed and supported, as well as the Chinese Nationalists.

Q. What about the armament of these two nations, General, are they being armed with offensive type weapons by the United States?

A. As you well know, Jim, the South

Koreans are ready to fight. They want to unify their land, but they are presently being limited to a short supply of equipment and ammunition by the U.S. Moreover, their equipment is of an older nature. What there is of it is good, but the amount is too small. The same is true, speaking for the Nationalists. About all I can say is, "too little and too late." In neither case is the equipment as good as that supplied to the Chinese Communists by the Russians. It is reported, for instance, that the Chinese Reds have the latest MIG-17's while the Chinese Nationalists have only a small number of American F-86's.

Q. What is the present condition of Chiang's navy?

A. The Nationalist Navy has several American destroyers, destroyer escorts, and corvette type ships. Moreover, it has some LST's, LSM's and numerous ex-Japanese trawlers. Its fighting morale is good, but it needs more equipment. It could use some MTB's to thwart the Communist invasion fleets.

Q. How is the condition of the Nationalist government, financially speaking?

A. Chiang's economic position is good. The Nationalist government is living within its means. Moreover, its export outlay has exceeded its imports. The Chinese Nationalist government has large food reserves. It is doubtful, however, whether it could keep in the black if it were to lose its ECA funds which give it aid of all types. For that aid and for other aid, Chiang is most grateful.

Q. General, is Taiwan a police state as it has been described on several occasions?

A. No, absolutely no. There is no police state being maintained by Nationalist China. On Taiwan, there is a strong secret police force which is used to fer-



—Wide World Photo

Chiang Kai-shek

ret out subversion. This police force, both secret and uniformed, has already kept the Nationalist government fairly clear of Communists. Moreover, all those accused receive fair and decent trial. Regular court procedures are employed. There is absolutely no police state on Taiwan.

Q. What is the present condition of the mainland economy, General?

A. Well, I have more than 1,800 airline employees reporting to me who are still in contact with relatives and friends on the mainland. Moreover, there are the 14,000 POW's who chose freedom rather than Communist tyranny and there are Chinese escaping to Taiwan every day. All of them report that the first Five Year Plan of Mao (Red Premier Mao Tse-tung) was a miserable flop. In addition, they say that there are wide areas of starvation and famine. In others, in fact in all mainland provinces, there is a severe shortage of food. The harsh treatment of the civil population continues with the extermination of whatever bourgeois is left. All of this is also confirmed by the Europeans who continue to filter out of Communist China.

Q. What is the morale of Chiang's army?

A. High, very high. All military experts are in agreement on that. The one desire is to return to the mainland. Every Chinese soldier desires that.

Q. What about the morale of the Chinese Communist Army?

A. Well, that's interesting. Their commissars stand behind them with guns ordering them to advance or be shot. They advance in "human sea" waves under such orders. Yikianshan was taken that way. If you have a man standing behind you with a gun ordering you to move out, you move. Either way, it's a sure death for hundreds of



—China News Photo Service

Guerrillas and native farmers work together preparing rice field for spring sowing.



—Photo by Anna Chennault
Sun-Moon Lake, Taiwan

thousands of Chinese. The Communists recruit millions of innocent country kids who are taught how to use a gun, given a few rudiments of the military, and are sent to battle. These raw recruits are sent in, wave after wave, to exhaust the enemy ammunition supply. Then the Communists send in their trained and battlehardened shock troops. As I said, it is reported that the Yikianshan operation resulted in more than 2,000 dead Chinese Reds. That was a small operation.

Q. General Chennault, isn't that about the same idea as was employed by the Russians against the Germans in the late war?

A. The Chinese Red Army is a Communist army. Its leaders are trained by Soviets to use Soviet battle tactics. The human wave idea is utilized because there is no compunction against sacrificing hundreds of thousands of men in a wasteful slaughter against an enemy.

Q. What is the present condition of the Chinese Red Air Force?

A. It's in good shape. It is equipped with the latest jets—MIG-17's are reported to be in North China. It has literally hundreds of the older MIG-15's. Moreover, it has been equipped with the heavy, four-motored TU-34 bomber, which is a copy of our B-29. These would be used against Taiwan and were used to plaster Yikianshan. They would have been used against the Tachens had that been necessary.

Q. What about the Red Chinese Navy?

A. Well, it kept Yikianshan under the heaviest kind of fire for sixty-four hours from all sides. It is a light ship navy. Many small, fast vessels heavily armored.

Q. General, what is the thinking of the Chinese people? Would they choose freedom under Chiang if they were given the chance?

A. The best evidence of this is, I believe, the action of the prisoners of

war who absolutely refused to return to the mainland. Thousands of them left Red China to come to Taiwan and freedom under the Generalissimo. There is the guerrilla activity where in one mainland province there were over 5,000 reports of guerrilla activity in one year committed against the Reds. Finally, the Tachen people refused to a man and woman to be left behind. Chinese Communist propaganda would have you believe that these people were forced to go. The lie is readily given, by the American officers, who were on the spot. I really believe that the mainland Chinese desire the return of Chiang.

Q. General, will appeasement settle the war in Asia?

A. The Communists understand only power. They will have to be decisively beaten. As I have said before, the only way to do that is with a two-front attack against them. They could not stand such a double envelopment maneuver and they know it better than anybody else. However, the time for such an operation is running out. Their transportation setup is getting better and, as this happens, the chance for a successful two-front operation runs out.

Q. Just how is the Communist Chinese rail net organized, General? Has it been improved since last year when we discussed the situation?

A. If you will remember, I told you that they were attempting to connect Peiping with Moscow with a line running across the Gobi Desert. Now the last stretch from Ulan-Bator to Peiping has been completed. Also, the lines from North China to the Indochinese border are complete. It is reported that the Hanoi-China spur is in readiness which, in short, links Moscow with Hanoi. There are new railroads being built all over Asia by the Communists.

Q. General, will there ever be peace in Asia so long as the Communists hold the mainland?

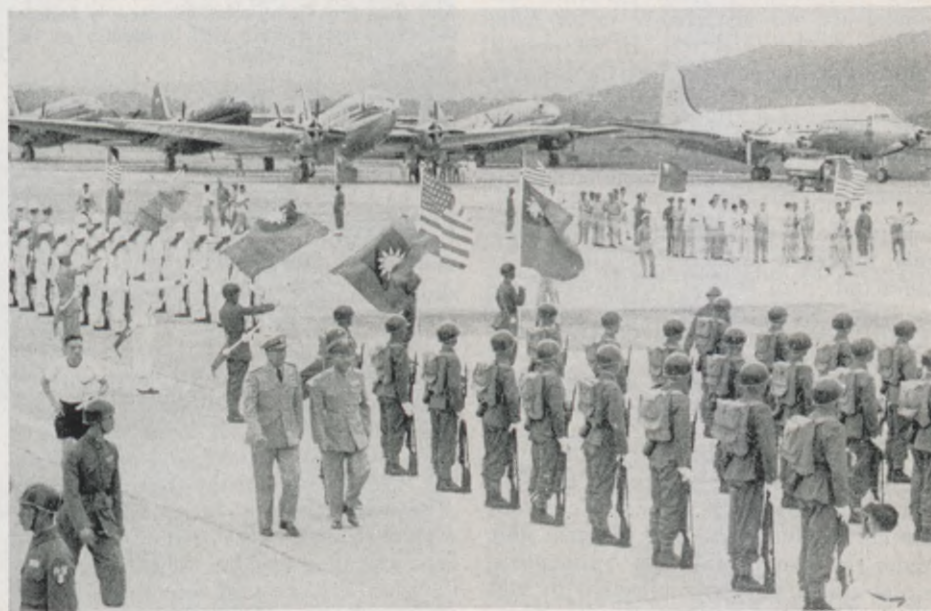
A. Absolutely not. The Chinese mainland is the key to the Orient. Moreover, communism is an aggressive, warlike ideology. Everything they think about is devoted to war. While they rule the mainland of China, Asia will know only war.

Q. What about the overseas Chinese, General? What are they thinking these days? Are they siding with Chiang or the Reds?

A. I firmly believe that nearly all overseas Chinese are really loyal to Chiang. This excludes Indonesia and the Malay States where the Chinese population is being swayed by the Communists. They are under heavy pressure by the Communists to "rejoin the motherland." Especially in Indonesia is this the case. If the Indonesian Chinese join forces with the Communists, that nation is lost. In fact, the future of all Indonesia depends on which way the Chinese turn and the outcome of the battle soon to take place in the Kinmen-Matsu area will largely determine the allegiance of the Indonesian Chinese. In addition to all of this, the Communists are making appeals to large numbers of Chinese young people overseas as students. They are, and have been, greatly successful. Only recently have the Nationalist sparked a similar program. Chinese populations all over Asia will determine Asia's future.

Q. General Chennault, do you think that the United States should recognize the Chinese Communist Government?

A. Under no circumstances. Morally, this would be a tragedy. Diplomatically, it would be a terrible defeat and militarily, it would be worse than terrible. The Communists took China by force of arms. They have continued in their barbarous practices against their own people.



—China News Photo Service
Admiral Radford (left) inspects honor guard escorted by General Chow Chih Jou.

ple and against the rest of the world. They entered the war in Korea in defiance of the United Nations and they have repeatedly violated the truce in Korea. In addition, they have held the United States in abject contempt, arrested and tried U.S. military personnel against every article of war and they have repeatedly violated the peace of the world in the straits of Formosa, Indochina, and in Korea. We simply cannot afford to recognize pirates, thieves, and bandits simply because these people are temporarily in control of an area.

Q. In connection with that, General, some politician or State Department official suggested that there be "two Chinas." Is such a thing possible?

A. It would be just as reasonable to have two United States. Curiously enough, the same people who are sponsoring this fantastic Alice-in-Wonderland idea, also sponsored two United States some ninety-five years ago. I refer, of course, to the British who even that far back supported the Confederates against the United States, hoping to play one side against the other with the same object always in mind, their own profit. It is absurd to think of "two Chinas." Neither the Reds nor the Nationalists would ever permit such a thing. People who talk of such a thing are talking in a fantastic manner. They are not dealing with communism nor are they dealing with reality.

Q. General, can the United States afford to allow the Communists to make any more advances? I refer to the Orient as well as the European area.

A. Jim, every Asiatic from Pakistan to Japan, from Manila to New Zealand is watching our present action in the Kinmen-Matsu operation. They are waiting to see whether we will fight for that which we have preached for so long—freedom and justice. Kinmen and Matsu are our last chance in all Asia. They are the final test. If we permit them to be lost, we will lose the faith of every Asian citizen who will choose the side most likely to win, namely the Communists. You cannot blame them. The Nationalist Chinese will be left to rot on Taiwan with their last chance to regain the mainland gone. Their only real ambition—that of regaining the mainland—will be lost, destroyed. Kinmen and Matsu are their last assembly points, their last bridges to home. We cannot let them down.

CHENNAULT ASKS A QUESTION

Suppose, Jim, that we go to war against Russia. We will need the Nationalist Chinese in a very desperate manner. If the Reds hold Kinmen and Matsu, do you think the Nationalists would be in any way effective to our side? You know they won't. They couldn't even go to war if they wanted to—which they probably wouldn't by

that time. Moreover, have you already forgotten the statement made by Mao to the Russians to the effect that he would place "every resource at his disposal" to the use of the Russians. "China's elder brother?" You know, of course, that the only two Chinese resources, as even Mao said, are men and food. China is presently the key to Russia's food problem. Eventually, the Russians hope to utilize all Asia as their food basket. I can envision five to ten million Chinese troops fighting in Europe. As you know, they have a treaty with the Russians which states just such an eventuality and their rail setup will soon enable them to keep these promises.

Q. General Chennault, we have often discussed the Japanese pattern of Asian con-

with the final objective, an attack on the Americas. The Japs tried this and made one mistake—they tried to conquer China by force of arms. This could possibly be the Reds' undoing.

Q. General Chennault, what is the present status of Indochina? Can it be saved from its present chaotic condition?

A. I regard Indochina as already lost. The religious sects are being used by the Communists to destroy the Viet Name. The coming 1956 plebiscite will assuredly go to the Reds and, if by a fluke, they don't—the Communists will attack militarily. It is reported that they already have aircraft.

Q. What is the next Communist objective in Asia, General Chennault?

A. There are several. The infiltration



—China News Photo Service

Chung San Road of Taipeh during "Double Ten" (China's Independence Day) celebration.

quest, the Greater-Co-East Asia Prosperity sphere. As regards a line of march, do you feel that the Communist advance is following the same pattern with Australia as the final Asian objective?

A. Yes, I do. But, you must remember two things. The Chinese Communists are much cleverer than the Japs. Also, Australia, the capital of the Pacific Ocean Sea, is not their final Pacific objective. That objective, like that of the Japanese, is the western shores of the American hemisphere. Finally, in the case of all Communists, it is world conquest. The Asian area is only one part of the great war which we are presently fighting. The Chinese Reds, however, intend to make the Pacific a Communist lake. Do you remember hearing about the Baron Tanaka plan? Baron Tanaka wrote in 1905 that several things were required of the Japanese in order for them to rule the Pacific. First, he said, was the conquest of Manchuria. Then, the conquest of China proper. After that, the march through southeast Asia and the Pacific

of the Thailand, the Malay States, and Burma are merely some of them. There is no set Red timetable but their objectives are well fixed. Neutralization of Borneo and the Philippines and Japan are included. Indonesia is a lost proposition and may go to the Communists any day. Then, as you said a few moments ago, the Australians would be in danger as in the Japanese advance. Indonesia is a key to southeast Asia and a dagger in the heart of Australia and New Guinea. However, if it takes as long as ten years to take Australia, the Communists will be satisfied. They are in no real hurry. They never are.

Q. What is India's position?

A. Jellyfish, strictly jellyfish. Moreover, they actually hope to win out by being jellyfish even though they are even now being threatened by the Reds up north near Tibet and even though Nehru knows as well as you do that the Communists are sowing the seeds of his internal destruction. Externally, India will be taken from Tibet and Burma.

Q. General Chennault, do you think the American people are aware of all of this? Do you believe that they realize the danger?

A. I think the greater portion of the people realize that something is terribly wrong—but they lack leadership. They think only of today. The Communists think not only of today, but tomorrow, next week, next year, and years after that. I believe the American people would support a war if they had the leadership to win such a war.

Q. Should American troops be employed in an invasion of the Chinese mainland, General Chennault?

A. No, most certainly not. No U.S. troops should be used in any theater of a foreign war at present. In addition, the Chinese Nationalists and South Koreans don't want U.S. troops in an Asian war. Chinese must fight Chinese if the mainland is to be recaptured. Chiang doesn't even want us to attack China if we fly our airplanes. All he wants is the supplies and modern equipment.

Q. Have the Chinese Nationalists really been "unleashed" as has been so widely advertised?

A. Certainly not. They have been kept severely under wraps no matter what is said to the contrary. The real trouble with us is that we are still listening to the British who keep asserting that there is no use in a war against the Red Chinese. Bear this in mind, they (the British) are looking out for themselves.

Q. General Chennault, do you believe the Orient is the real danger spot in the war against the Chinese imperialists?

A. You might be surprised at my answer here. While I believe that Asia is the key to success against commu-

nism, I believe that the immediate danger of war exists not in the Formosa Straits, but in West Germany. There is every indication that the Russians are preparing for war in West Germany. They are afraid of the West Germans. They recognize that Germany, armed against Russia, presents a danger to both communism and the Russian motherland. Both of these, the Russians are bound to destroy—both dangers, I mean. I also have information which indicates that West Germany is armed to a greater extent than the American people realize and the Russians know it, and are afraid of it. Here are several indications, or signals of danger:

(1) The reorganization of the Russian hierarchy and replacement of Malenkov. He was opposed to war.

(2) The frantic efforts of the Russians to knock out the Western European Union. They succeeded in having France knock off the European Defense Community. The Russians had already warned the French and British that existing bilateral pacts between the three nations—pacts which excluded the rearmament of Germany, would be at an end—were rearmament of the Germans to be sponsored by either nation. Several days ago, I noticed that Russia had abrogated those pacts asserting violation on the part of the British and the French.

(3) Reliable information has come that the Red Army is in power in the Soviet Union. One indication of that is the promotion of thirteen Red generals to field marshals.

(4) The Soviet Union has shifted from a consumer economy to a full blast

war economy. A new, tighter conscription law has just been passed.

(5) There is every indication that the Russians are building up their European armies.

In short, the Russians will fight the rearmament of West Germany and intend to keep such from happening even if it means all-out war.

Q. General, what is the Japanese position in all of this? Better stated, what is the Soviet position towards Japan?

A. All of a sudden, after ten years of advocating only the harshest terms and treatment of the Japs, Russia suddenly wants to talk peace. The object is, of course, to keep Japan neutral. As I said, Russia will go to war in Germany, hoping to have a neutral Japan at her back door. We would not be able to use Japanese bases to bomb Manchuria while they, in turn, could bypass Japan and go north to take Alaska. The Japanese are presently negated. They present no real danger to the Russians except use of Japan as a war base.

Q. In case of a Russian attack against the U.S., how do you suppose it will come, General Chennault?

A. First, by a paralyzing air attack utilizing nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. This will be accompanied by strikes, sabotage, confusion, and the deliberate spreading of terror. They will throw caution to the winds and utilize every weapon at their command in the event of war. As I said before, there is no set Communist timetable. They want to conquer the world, think they can do it, and are taking their time and utilizing every means.

Q. Have the Washington officials taken your and General MacArthur's advice to any appreciable extent?

A. Only slightly. They have, however, come to the realization that some line must be set to halt Communist aggression. They are beginning to arm the Chinese Nationalists to some extent and they are aiding them economically. But the Nationalists need more, much more. So do the South Koreans. Actually, the situation is better under the present administration than ever before. God knows what would have happened under the alternative.

Q. General Chennault, have you any specific word of advice to give the American people at this point?

A. Yes, Jim, I have. Search hard for the truth and back it when you find it. You will have trouble finding it because you are not being told the truth in these days. If the President says we must fight, back him up and insist that the Congress do the same. No matter how or what you may think of Eisenhower, remember that he is far superior to anything we have had or anything that the alternative offered. Fight for the truth and you shall stay free. Forget it, and you will become slaves.



—China News Photo Service

Guerrilla leaders gather to plan carefully for a night raid on the Reds.

In the April FACTS FORUM NEWS David Greenglass disclosed how he gave sketches and descriptions of the A-bomb to his brother-in-law, Julius Rosenberg, who in turn handed them over to the Russians. Greenglass' testimony was interrupted last month at the point where he said that Rosenberg had obtained other vital secrets—including the mathematical solution (according to Rosenberg) of the problem of atomic energy for airplanes. When asked where Julius had gotten this information, Greenglass replied "from one of his contacts" and explained this meant "scientists in this country." Interrogation of Greenglass by Roy Cohn continues.

Roy Cohn and the ATOM SPIES

Part III (Conclusion)

Q. Did Rosenberg mention to you any government projects concerning which he had obtained information from any of his contacts?

A. Well, once in the presence of my brother [Bernard Greenglass] he mentioned a sky platform project.

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Q. Did you have any conversation with Rosenberg about the sky platform project?

A. Yes, I had a conversation with him later. I asked him in privacy.

Q. Can you tell us about when this conversation occurred?

A. I would say this was '47, late '47. He told me he had gotten this information about the sky platform from "one of the boys," as he put it.

Q. Did he tell you just what information had been given to him by "one of the boys" concerning the sky plat-

form project? Did he describe it to you at all?

A. Yes, he did. He described it in front of my brother, too.

Q. How did he describe it?

A. He said that it was some large vessel which would be suspended at a point of no gravity between the moon and earth and as a satellite it would spin around the earth.

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Q. Did he tell you anything else concerning his activities along these lines?

A. He told me that he had people giving him information in upstate New York and in Ohio.

Q. Did he tell you why they were giving him information?

A. They were giving information to give to the Russians.

Q. Did he mention any particular place in upstate New York from which he was getting information?

A. He mentioned the fact that he was getting information from General Electric at Schenectady.

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Q. Did he say anything to you about getting information from someone in Cleveland?

A. Well, once in the course of the conversation in which we were talking about turret lathes and where they are manufactured, he told me that he had seen the huge Warner-Swasey turret lathe plant at Cleveland, Ohio, and when later I asked him how come he was in Cleveland, Ohio, he stated to me that he was out there to see one of his contacts.

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Q. You told us previously, Mr. Greenglass, about the atomic explosion that took place at Alamogordo, New Mexico, is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. In July of 1945?

A. That is right.

Q. Did you ever furnish any information concerning that atomic explosion to Rosenberg or to Gold?

A. Yes, I furnished information to Gold. I stated to Gold—

Q. Could we have the time fixed, please?

A. June, 1945.

Q. You say you "stated to Gold." Did you state it verbally or was it part of the written report you gave Gold?

A. Part of the written report.

Q. Will you tell us what you put in that report concerning this explosion?

A. I had told him that the explosion at Alamogordo was to be an equivalent amount of H.E., as they thought the atom—the nuclear fission would amount to; in other words, I had thought at the time that it was going to be an H.E. explosion at Alamogordo.



—United Press Photo
David Greenglass



—Wide World Photo
Roy Cohn



—United Press Photo

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg

Q. By "H.E." you mean heavy explosive?

A. High explosive.

Q. Did you put that information in this report?

A. That is right.

Q. That was before the explosion had taken place?

A. That is right.

Q. How long before the explosion?

A. About a month before—it was a little more than a month before.

Q. Now, did Rosenberg ever say anything to you about any reward that he had received from the Russians for the work that he had been doing?

A. He stated that he had gotten a watch as a reward.

Q. Did he show you that watch?

A. He did.

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Q. Can you remember when Rosenberg told you about the watch?

A. I believe it was in January, 1945.

Q. During your furlough in January, 1945?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he ever mention anything else that he or his wife had received as a reward from the Russians?

A. His wife received also a watch, a woman's watch, and I don't believe it was at the same time.

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Q. Now, was there anything else that they received which they told you about?

A. I believe they told me they received a console table from the Russians.

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[At this point the day's questioning ends and is resumed again the following day, March 13, 1951.]

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Q. Mr. Greenglass, I think yesterday afternoon you told us that Rosenberg told you that he had received a watch from the Russians; is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. Did he tell you he received anything along with that watch?

A. He said he received a citation.

Q. Did he describe the citation at all?

A. He said it had certain privileges with it in case he ever went to Russia.

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Q. Do you remember Rosenberg visiting you in February of 1950?

A. I do.

Q. How do you fix the date of that visit?

A. Well, it was a few days after Fuchs was taken in England.

Q. A few days after the news of Dr. Fuchs' arrest in England appeared in the papers; is that right?

A. That is right.

Q. Where did this conversation with Rosenberg occur?

A. Partly in my home and partly on the street and in a park.

Q. Did it begin at your home?

A. Yes, it did.

Q. Will you tell us just what happened when he arrived there and what happened after that; what he said and what you said?

A. He came up to my apartment and awakened me. It was about in the middle of the morning. I slept late because I work at night. He said that he would like me to go for a walk with him, and we went down the street, down Sheriff Street, toward the Hamilton Fish Park. And we walked around the park, and in the park, and during the walk he spoke to me of Fuchs.

He told me, he said, "You remember the man who came to see you in Albuquerque? Well, Fuchs was also one of his contacts"; and this man who came to see me in Albuquerque would undoubtedly be arrested soon and, if so, would lead to me.

Q. You mean this is what Rosenberg told you?

A. That is right. And Rosenberg said to me that I would have to leave the country; think it over, and we will make plans to go. Well, I told him that I would need money to pay my debts back so I would be able to leave with a clear head, and Rosenberg said that he didn't think it was necessary to worry about it. But I insisted on it, so he said he would get the money for me from the Russians. He then went on to say—I protested further—

Q. Tell us what you said.

A. I said, "I wouldn't be able to"—I didn't think it was wise to go right to the Consulate here and ask for a passport, and he said, "Oh, they let other people out who are more important than you are," and I said, "Is that so?" And he said, "Yes. Well, they let Barr out, Joel Barr, and he was a member of our espionage ring."

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A. Well, the conversation continued



—Wide World Photo

Harry Gold (right) admitted aiding Dr. Klaus Fuchs in passing atomic secrets to Russia. He also served as go-between for Greenglass and the Rosenbergs. Arrested in May, 1950, after Fuchs gave FBI agents his description, Gold pleaded guilty and was sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment.

for a little while, and he said, "You'll just have to leave, and I want to"—oh, I also said to him, "Why doesn't this other guy—fellow—leave, the one who came to me in Albuquerque?" And he said, "Well, that's something else again," and I went back home after that.

Q. Did you have any further conversations with Rosenberg at later times?

A. Yes.

Q. About leaving the country?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Will you tell us when the next conversation took place?

A. Well, my wife was in the hospital; she had been badly burned in an accident, and it was about the middle of April, it was just about after—before she came out of the hospital. Julius came to see me, and he said I would have to leave the country and—well, that was about the gist of the conversation.

Q. He told you again that you were to leave; is that right?

A. Yes; and that he wanted me to go. Then again there was—

Q. Had he given you any money up to this point?

A. No, no money was given to me up to this point.

Q. When was the next conversation?

A. The next conversation was after my wife had gotten out of the hospital about May or just before—it was probably a little before May, and he came up to my apartment in order to get some stocks from me, some shares that I had for a business enterprise I was in with him. And he at this time told me that I would have to leave the country as soon as possible; he would get the information for me to leave. Then—

Q. Was there any discussion of the

country you were to go to?

A. It came—he said I would have to go via Mexico, but he didn't give me the complete information as to that until a little later.

Q. Now when was the next conversation with Rosenberg on this subject?

A. Well, it was after my wife came out of the hospital after giving birth to our youngest child.

Q. About when was that?

A. It was May—it was May 22 or 23, something like that.

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Q. Up at your apartment?

A. At my apartment.

Q. Tell us what he said and what you said.

A. And he came into the apartment, and he had a *Herald Tribune* in his hand with a picture of Harry Gold on it. And he said, "This is the gentleman who came to see you in Albuquerque."

Q. Is that the copy of the *Herald Tribune* carrying the case of Harry Gold's arrest for espionage?

A. That is right.

Q. What did he say?

A. He said, "This is the man who saw you in Albuquerque."

I looked at it, and I said I couldn't tell from that picture, and he said, "Don't worry, I am telling you this is the man and you will have to go out—you will have to leave the country," and he gave me a thousand dollars then and said he would give me six thousand dollars more. We then went for a walk.

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Q. The first place you were to go to was Mexico?

A. That is right. First I was to go to

the border area and at the border area get a tourist card. In other words, not to get the tourist card at some Mexican Consulate in this city but to wait till we get to the border.

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A. ... He then told me I would have to have passport pictures made up.

Q. Passport pictures?

A. Of myself, my wife and my family, and also he gave me a certain form letter to memorize and sign "I. Jackson" at the end of the letter. This letter was to be used when I got to Mexico City. I was to write to the Secretary to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union and state in that letter—I don't recall completely right now but something to the effect about the position of the Soviet Union in the UN.

Q. Something favorable or unfavorable?

A. It was favorable.

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A. Then I was to wait three days at some place—first, of course, to get a place to stay, some place away from the center of town. Then I was to go with a guide to the city in my hand—

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A. —with my middle finger in the —between the pages of the guide—go to a place called Plaz de la Colon and look at the statue of Columbus there—and this would be about five o'clock in the afternoon, three days after I had sent the letter.

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A. I was then to wait until some man was to come up close to me and then I would say, "That is a magnificent statue," and that I was from Oklahoma and I hadn't seen a statue like it before.

And this man was to say, "Oh, there are much more beautiful statues in Paris." That was to be our identification.

Then he was to give me my passports and additional money so that I could go on with my trip. I was then supposed to continue on probably via Vera Cruz—

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A. —and then to Sweden or Switzerland, one or the other. I would—in Sweden I was to go to the statue of Linnaeus in Stockholm and repeat—after sending a letter to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union—to the Secretary of the Ambassador of the Soviet Union—with the same type of letter and also "I. Jackson" as the signature again.

I would then go three days later to the statue of Linnaeus and with a guide in hand, with my finger in the place, and a man would come up to the statue about the same time in the evening, about five o'clock, and I would repeat that it was a beautiful statue, a magnificent statue—something to that effect, and the man would say, "There are much more beautiful ones in Paris," and that was to make our contact.

Then he was to give me my means of transportation to Czechoslovakia, and that is where I was to go.

Q. Was that to be your permanent place?

A. Supposedly that was where I was supposed to go; so far as what went after that I didn't know.

Q. Did Rosenberg tell you what you were to do when you arrived in Czechoslovakia?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. What did he tell you?

A. He told me to write to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union and say that I was here.

• • •

Q. Did you have any further conversation with Rosenberg on that day?

A. Well, that was the end of the conversation on that day except that he said that he probably—that he had to leave the country himself, and he was making plans for it. And I said, "Why you?" He said that he was a friend—that he knew Jacob Golos, this man Golos, and probably Bentley knew him.

Q. And that he himself was going to leave the country, is that right?

A. And that he himself was going to leave the country.

Q. Now was there any further conversation with Rosenberg on that occasion?

A. Only that he asked me to memorize it and get everything attended to—the passport photographs.

• • •

Q. Did he tell you exactly what he



—Wide World Photo

Only two news photographers remained as Sing Sing Prison guard peered through fence following the execution June 19, 1953, of Atom Spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in the Ossining, N. Y., prison's death house.

wanted to know with regard to the passport photos?

A. Yes, he wanted five copies, five pictures—each with myself, by myself, my wife, and then my wife and the children and then myself with the children, and then I think all of us together, the family altogether.

Q. In other words, these five different poses, he wanted five copies of each one?

A. That is right.

[At this point in the testimony Greenglass went on to explain that Rosenberg had engaged a lawyer and had advised his brother-in-law to do likewise in case he was "picked up" before he left the country, but Greenglass did not. He also told how he and his wife and children went to have the passport photos taken.]

A. We went over to the shop, and we had these pictures taken; and later that evening I picked the pictures up after they were done. And it was during the week—it was Memorial Day, and I remember I was off that night, Julius came over, and I gave him the pictures in the hallway, because there were people in my house and I didn't want the people to see Julius coming to visit me.

• • •

Q. What else happened on that occasion? I think you said that was in the hall outside of your apartment.

A. That was in the hall. He said that he would come back and give me the additional money.

Q. Well, had he given you any money up to that point?

A. He had given me a thousand dollars.

Q. When had he given you the thousand dollars?

A. When he first came into the apartment and showed me that Harry Gold had been arrested.

Q. He had given you a thousand dollars in cash; is that right?

A. That is right.

Q. What did you do with that thousand dollars?

A. I gave it to my wife, who paid bills with it and spent it, generally.

Q. Now, go ahead, from the time when you gave him the passport photos he told you he would give you the additional money?

A. That is right.

Q. Any further conversation at that time?

A. No, he just left.

Q. When was the next conversation on this subject?

A. He came back the following week, I believe it was, and it was in the morning, and he came into the apartment; woke me out of bed and put \$4,000 in

a paper, brown paper wrapping, on the mantelpiece in the bedroom. And he then told me, "Let's go for a walk," because he wants to have me repeat the instructions he had given me.

Q. Instructions he had given you and told you to memorize?

A. That is right. I then went down Columbia Street to Delancey Street, and on the way I met two friends.

• • •

Q. Tell us the circumstances of your meeting them.

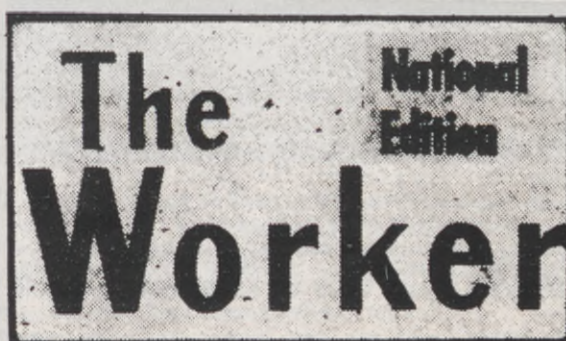
A. They were across the street from

us and Julius said to ignore them, but I said I couldn't do that because they are friends of mine and they would wonder why I walked by without saying anything. I crossed the street, and Dianne [one of the friends] said, "Here is the forty dollars I owe you," and she paid me by check forty dollars.

Q. Which they had owed you; is that right?

A. That she had owed me. And Julius had crossed the street, walking a little ahead of us, and I then caught up to Julius again. We went down the drive

(Continued on Page 47)



Vol. XIX, No. 25

JUNE 20, 1954

Two Who Will Never Be Forgotten



ONE YEAR AGO, June 19, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg went to their deaths on the electric chair, died nobly as champions of peace. Never, in all of history, did so great a part of mankind speak up in protest against a monstrous frame-up. The Pope in the Vatican, the President of France, entire populations of nations, pleaded with President Eisenhower to spare their lives. The world outcry on the eve of their execution became so great that the United States Supreme Court split

on the issue, but the majority in extraordinary session jammed through the fatal decree. They died protesting their innocence and calling for peace. Monuments have been erected in their memory, as in Paris, and this Sunday, June 20, a monument will be unveiled at Wellwood Cemetery, Pinelawn, Long Island, at 1 p.m. But the greatest honor, the greatest monument, is to extend, in their memory, the fight for peace.

Owen Lattimore On the China Lobby

(Continued from Page 20)

say that one of the conspicuous members of the China Lobby is a Mr. William Goodwin, who is or has been actually employed and registered as a lobbyist for the Chinese Embassy here. There is the well-known Mr. Alfred Kohlberg, who is a man of private means and able to finance his interests in the discussion of China policy, and he also has or had financial interests in China. And I believe that some Senators may be considered to be part of the China Lobby, or occasional allies of the China Lobby.

Senator Knowland, for instance, whom I consider to be an absolutely sincere man, is frequently referred to as the "Senator from Formosa."

SEN. FERGUSON: That is a Communist line, is it not—"the Senator from Formosa"—Mr. Lattimore?

MR. LATTIMORE: Not to my knowledge, Senator. They may have picked it up.

SEN. FERGUSON: You have never heard that the Communist line is to call the Senator from California, "the Senator from Formosa"?

MR. LATTIMORE: No, I have never heard that, and it may be true; and of course I don't follow the Communist press.

• • •

SEN. JENNER: Not one, not even one newspaper?

SEN. SMITH: And yet you make that statement?

MR. LATTIMORE: It is a term that I have been reading for months, and also hearing on the radio.

SEN. JENNER: What papers do you read, then? Maybe we can get at it that way?

MR. LATTIMORE: I read regularly the *New York Times* and the *Baltimore*—

SEN. JENNER: Has the *New York Times*, to refresh your memory, ever referred to Senator Knowland as the "Senator from Formosa"?

MR. LATTIMORE: I don't know, Senator. It would have to be looked up.

SEN. JENNER: You make this charge and yet you cannot name one paper that referred to Senator Knowland as the "Senator from Formosa"?

MR. LATTIMORE: I can't name—I can tell you the papers I read.

SEN. JENNER: But you do not recall any single newspaper?

MR. LATTIMORE: I cannot recall.

SEN. JENNER: You thought it was a humorous reference, and yet you did not get any humor and you cannot remember the humor that you got from reading some newspapers?

MR. LATTIMORE: Senator, it is a very frequent reference—so frequent that I would not associate it with any newspaper.

SEN. JENNER: Do you read the *Daily Worker*?

SEN. JENNER: Thank you.

MR. LATTIMORE: Since I have characterized this also as a term that appears on the radio, the radio programs to which I listen regularly—

SEN. JENNER: Now, maybe some commentator. What commentator have you heard who referred to it?

• • •

MR. LATTIMORE: The programs and commentators to which I customarily listen are the six o'clock CBS news program in the evening, which includes a number of commentators or news broadcasters; and I listen to the eight o'clock CBS news in the morning; and then going back to the evening, I occasionally listen at seven o'clock to Fulton Lewis, Jr.

SEN. JENNER: Did you ever hear Fulton Lewis, Jr., refer to the Senator from California as the "Senator from Formosa"?

MR. LATTIMORE: I can't recall.

SEN. JENNER: Can you recall any commentator on any of the news broadcasts—

SEN. O'CONOR: I do think, now—had you finished your answer?

MR. LATTIMORE: I had not.

SEN. O'CONOR: I think that you should finish it.

MR. LATTIMORE: At 7:15 I usually listen to Elmer Davis.

SEN. FERGUSON: Did you ever hear Elmer Davis say that?

SEN. O'CONOR: I think—

MR. LATTIMORE: I think, I wouldn't say for certain, I think it is quite likely.

SEN. FERGUSON: I would think so.

SEN. O'CONOR: Let us be in order.

MR. LATTIMORE: At 7:45 I usually listen to Mr. Ed Murrow's program, again on CBS. And that is all of the programs I listen to regularly and the papers that I read regularly.

• • •

(Short recess. At this point Senator McCarran assumed the chair.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will come to order.

Is there any question pending?

SEN. SMITH: I asked Mr. Lattimore to name the persons who constituted the China Lobby, and he named three or four, and I would like to get the additional names of those he regards first as to the China Lobby.

• • •

THE CHAIRMAN: Let's name the names and answer the question of the Senator from North Carolina.

MR. LATTIMORE: Senator, I have mentioned Mr. Alfred Kohlberg. I understand that an employee of the China Lobby has been a Miss Freda Utey. I understand that there is a great deal of private Chinese money in this country—

SEN. SMITH: Now, that does not answer my question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The last part of the

Daily Worker

Resale at second class matter Oct. 22, 1947, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879

Vol. XXXI, No. 253

New York, Tuesday, December 21, 1954

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20.—Sen. William F. Knowland (R-Formosa) today reaffirmed his proposal for a blockade of China even though President Eisenhower has called it a war measure. The Senate GOP leader demanded that the U. S. gov-

SEN. JENNER: In what press have you read that Senator Knowland was the "Senator from Formosa"?

SEN. SMITH: The Communist press?

MR. LATTIMORE: No. I never follow the Communist press.

SEN. JENNER: I want an answer to my question, and I want to know in what press the witness has read that Senator Knowland is referred to as the "Senator from Formosa"?

MR. LATTIMORE: I am sorry, Senator, I can't name offhand a specific paper in which I read it.

MR. LATTIMORE: No, sir.

SEN. FERGUSON: Do you read the *Compass*?

SEN. JENNER: What paper do you read besides the *New York Times*?

MR. LATTIMORE: I was trying to tell you when you interrupted me.

SEN. JENNER: Please do, with qualifications.

MR. LATTIMORE: I read the *New York Times* regularly and I read the *Baltimore Morning Sun* regularly and I read the *Washington Post* regularly and those are the only ones I read regularly.

answer will be stricken from the record.

SEN. SMITH: He says, "State Department victims of the China Lobby." Now, "victim" is not a very nice designation of someone who has been the victim, and I want to know who are the China Lobby?

THE CHAIRMAN: You are calling for names.

Now, names is what your answer is.

MR. LATTIMORE: I understand that, Mr.—

THE CHAIRMAN: Your answer calls for names, please, Mr. Lattimore, and certainly you—

MR. LATTIMORE: Members of the Chinese Embassy. And that is all of the names that I will name.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any further questions, Senator?

• • •

SEN. SMITH: I asked him to name the names of the persons constituting the China Lobby to which he refers here in his statement on page 22.

MR. LATTIMORE: I should name Mr. George Sokolsky, a newspaper columnist, and I believe radio commentator. I should name the *Chicago Tribune*—

SEN. SMITH: What names, individually?

MR. LATTIMORE: Editorially.

SEN. SMITH: Who? The persons, I called for, the names of the persons constituting the China Lobby as referred to by you on page 22 of your statement.

MR. LATTIMORE: May I, Senator, again refer to the fact that I started out by saying that I consider that any individual may be classified with the China Lobby in entirely different degrees and under entirely different connotations.

SEN. SMITH: Any kind of degree, Mr.



—Wide World Photo

Senator Millard F. Tydings (D-Md.) (right) pats the hand of the Dilowa Gegen Hutukhtu (left), the only "living Buddha" in the United States, as Owen Lattimore (center) introduces them during a recess in a Senate subcommittee hearing in Washington, April 6, 1950. The Dilowa, from Outer Mongolia, worked with Lattimore at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Tydings was chairman of the group hearing Lattimore's answers to spy charges made by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.).

Lattimore, you have made a serious charge here, that the State Department employees have been made victims of the China Lobby. Now, that is a statement you have made, manifestly for the purpose of prejudicing somebody. Now, I want to know who constitutes this China Lobby that you apparently mean to say has been guilty of all sorts of insidious influence on the State Department. Now, who are the persons? Now, if you did not know any persons who constituted the Lobby, manifestly this is an improper statement to put before the

committee. If you do know who constitutes the China Lobby, you are entitled to tell us; and that is all I am asking for, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: That calls for names, Mr. Lattimore.

MR. LATTIMORE: I should name a Mr. Victor Lasky—

SEN. WATKINS: Tell us where he lives, if you have that information.

MR. LATTIMORE: I don't know where he lives, sir. I have seen articles of his. I think that that is all I can recall at the moment, Senator.

Book Reviews

(Continued from Page 18)

where he was permitted to walk could the Marshal of Verdun even see the rest of the world or the sea! His crippled wife was later permitted to visit him for a short time each day.

Henri Philippe Petain—last of the great marshals of a once great military power died on July 23, 1951, at the advanced age of ninety-six. The date may well go down in French history as one of eternal shame. French Communists who had fled to Russia when Germany attacked their country and they were ordered to military service, sat at the right hand of DeGaulle after the

Liberation bought with American, Canadian, British, and Polish blood—not French. The general who had saved France in World War I in one of the greatest battles of all time at Verdun died in disgrace in prison. A nation which lacks the guts to suppress a quarter of a million traitorous Communists had the heroic strength to imprison and disgrace a ninety-year-old war hero. Will France ever come back?

Our State Department which has poured ten billion dollars of tax-raised money into France since the end of the war seems to think so. Twenty French governments have fallen apart or been overthrown in the last ten years. But they can't raise ten divisions of fighting men. (Most of the fighting in Indochina was done by Germans and other foreigners in the Foreign Legion. Or by colored colonials led by French officers.) And eight years of French stalling and obstructionism have pre-

vented the re-arming of West Germany for its own defense.

I last visited France in the fall of 1952. An American journalist and anti-Communist who had lived in Paris for years expressed amazement that our government still considered France the keystone of western defense. "What makes America think that the French will fight if the Russians attack?" he asked me. "They wouldn't fight against the Nazis when their country was invaded—what makes you think they would fight with us against the Russians? In fact, if this country went Communist, which I doubt it ever will, I am sure that even the Russians couldn't make them fight on their side. They are through as a military power." *France—The Tragic Years* would tend to support this cynical observation. But that was not Sisley Huddleston's purpose in writing his fine and impressive book.

you must **COUNTERATTACK**

by
**Medford
Evans**

the INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY



- 1** Communism is making a bid for total world power.
- 2** It has several co-ordinated parallel lines of attack on all pre-existing institutions of effective government.
- 3** The main effort now is directed against the United States.
- 4** This effort has already resulted in the firm establishment of beachheads in various key institutions and organizations in the country.
- 5** From these the future expansion of Communist power can be anticipated as almost routine.
- 6** It is therefore necessary to counterattack, in force, and as swiftly as is consistent with the security and success of the counterattacking organization.

LEVELS OF CONFLICT

We are in conflict with communism on several different levels as follows:

♦ **1.** The most fundamental is the religious level. Basically, the question is whether as men and women we will worship, obey and be judged by God, our Creator, accept the redemption of Jesus Christ, the Savior, and operate through the comforting power of the Holy Spirit, or whether we will deify mankind collectively and worship human progress as an end (unending) in itself. Because the Communists do, in effect, deify mankind collectively, they have no reluctance to sacrifice a percentage of the total population without regard to the interest of the individual hearts and souls involved, since they do not believe the soul exists and are quite sure that no individual heart will, in the scale of history, beat very long anyhow. This religious conflict is the most fundamental and must be carried on by us on a permanent basis and in such a way as: first, to reach the greatest number possible of individual persons; and, second, to keep the doors of national and international society as wide open as possible to all who would preach and teach the Gospel.

♦ **2.** Perhaps the best publicized level of conflict with communism is the economic level. Indeed, many people think that the essential question is a choice between an economic system of free enterprise and an economic system of so-called "planning." It is true that the economic question is of enormous importance. However, it is Marxist doctrine to hold

that the economic question is primary; thus anyone who makes the assumption that the basic questions concern the machinery and processes of production has already yielded to the Communists their main point.

To show how successful they have been in the past century, we have only to consider the widespread acceptance of the theory of collectivist planned economy by many professors, students, journalists, preachers, and businessmen who certainly have no intention of being or becoming Communists, or sympathetic to communism. Yet apparently without being aware of it, they have let the Communist camel get its head in the tent of their own minds. The conflict on the economic level, like the one on the religious level, requires a ceaseless program of study and education and, specifically, of advertising the merits of the free enterprise system, and warning against the dangers to sound economic operation of creeping socialism as well as of revolutionary communism.

♦ **3.** The third level of conflict, the political, is obviously closely related to the economic level, precisely because it is the intention of Communists, as well as of other varieties of Marxists, that all the economic machinery shall be controlled by the top political organization, and because they have already succeeded to an alarming extent in developing political control of economic affairs. The political level is distinguishable from the economic level in part by the fact that activities here may move much faster than on the economic level. It requires years to build a successful industrial

organization, but the government can take it over in a very short time; thus the political conflict is sharper than the competition of economic systems. It is because of the relative rapidity of action at this level that the ancient aphorism, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," is so true. The events of one political convention may determine the life of a nation (which means most of the people in the nation) for years.

♦ 4. Just as the political conflict is sharper than the economic, so the conflict on the fourth level, the military, is sharper still. The military conflict is of course inextricably related to the political (as that in turn is to the economic) but is distinguished from it by the fact that it may result in great and sudden loss of life and physical destruction. While changes in a political administration may change the character of national life, a sufficiently drastic military defeat will end the national life altogether. This sort of thing has of course happened many times in history. The new feature of the present situation is that (1) the Communists control powerful national military organizations in Russia and China and have infiltrated military organizations in other nations of the world, including our own, and (2) nuclear weapons and their methods of delivery have been developed to the point where a knockout blow is theoretically deliverable overnight; therefore the United States is, for the first time in its history, a potential victim of a blitzkrieg.

TO SUMMARIZE: The preceding four levels of conflict are related in that (1) on a scale of enduring importance, the religious is primary and the others depend on it, but (2) on a scale of urgency the military is primary and there will be no time or opportunity to work on problems at the other three levels if we do not somehow meet the military problem.

ORGANIZATIONS WHERE THE CONFLICT GOES ON

♦ 1. The two organizations primarily engaged in military conflict are of course the United States and the Soviet Union. Because the Soviet Union has never been particularly successful in conventional warfare, while on the other hand it has been astoundingly successful in the warfare of infiltration and subversion, the military conflict is going on most significantly inside the United States. Because the United States has, quite correctly, based its over-all strategy to such a large extent on the use of atomic bombs by its Strategic Air Command, therefore our defense is crucially dependent on the internal security of SAC and AEC. The same principle applies, of course, in a slightly lesser degree to all other components of our over-all military establishment.

♦ 2. The totalitarian powers—Fascist, Nazi, and Communist—have demonstrated the importance of propaganda. Psychological influence is exerted through all kinds of communications media on the population—first of the home state, second of allies, neutrals, and enemies. Just as the most acute danger imaginable to the United States would be the successful infiltration and subversion of the armed services and the atomic energy project, the next most acute danger would be the infiltration and control of press and periodicals, radio and television. Such infiltration and control are dangerous for two reasons: one, the media may be used to soften people

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USE OTHER SIDE ALSO

up, conceal from them the true facts, and get them ready for the Day; and, two, the same media can be used when the Day comes to tell them what to do.

♦ 3. Even if we suppose a hypothetical situation in which through a successful military stroke and seizure of channels of communication, an enemy power was in a position to tell the people of this country what to do, the chances are quite good that the people would not do it. Thus the winners in this kind of blitzkrieg would not be able to enjoy their victory, unless they had also an organization which they could depend on to persuade the majority of the population that they ought to cooperate with the new regime. Probably no group of persons in this country could be imagined as having the ability to exert this kind of persuasion except the preachers and, to a somewhat lesser extent, public school officials. These are the only persons in the country whom the ordinary man might conceivably follow even if he disagreed with them, except duly constituted government officials of high rank, who of course under this hypothesis would either be a Quisling or be liquidated.

Thus the infiltration of the churches and school systems, particularly at the top, is of the utmost importance to the Communists. Clearly, they have succeeded to some extent (we don't know yet how much) in such infiltration.

♦ 4. Infiltration of military organizations, communications media, churches, and schools requires large numbers of people. It would be impossible to imagine that so many people would be available except for the fact that ever since World War I the colleges and universities have been turning out a rapidly increasing supply of bright young men and women who have been deeply impressed, consciously and subconsciously, by the claims of the Marxist theory of the economic determination of history—the “dangers of nationalism,” the “horror of war,” the “dubiousness of revealed religion,” the “obligation of government to provide for the economic welfare of the citizens,” and the “inevitable evolutionary process of international society toward a socialized one world.”

The stream of young people so educated has been quite sufficient to color all the organizations previously named and to make them vulnerable to approaches made by agents of the Soviet Union who are actually hardened criminals but who may seem to the miseducated young intellectuals to be representatives of “the future.”

THE COUNTERATTACK

Clearly, the over-all, necessary counterattack must, like the original Communist attack, operate at all levels and in all organizations previously enumerated. This involves a working alliance between all kinds of American organizations which have in common a sense of their dependence on and indebtedness to, the nation in which they have developed. Many actions will have to be taken by people in government, private industry (including press, radio, etc.), churches and educational institutions. But the value of complete and reliable information to all groups and individuals is enormously great and should be obvious. Unless this occurs, defeat and disaster will most assuredly come about with the resulting destruction of the United States.

APRIL POLL RESULTS

(Closed April 10)

% YES

(See Page 64 for May Poll Questions)

- 77 Do treaty laws threaten private property?
- 83 Should taxpayers be allowed to prescribe what their children be taught?
- 43 If we were suddenly attacked would any other nation come to our aid?
- 37 Do you approve of the President's \$7 billions for new schools plan?
- 26 Are you in favor of the administration's proposed health program?
- 74 Should U.S. defend the Nationalist Chinese coastal islands?
- 8 Should the birthday of Franklin D. Roosevelt be made a national holiday?
- 62 Will Senator McClellan become a prime target of the Communists?
- 59 Are Parent-Teachers Associations infiltrated with Reds?
- 75 Should the U.S. refrain from publishing accounts of new defense weapons?
- 75 Should Chiang Kai-shek's army be allowed to attack Red China?
- 83 Do those who innocently promote communism harm, more than known Communists?
- 24 Has the Marshall Plan justified its cost?
- 62 Should Social Security be put on a voluntary basis?
- 12 Is enough American history being taught in our schools today?

ROY COHN AND THE ATOM SPIES

(Continued from Page 41)

again, and he asked me to repeat to him the various instructions he had given me; and I repeated the instructions—

• • •

A. —I repeated the instructions, and he said that was fine.

I then—well, that ended the conversation, and he went his way and I went back to my apartment. Later, he came back. I was under surveillance at the time and—

• • •

Q. Did you think you were being followed at that time?

A. I did think I was being followed.

• • •

A. Julius came back during that week, which was—oh, I would say about May—it was June, the 2nd or 3rd or maybe even the 4th; I can't place it exactly, and as he came into the apartment he said, "Are you being followed?" I said, "Yes, I am."

He said, "I just came back from upstate New York to see some people, and I was going to Cleveland, Ohio, but I am going—I am not going to go there any more." And he said to me, "What are you going to do now?" I said, "I am not going to do anything. I am going to sit—I am going to stay right here," and he left.

Q. Did you see him again after that?

A. Only in court here.

Q. Shortly after that, I believe, on June 15, were you arrested by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

A. I was.

[Greenglass explained during the cross-examination later that he had seen



—United Press Photo

Roy Cohn displays plaque presented by the Joint Committee Against Communism, New York, July 28, 1954, "for his fearless battle against the enemies of his God and country, which has inspired the people of America."

Rosenberg in jail. "They brought us into a room together...and told us to stay apart, and I didn't say anything to him and he said nothing to me."]

• • •

Julius Rosenberg, his wife Ethel, and Morton Sobell were found guilty March 29, 1951, of conspiracy to commit wartime sabotage. The Rosenbergs were sentenced to death; Sobell to thirty years. Appeals were denied. David Greenglass, brother of Ethel Rosenberg and a state witness, was given a fifteen-year prison sentence. The Rosenbergs were executed at Sing Sing June 19, 1953.

What they're saying . . .



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JACK McDANIEL
5600 Hieth St., Fort Worth, Texas

...the educational talk given by Dan Smoot [Ike's Highway Program, see page 2 of this magazine]...was one of the best I have heard on our national highways...I should like to use it for classroom study.

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JAMES R. MCGHEE
2312 Steiner Ave., Birmingham, Ala.

Have been very much interested in your questionnaires [Facts Forum Poll] and hope you continue to have them. The majority of people are not given to expressing their opinions on such matters. Your questions get them to thinking, and their answers should be a good indication as to the thinking of many people.

JULIUS E. MULLER
11 Turner St., Auburn, Maine

Your Sunday TV program is viewed with much interest by the family of the writer. We choose up sides after your program, and the battle is on. Sometimes we continue the debate until the following Sunday when you present both sides of another controversial issue...

W. A. RAHN
829 Philadelphia Ave.,
Silver Spring, Md.

...No one is rendering a greater service to our people than Mr. Smoot in his unbiased pro and con discussions of the vital problems confronting our country today.

George S. Williams
321 Senate Office Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

(Continued from Page 30)

MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	To be announced
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs 7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLQ*	1230	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLQ**	1230	Sat
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLF**	1370	To be announced
	KXLF-TV*	6	Sun 9:45 p
	KXLF-TV*	6	Wed 7:00 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun 6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLK**	1400	To be announced
Havre	KOJM*	610	Mon 7:30 p
	KOJM*	610	Thurs 7:30 p
Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat 9:00 p
	KCAP*	1340	Mon 7:30 p
	KCAP*	1340	Thurs 7:30 p
	KXLJ*	1240	To be announced
Lewiston	KXLO*	1230	
	KPRK*	1340	Mon 7:30 p
	KPRK*	1340	Thurs 7:30 p
Miles City	KATL*	1340	Mon 7:30 p
	KATL*	1340	Thurs 7:30 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat 9:00 p
	KXLL*	1450	To be announced
	KGVO-TV*	13	Fri 9:30 p
	KGVO-TV*	13	Sun 8:00 p
Shelby	KIYI*	1230	Mon 7:30 p
	KIYI*	1230	Thurs 7:30 p
Sidney	KGCX*	1480	Mon 7:30 p
	KGCX*	1480	Thurs 7:30 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR**	To be announced
Hastings	KHAS*	1230 Mon 8:30 p
	KHAS*	1230 Thurs 8:30 p
Lincoln	KLMS*	1480 Sun 6:15 p
McCook	KBRLL*	1450 Mon 8:30 p
	KBRLL*	1450 Thurs 8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG**	780 Sat 10:15 a
Omaha	KFAB*	1110 Sun 12:15 p
Scottsbluff	KNEB*	960 Mon 7:30 p

NEVADA

Reno	KZTV-TV*	8 To be announced
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NEW HAMPSHIRE

Manchester	WMUR-TV**	9 To be announced
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NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB**	
	WLDB**	
Millville	WMLV**	Sun
Pleasantville	WOND*	1400
South Orange	WSOU-FM**	208
	WSOU-FM**	208

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque	KABQ*	1340 Thurs 7:30 p
Clayton	KLMA*	1450 Tues 6:30 p
Farmington	KVBC*	1240
Hobbs	KWEW*	1490 Mon 7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN*	1230 Mon 7:30 p
	KFUN*	1230 Thurs 7:30 p
Portales	KENM*	1450 Wed 7:15 p
	KENM*	1450 Fri 6:30 p
Roswell	KWSW-TV*	8 Sun 2:30 p

NEW YORK

Albany	WPTR*	1540 Mon 9:30 p
	WPTR*	1540 Thurs 9:30 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490
Auburn	WMBO*	1340 Mon 9:30 p
	WMBO*	1340 Thurs 9:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP*	1360 Mon 9:30 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7 Wed 10:15 a
Buffalo	WXRA*	1080 Sun 9:30 a
Elmira	WTVE-TV**	24 Sun 6:30 p
Hornell	WLEA**	1480 Sun 3:00 p
Kingston	WKNY-TV*	66 Fri 7:30 p
Malone	WICY*	1490 Mon 9:30 p
	WICY*	1490 Thurs 9:30 p
New York	WOR*	710 Sat 6:15 p
	WOR*	710 Sun 9:30 p
	WOR*	710 Sun 9:30 p
North Albany	WROW-TV*	41 Thurs 7:30 p
	WROW-TV**	41 Fri 9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY*	1340 Mon 9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLC*	1490 Wed 7:00 p
Watertown	WATN*	1240 Mon 9:30 p
	WATN*	1240 Thurs 9:30 p

Organize a small telephone committee to keep your community alerted to Facts Forum and other patriotic programs which can be heard.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheboro	WGWR*	1260 Tues 6:45 p
Asheville	WWNC*	570 Sat 6:30 p
Asheville	WLOS-TV*	13
	WLOS-TV**	13
Belmont	WCGC*	1270
	WCGC**	1270
Burlington	WBBS*	920 Sun 1:00 p
Charlotte	WBT*	1110 Sun 5:30 p
	WIST*	930 Thurs 9:30 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410 Wed 10:00 a
Elizabeth City	WCNC*	1240 Mon 9:30 p
	WCNC*	1240 Thurs 9:30 p
Forrest City	WBBO*	780
	WBBO**	780 Sun 5:30 p
Gastonia	WLTC*	1370 Sun 12:45 p
Greensboro	WBIG*	1470 Thurs 5:15 p
Henderson	WHNC*	890 Mon 9:30 p
Hendersonville	WHKP*	1450 Tues 8:00 p
Hickory	WHKY*	1290 Tues 7:30 p
	WIRC**	630
High Point	WNOS*	1590 Sun 3:00 p
	WNOS*	1590 Sun
Jacksonville	WJNC*	1240 Mon 9:30 p

What they're saying ...



about FACTS FORUM

... I am a high school student ... my whole family thinks your program [ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS] is tops. I wish more good American programs like yours could be shown as movies in our schools. I think the students would get education as well as enjoyment from them....

MISS SANDRA BOREN, age 15
Flathead County High School
Rt. 1, Kalispell, Montana

... I would be very much pleased to receive copies of your presentation on the United Nations for use in one of my high school classes... [See page 8 for second in UN series].

MISS RUTH CATHCART
825 W. Elm St., Lima, Ohio

For years ... I had not seen a public opinion poll of any kind. Now, I thank you for the privilege of voting on Facts Forum's monthly Poll questions, and for the tabulated results....

STEPHEN E. BROWN
114 S. Ross Ave., Hastings, Neb.

Thanks for the piece on Strauss. So well and soberly and thoughtfully presented....

LEROY VICTOR CLEVELAND, Editor
The High Way Magazine
Henniker, N. H.

After reading my first copy of *Facts Forum News*, I must say that I digested its contents with gusto. Timely, sensational, and packing a wallop, I find it both interesting and very educational. It is truly an all-American publication that merits praise....

ALFRED NEVAREZ
Las Cruces, N. M.

... You are right on the job. This [Letters to the Editor Contest] is a wonderful way to keep people writing to the papers. For the most part we get only kicks and abuse for daring to speak out, but *Facts Forum News* offers a reward for our efforts. It is good to know there is a magazine dedicated to inspiring "individual thinking" instead of "packaged thinking."

WILMA HANNA
251 S. Pittsburg, Tulsa, Okla.

As a railroad employee on an irregular work schedule, I can't always listen to your program [STATE OF THE NATION], but it's a swell program ... and I make it my business to listen whenever I can....

ALBERT J. KUTCHINSKI
35-09 Starr Ave.
Long Island City 1, N. Y.

... I appreciate your efforts in the type of program—getting at facts—you are sponsoring.

ROBERT W. TOWNLEY, Ph.D.
R.F.D. 1, Chatham, N. J.

NORTH CAROLINA—Continued

Kings Mountain	WKMT*	1220		
	WkMt**	1220		
Leaksville	WLOE†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WLOE†	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Lenoir	WJRI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WJRI†	1340	Thurs	9:30 p
Lexington	WBUY**	1450	Thurs	7:30 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV*	28	Tues	10:00 p
	WPTE*	680	Sun	1:30 p
	WRAL†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Roxboro	WRXO*	1490		
Salisbury	WSAT*	1280	Wed	8:00 p
	WSTP†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Sanford	WWGP*	1050		
	WWGP*	1050		
Statesville	WSIC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Washington	WHED**	1340	Wed	9:30 p
Wilmington	WGNI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WMFD-TV**	6	Sun	8:00 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV*	26	Sun	9:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA

Devils Lake	KDLR*	1240 Mon 8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX*	1230
Fargo	WDAY-TV*	6 Sun 4:00 p
		alternating Sun 4:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490 Sun 4:30 p
Minot	KLPM*	1390 Thurs 8:30 p
Valley City	KOVCF*	1490 Mon 8:30 p

OHIO

Ashtabula	WICA**	970 Sat 8:00 p
	WICA-TV**	15 Wed 8:00 p
Canton	WCWM*	1060 Sun 12:15 p
Cincinnati	WLW*	700 Sun 12:30 p
	WLW*	700 Sun 2:30 p
Cleveland	WHK*	1420 Mon 9:30 p
	WHK*	1420 Thurs 9:30 p
	WHIO*	1290 Tues 7:15 p
Dayton	WLSN**	
Delaware	WEOL*	930 Sun 9:45 a
Elyria	WEOL**	930 Wed 7:30 p
	WJEH*	990
Gallipolis	WLOK-TV*	73 Tues 8:30 p
Lima	WMOH**	1450 Sun 12:30 p
Hamilton	WMOA*	1490 Mon 9:30 p
Marietta	WMOA*	1490 Thurs 9:30 p
	WMOA*	1430 Sun 6:30 p
Newark	WCLE*	1260 Mon 8:15 p
Portsmouth	WNXT*	9 Sun 6:30 p
Steubenville	WSTV-TV*	1370 Sun 10:00 p
Toledo	WSPD*	
Warren		
Youngstown	WHHH*	1440 Mon 9:30 p
	WHHH*	1440 Thurs 9:30 p
Youngstown	WFMT*	1390 Sat 6:45 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV**	50 Wed 7:00 p
	WHIZ-TV*	50 Mon 7:00 p
		alternat'g Thurs 9:30 p

OKLAHOMA

Altus	KWHW*	1450 Mon 8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL*	1580 Wed 10:30 a
Cushing	KWHB*	1600 Sun 12:45 p
Duncan	KRHD*	1350 Mon 8:30 p
	KRHD*	1350 Thurs 8:30 p
Elk City	KASA*	1240 Mon 8:30 p
Enid	KCRC*	1390 Sun 10:15 p
Lawton	KSWO-TV*	7 Thurs 7:30 p
Oklahoma City	KOMA*	1520 Sat 5:45 p
	KOCY*	1340 Thurs 8:30 p
	KMPT*	19 Wed 9:00 p
	KTVQ-TV**	25 Sun 9:30 p
Okmulgee	KHBG*	1240 Mon 8:30 p
	KHBG*	1240 Thurs 8:30 p
Ponca City	WBBZ*	1230 Mon 8:30 p
	WBBZ*	1230 Thurs 8:30 p
Poteau	KLCO*	1280
	KLCO*	1280
Shawnee	KGFF*	1450 Mon 8:30 p
	KGFF*	1450 Thurs 8:30 p
Tulsa	KTUL*	1430 Tues 9:45 p
	KVOO*	1170 Thurs 9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW*	1450 Mon 8:30 p
	KSIW*	1450 Thurs 8:30 p

OREGON

Astoria	KAST*	1370 Sun 8:30 p
Bend	KBND*	1110 Sun 8:30 p
Hillsboro	KRTV*	1360 Sun 1:00 p
Lebanon	KGAL*	930 Sun 7:45 p
McMinnville	KMCM*	1260 Sun 7:45 p
	KMCM*	1260 Wed 8:45 p
Portland	KXL*	750 Sat 4:15 p
Roseburg	KRXL*	1240 Sun 8:30 p
Salem	KGA*	1430

Vote the May poll questions, Page 64

PENNSYLVANIA

Bradford	WESB*	1490 Mon 9:30 p
	WESB*	1490 Thurs 9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	1050 Sun 12:45 p
Butler	WBUT-FM*	97.7 Sun 12:45 p
	WBUT**	1050 Sun 4:30 p
Carbondale	WCDL*	1230 Thurs 6:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960 Sat 8:15 a
Coudersport	WFRM*	600 Sat 5:30 p
	WFRM**	600 Sun 1:30 p
Easton	WGLV-TV**	57 Sun 7:30 p
	WGLV-TV*	57 Thurs 9:00 p

(Continued on Page 55)

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

THE YALTA PAPERS

(Continued from Page 5)

truth to popularity persistently warned against inducing the U.S.S.R. to participate in the war against Japan and branded the yielding of strategic positions in the Far East to the Communist world conspiracy as folly. Their opposition to Soviet appeasement at the time is a matter of record. It is not hindsight, as the Yalta apologists would have you believe.

I contend that the failure of our foreign policy during World War II was due to typical superficiality of leaders without sufficient background, and especially to ignorance regarding the aims of communism. Anyone who has followed the disclosures of our congressional committees of investigation by now knows that at least a substantial part of our incompetence was aided and abetted by such influential friends of the Soviet Union inside the government as Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White. Mr. Hiss at the time of the Yalta Conference was Deputy Director, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State. Mr. White was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

It is of course nasty and ungenerous to "throw mud" at those who, at the height of our Soviet craze, supported all or most of the projects which were bound to aid the long-range policy of the Communist world conquest. Yet we shall never grasp the truth if we dodge the issue and, for the sake of gentility, participate in the whitewash of which the notorious Tydings Committee will always be cited as the foremost protagonist. Calling a spade "a spade," and mud "mud," is not throwing mud at anybody.

The practice of withholding facts from the public does not serve our present or future policy. It is our duty to expose not only Yalta, but more so the superficial political thinking which made possible our strategic surrender in the Far East and the emasculation of Germany—the two main World War II objects of Communist strategy. Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, was correct in saying, on March 23, 1955: "The best guidepost for the future can be found in looking at the lessons of the past. Yalta was one of the sad lessons of history." Those millions among us who are tired of the decadent nonchalance regarding the Yalta debacle were cheered by Senator Knowland who said, on March 24, 1955: "I intend to discuss Yalta whenever I believe it to be pertinent."

Actually, the 834 pages of these Yalta Papers merely confirm what, on the basis of available memoirs and newspaper clippings, had been known before.

They add little to our knowledge of the disaster and betrayal at Yalta. Only in their relationship with the entire pro-Communist pattern of our public life in the nineteen-thirties and forties can these Papers disclose the tragic folly and incompetence of our leadership.

More rewarding than a perusal of the published documents would be an intense and persistent search for the mass of missing papers, the 10 per cent of omitted documents and those numerous pages of galley proofs which were censored out immediately before publication. For instance, it would have been useful to include the shorthand notes of the then Director of the Office

one excuse for our Far Eastern concessions. Either the deleted galley proofs or the omitted documents (not to speak of the missing papers) might tell us just who in our armed forces, despite our knowledge of Japan's imminent fall as well as the expected availability of the A-bomb, advocated the sellout of Chiang Kai-shek's China for the spurious pleasure of having the Communists rush in during the last six days of the war and entrench themselves in the northern key points of China.

What little has been published in these Papers concerning our donations of Port Arthur, Dairen, and other Far Eastern territories and possessions presents us with a *fait accompli*. Possibly the Cairo-Teheran papers, which are to be published in 1956, will tell us more about this phase of the betrayal.

Publication of the Pearl Harbor



—Wide World Photo

Senator Styles Bridges shown with his collection of elephants — one of the largest on Capitol Hill.

of War Mobilization and Reconversion. James F. Byrnes. Complete coverage of the (unexpurgated) notes and related papers of W. Averell Harriman, then our Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., likewise would have been in order. What was already in the galley proofs (and therefore has ostensibly leaked to various persons in Washington) should not have been deleted. It is quite possible that the twenty-eight pages of military papers which were at the last moment deemed unsuited for publication might have disclosed why our military authorities failed to secure a corridor through the Soviet Zone to Berlin.

It is well known that the Army and the Navy did not see eye to eye as to the necessity of invading Japan, i.e., the

Papers—unless there be substantial expurgation (which is feared by many)—might explain more fully political decisions before, during and after Yalta. Publication of the Potsdam Papers, which are said to be in the galley proof status, might give us some hints as to what has been omitted in the Yalta Papers.

THE ROLE OF ALGER HISS

The endeavor to minimize the role of Alger Hiss also must be entirely apparent even to the most casual observer. This attempt, even though it has been seconded by the press (both that which is favorable to the administration and the one far to the left) has not been successful.

(Continued on Page 50)

Readers Report

Of, by, and for Facts Forum News readers

Doctors "Needle" Vaccine Plan

In Indiana, the Shelby County Medical Society labels as "socialistic" the plan of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis to provide free Salk anti-polio vaccine for first and second-grade school children throughout the United States.

The medical society proposed a substitute plan by which free Salk "shots" would be given to first and second-graders from needy families. However, the vaccine would be administered to others by private physicians.

According to the society, "Whenever a national lay organization attempts to coerce the medical societies into accepting a plan of medical practice by the threat of public criticism, they have in reality taken the final step toward socialized preventive medicine."

Vodka?

Law prohibits the United States from selling or bartering surplus farm commodities to Russia or the Communist captive nations, the Justice Department has ruled.

The legal opinion, requested by the White House, apparently impaled the possibility that wheat or other surplus foods—including government-owned butter—would be offered as a gift to the Soviets or at cut-rate prices or in exchange for strategic materials from the U.S.S.R.

Today—Tomorrow

Freda Utley's article, "Peace in Our Time?", featured in the April *Facts Forum News*, has been entered into the *Congressional Record* and hence is destined for preservation in the national archives.

Congressman B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.) included the complete text of Miss Utley's article in an extension of remarks appearing on page A2324 of the March 31 *Congressional Record*.

To Outlaw the Outlaws?

An attempt to outlaw the Communist party in New Hampshire will be considered by the state legislature. The bill, referred from the 1953 session, calls for a \$20,000 fine or a prison term

of from two to twenty years, or both, for anyone who shall "knowingly be a member" of the party.

He Sought—He Found

A reader's urgent appeal for sources of "material on freedom" brought swift action by the editor of the *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph*, who promptly published names and addresses of sixty-one organizations, including Facts Forum.

Commending the paper's editorial service to the community, Reader Paul W. Nesbit pointed out that such aid would not only be a service to himself and others "who wished to study the problems further, but it would give a needed boost to the producers of the material."

"Mr. Nesbit is so right," commented Editor Harry Hoiles in publishing the list of organizations and publishers "which prepare informational material in favor of freedom."

No Harvest for Seeds of Subversion

All copies of an official elementary school guide distributed in Virginia have been recalled by Governor Thomas B. Stanley, who labeled passages in the volume as un-American.

Recall and revision of the manual was prompted by publication in the *Richmond News Leader* of a letter from an Alexandria businessman, B. M. Miller. He denounced as "anti-free enterprise propaganda" certain statements in the "Aims" section of the guide.

Governor Stanley asked the Virginia Department of Education "to ascertain the authors of these wholly unwarranted and thoroughly alien passages and to determine whether they are now in the Department's employ."

Among passages pointed up by the Governor were these: "Capitalism is based upon the principle of profit to the owner rather than service to the masses of the people." Also, "The capitalistic system is not planned and lacks direction: thus waste and economic cycles result."

"I am shocked that such statements could appear in any state publication," Governor Stanley stated. "We cannot plant the seeds of distrust and suspicion in the minds of our future citizens and preserve the American way of life."

(Continued from Page 49)

The *New York Times* of March 17, 1955, which in its usual (and admirable) completeness has reprinted the official record of the Yalta Conference—but not the U.S. background and briefing documents prepared in advance—in thirty-two full pages, on page L 79 contains a nine-paragraph story with the caption "Hiss Parley Role Was Minor One." This "Special to the *New York Times*"—without any reporter's by-line while other "specials" on the Yalta Papers, by Harry Schwartz, Allen Drury and others, are signed—claims that "the records show him as a technician."

Well, "Technician" Hiss was present at the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh formal meetings, at five top secret conferences of foreign ministers, and six plenary sessions. This adds up to sixteen officially listed meetings, not to speak of private conversations in which Hiss may have influenced such of his superiors as Secretary of State Stettinius or—if there was any need—Mr. Harry Hopkins. "Technician" Hiss sat in on conferences at which the dismemberment of Germany, reparations, integration of France into the German control commission, Dumbarton Oaks and the United Nations, the Yugoslav frontiers, control of Hungary and Bulgaria, and the Polish question were discussed.

At congressional hearings in 1953, J. Anthony Panuch, a seasoned and honored career official of the State Department, testified that Alger Hiss exercised "Svengali-like influence over the mental processes of Junior Stettinius." It was Mr. Stettinius who had asked Harry Hopkins to intercede with the President to make sure that Mr. Hiss be added to the staff of our Yalta delegation. Mr. Stettinius also wrote in his book on the Yalta Conference: "My usual daily schedule, for instance, was to confer with (H. Freeman) Matthews, (Charles E. 'Chip') Bohlen, and Hiss just after I got up in the morning" and "after these dinners (in the evening) I usually conferred again with Matthews, Bohlen, Hiss."

One of the memoranda now made public—a missive of the executive secretary of the staff of Secretary Stettinius to Assistant Secretary Nelson A. Rockefeller—reads: "At the Secretary's Staff Committee meeting of January 10 (1945) the Secretary (Mr. Stettinius) asked that all memoranda for the President on topics to be discussed at the Meeting of the Big Three (at Yalta) should be in the hands of Mr. Alger Hiss not later than January 15. These memoranda should go to Mr. Hiss through Mr. Yost (Charles W. Yost, executive secretary of the Staff Committee.)"

Now, if Mr. Hiss at the time of the



—Wide World Photo
Harry Dexter White

Yalta Conference still was under orders of the Communist apparatus—which is entirely possible—is it then not logical to suspect at least the possibility that copies of all our preparatory documents of the Yalta Conference, through Mr. Hiss, might have been immediately channeled to Soviet representatives in Washington to be forwarded to the Kremlin? Considering that Mr. Roosevelt, who then was a very tired and enfeebled man, and who before, during, and after the Yalta Conference seemed to be in a perpetual hurry to get things done (no matter how), admittedly did not even look at the carefully prepared background papers, is it then not at least a strong possibility that, prior to the Yalta Conference, Stalin and Molotov familiarized themselves with our American background and program documents while the President of the United States neglected to do so? Is it then not quite possible that our Soviet antagonists knew of our moves beforehand, that they knew what points of our program they would attack before Mr. Roosevelt knew that he was going to make these points?

The *New York Times* itself, on page T 6, column 5, paragraph 13, reporting on the "Meeting of the President with his Advisers, Sunday, February 4, 1945, 10:30 A.M., states: "At this point, Mr. Matthews and Mr. Hiss entered the meeting to discuss the papers prepared by the Department of State for the President." While in this particular case, it was apparently (though not perhaps solely) a paper prepared by Eden and Stettinius at Malta, is this not proof that "Technician" Hiss was better prepared than Roosevelt himself and was therefore asked to assist in briefing the President? Since when is the Deputy Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs—a department division designed to advise on policy—a mere

"technician"? Why, after all these years of hard-won disclosures on Communist treachery inside our government, did the *New York Times*, in March, 1955, minimize the Yalta role of Hiss?

Be it here recalled that Mr. Hiss, when asked by congressional investigators if he had any part in drafting the Yalta Agreements, stated: "I think it is accurate and not an immodest statement to say that I did, to some extent, yes." Be it also recalled that Major General Patrick J. Hurley, our Ambassador to China, shortly after the time of the Yalta Conference hurried to the United States to report to President Roosevelt that leaks "have been and are occurring" in the Department of State.

THE MacARTHUR CONTROVERSY

The determined slants given by certain correspondents and commentators—in the aforementioned case the reporter of the "Special to the *New York Times*," though not necessarily this paper itself—come close to distortion and dissimulation of history. One of the most amazing attempts to shift the burden of the Yalta guilt to a man whose political vision was far above the incompetence of our Yalta statesmen is related to a now famous passage in the diaries of the late James V. Forrestal, our Secretary of the Navy at the time of the Yalta Conference.

Published in October, 1951, these diaries contain an entry of February 28, 1945, i.e., sixteen days after the termination of the Yalta Conference, reporting on a conversation which the late Secretary allegedly had with General MacArthur on that day. (There is some question as to the accuracy of this entry, as for instance it claims that the conversation took place at MacArthur's headquarters in Manila while actually



—Wide World Photo
Harry Hopkins



—Wide World Photo
One of the principal figures at Yalta was Alger Hiss, here shown enroute to the Federal Penitentiary to start his prison term March 22, 1951. He was convicted on perjury charges.

the headquarters then was at Tarlac, 100 miles to the north, and fighting was still going on in Manila for another week.) In this conversation, which was reportedly dictated to H. C. Oberlander, a stenographic reporter who now lives in Kansas City, General MacArthur was said to have referred to Russian aid in the coming military campaign against the Japanese islands.

Both Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas, and Senator Herbert H. Lehman, New York, on March 22, 1955, on the basis of this diary entry, on the Senate floor, accused General MacArthur of having been one of those who advised our government to induce the Soviet Union by concessions to join us in the anti-Japanese military campaign.

Had the two Senators (by availing themselves of adequate research specialists) taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with available pre-Yalta statements of MacArthur—of September 21, 1944, for instance, and also of October 20, 1944—they would have known that their Senate charges represented a gross distortion of the truth. General MacArthur never was asked his advice concerning the expediency of inducing the U.S.S.R. to join us in the Far Eastern campaign, never gave it, and could not have given it in the affirmative because he did not believe in it. Once, without MacArthur's knowledge, the Yalta statesmen had secured Stalin's participation—which needed no securing at all because Stalin was anxious to get in on the kill—General MacArthur was confronted with the availability of Soviet Russian troops and had merely the professional duty to include it in his plans for future military action.

The distasteful (and therefore not comical) Lehman-Johnson misadventure

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

This is to . . . acknowledge yours [Medford Evans'] of March 5, and the copy of *Facts Forum News* for February, 1955, with attention directed to the article by Miss Freda Utley on page 24. I thank you ever so much.

Miss Utley is one of my favorite persons and has performed yeoman service in exposing the Communist conspiracy. She also happens to be a board member of the American China Policy Association of which I am president. Incidentally, I was talking to her just last night at a party given for Ralph de Tolendano celebrating the publication of his first novel, and we mentioned you and your fine book, *The Secret War for the A-Bomb*.

In that connection, I had occasion to defend you and your book in a board meeting of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom when the skids were all greased to censure my friend (and then fellow board member, James Burnham) who offended the eggheads by writing the introduction to your book. We had quite a stormy session, but finally the opposition backed down.

I appreciate your letter, and I am glad to see that you are connected with so fine an enterprise as *Facts Forum*.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER, New York Editor
Courier, America's Best Weekly,
2091 Seventh Ave., New York 27, N.Y.

... *Facts Forum* is certainly doing an amazingly fine job. . . .

WILLIAM LOEB, President and Publisher
P. O. Box 1644, Reno, Nev.

Your letter . . . enclosing \$100 U.S. Bond [award for prize-winning question submitted to ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS radio-TV program] was indeed a welcome and glad surprise. . . . I shall continue to boost *Facts Forum* in every way I can, because I believe that it is doing a great work for your land and mine. . . .

C. A. Nolan
R. R. 2, Seymour, Ind.

... a great program. Am glad someone is interested in the welfare of our country and is putting forth an effort to save it from disaster. . . .

Annie Jernigan
Box 244, Ringling, Okla.

... Other than fear, ignorance is certainly our worst enemy in the country today, and it pleases me greatly to see *Facts Forum* combating this enemy under the byline "dispelling apathy," that is, transforming apathy into positive thought and, ultimately, action. In doing this, you are making free men more proud of their freedom and less afraid of communism. That is what we need in our struggle for peace on earth.

Arthur J. Dommen
414 Mitchell St., Ithaca, N. Y.

Please send me a transcript of the radio broadcast . . . I want it for our discussion group.

Ruth Cornelia Quinn
52 Relihan Rd., Noroton Heights, Conn.

does show, however, to what length political friends of the New Deal will go to pin at least part of the Yalta tragedy on men who long before the advent of the Roosevelt presidency—as a matter of public record—knew more about the Communist world menace than Roosevelt or any other of our Yalta participants ever found out afterwards.

THE SOFT-PEDALING

We are thus faced with attempts to falsify the history of that time and to soft-pedal the more embarrassing and obnoxious evidence of political naivete among our leading statesmen. In various degrees, soft-pedaling itself, and also omission, amount to falsification. There have been those, even on the conservative side, who shy away from what they fearfully regard as the "loaded" word. When I recently asked the publisher of a leading conservative magazine if he considered the use of the word "betrayal" in connection with the Yalta Conference as "loaded," he replied in the affirmative. If this publisher—a meritorious champion of free enterprise—has a look at the official record (Bohlen Minutes) of the Fifth Plenary Meeting (February 8, 1945, 4 P.M.), he will find out that Prime Minister Churchill, a master of the courteous word, expressed the opinion that the 150 thousand valiant Polish fighters in Italy would regard the recognition of the (Soviet puppet) Lublin government "as an act of betrayal of Poland." (*New York Times*, March 17, 1955, page T 20, column 2, paragraph 1.) It is of course anyone's privilege to hold the opinion that the Prime Minister engages in the use of "loaded" words.

The settlement of the Polish problem, besides the dismemberment of Germany, the payment of reparations by Germany, the Allied Control Commission in Germany, and the preliminaries of a world organization, according to the official records took most of the time of the political Yalta meetings. Comparatively little time was spent on Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and China, and the topic of Iran was quickly dropped.

ROOSEVELT'S PRO-SOVIET ROLE

In the over-all view, it was usually Stalin and Molotov who haggled with Churchill and Eden. Most of the time, President Roosevelt took sides with Stalin against Churchill. Our President, according to the Bohlen Minutes, at a private meeting with Stalin and Molotov—Stettinius was not present—was rather derogatory of the British who, he said, "wished to have their cake and eat it, too." (The President relished cliché phrases.) It is not recorded that Stalin objected to the anti-British remark, nor that Roosevelt made any similar statement about the Russians to Churchill.

Again and again Roosevelt was eager to demonstrate his sympathies for the

Soviet Union. (It must have been a rare satisfaction to Molotov and Vishinsky to see Roosevelt and Stettinius take their hats off at Saki airfield, in the Crimea, on Saturday, February 3, at 12:30 P.M., when the Soviet band played the "Internationale," which is the song of Communist world revolution.) Thus, at the Roosevelt-Stalin meeting of February 8, 1945, 3:30 P.M., the President deplored the fact that it seemed hard to bring the Chinese Nationalists (the Kuomintang, with capital in Chungking) and the Communists together. "He (Roosevelt) said," according to the Bohlen Minutes, "the fault lay more with the Kuomintang and the Chungking government than with the so-called [sic!] Communists." Apparently, Mr. Roosevelt thought of the Chinese Communists as "agrarian reformers."

Unlike Prime Minister Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt was most consistent in going along with Stalin by urging ruthlessly if not barbaric treatment of the Germans. That became evident at the very first Roosevelt-Stalin meeting, on Sunday, February 4, 1945, 4 P.M. Already at Teheran, in 1943, at a "spirited" banquet, Stalin and Churchill had clashed quite violently because the Kremlin dictator had toasted to "unity" in dispatching at least 50,000 German war criminals "as fast as we capture them." At that time, F. D. Roosevelt, in his inimitable geniality, had suggested a compromise by liquidating only 49,500 Germans. Now in the very first exchange of amenities the jovial scion from Hyde Park assured the bank robber from Tiflis that "he [Roosevelt] was more bloodthirsty in regard to the Germans than he had been a year ago. And he hoped that Marshal Stalin would again propose a toast to the execution of 50,000 officers of the German Army." (Bohlen Minutes.)

In the absence of the Prime Minister, at this first meeting, Roosevelt evidently felt safe in assuring Uncle Joe how much he had appreciated his gracious Teheran toast, and he intensified his harmony with the old bandit by going him one better. Stalin, flushed with liquor, had toasted to the execution of war criminals; Roosevelt, entirely sober, as a matter of joking in a casual, heart-felt fashion, recommended the execution of 50,000 officers. He evidently no longer distinguished even between Nazis and officers and had perhaps no longer the strength to understand that officers, no matter of what country, simply do-and-die when called to arms, which should earn them our respect even if they happen to be on the enemy side.

At the Second Plenary Meeting, on February 5, 1945, 4 to 8 P.M. (Bohlen Minutes), Roosevelt twice, and without any coaxing, brought up the use of German manpower by Russia as part-payment of reparations. Little did he then realize how close even in that con-

cept he came to the Marxian notion of man as a commodity. "He said he would like to bring up the question of Russian desires in regard to the utilization of German manpower. [Roosevelt, not Stalin, speaking.] Marshal Stalin replied that they had a plan for reparations in kind but were not ready yet to present any plan in regard to German manpower."

Then, upon Stalin's suggestion, Ivan Mikhailovich Maisky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, presented the Soviet program for reparations in kind, without mentioning anything about the use of manpower. At once Roosevelt reverted to the idea of making German prisoners, after the war, pay through slave labor what bombed-out, starved Germany might not be able to pay in cash or kind. "... he [Roosevelt] felt that the German standard of living should not be higher than that of the Soviet Union. He added that just as we expected to help Great Britain expand her export trade, we should also help the Soviet Union retain the reparations in kind which she required, as well as German manpower to reconstruct the devastated regions." (Bohlen Minutes.)

GERMAN ENSLAVEMENT SOUGHT

The record does of course not inform us who, and at what meeting, briefed the President of the United States to be so insistent in inducing the Communist dictator to contravene the Geneva Convention and to resort to tactics of slave labor which recall the barbarous days of the declining Roman empire and the practices of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. This conduct of Mr. Roosevelt has the flavor of being Moscow-inspired. If Stalin himself (or Molotov) had recommended the use of war prisoners for slave labor, Churchill might have pounced on him, as he figuratively did at the banquet in Teheran. It was a different matter with Roosevelt; for Churchill knew how much his country would depend on American goodwill (and contributions) in the years of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

As a matter of fact, the Communists made full use of Mr. Roosevelt's repeated suggestion. Millions of German war prisoners, whose only crime had consisted in obeying the draft orders of their government, were sent to Russian concentration camps for the sake of reconstruction. At least a million of these unfortunates never returned.

In fairness to Mr. Roosevelt let us presume that he was not well enough informed ever to have heard of the Geneva Convention. We shall not blame a man because of ignorance. On several occasions also, without realizing it, Roosevelt proved that his knowledge of history was on the cavalier side. Thus, as but one of several striking examples,

at this same Second Plenary Meeting, when expressing himself as favoring the dismemberment of Germany, he "recalled that forty years ago, when he had been in Germany, the concept of the Reich had not really been known then..." Actually, the concept of the Reich was well established in the ninth century of the Christian era, was praised in beautiful songs by Walter von der Vogelweide (Germany's greatest medieval poet), lived in the hearts of the Germans even after Germany's dismemberment by the French (following the Thirty Years' War, in 1648), and was affirmed by practically all great German writers, including Schiller, Novalis, Eichendorff, Uhland and

ner Meeting, Sunday, February 4, 1945, 8:30 P.M., it became manifest that Roosevelt in still another matter was closer to Stalin than to Churchill. Concerning the voice of the small nations, Stalin expressed himself firmly in favor of a peace which was to be dictated and maintained by the three big powers, with no outside interference. "The President said he agreed that the great powers bore the greater responsibility and that the peace should be written by the three powers represented at this table." It was the Prime Minister—always more humane and more steadfastly opposed to dictatorship than Roosevelt—who at once insisted "that the great nations of the world should



—Wide World Photo
General Douglas MacArthur signed the Japanese surrender papers aboard the U.S.S. Missouri in Tokyo Bay as Lt. Gen. Jonathan Wainwright (center) and Lt. Gen. A. E. Percival (next to Wainwright) look on. Both Wainwright and Percival were prisoners of the Japs.

scores of others, before, on January 18, 1871, it was at last once more made a reality through the enthusiastic and inspired creation of the German Reich by the leading representatives of all the states.

ROOSEVELT'S DISREGARD

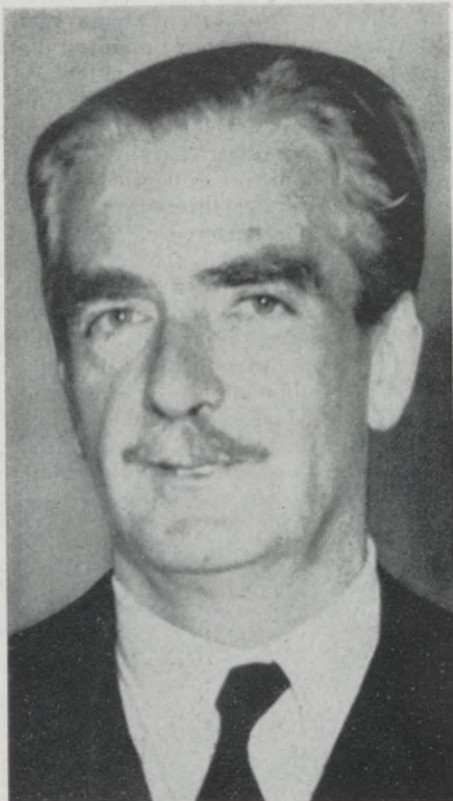
In the endless bickerings with Stalin over the fate of Poland, F. D. Roosevelt was actually much more in favor of the Communists than the published Yalta Papers indicate. Obviously to save what may be left of the late President's reputation with Americans of Polish descent, the editors of the record suppressed those documents according to which Roosevelt felt compelled to pacify the large number of Polish voters and therefore publicly, for appearance's sake, opposed the Soviet terms while privately he acceded to them.

At the gay and festive Tripartite Din-

discharge their moral responsibility and leadership and should exercise their power with moderation and great respect for the rights of the smaller nations."

It is in such little but important nuances that the 834 pages of *The Conferences of Malta and Yalta* bring into sharper focus what had been felt and known for many a year. Stalin, as is here strikingly confirmed, always knew what he wanted, and never yielded on a single major point. He was most gracious in talk which did not cost his country a single ruble, as when he praised our Lend-Lease generosity. Only on one point of some (though not major) significance did he yield, i.e., the admission of France to the European control commission.

Churchill was much more aware of the Soviet thrust into Europe than was his American associate, and of the



—Wide World Photo
Anthony Eden

necessity to build a strong free western Europe. The Prime Minister was seriously handicapped in his anti-Communist efforts by the powerful position which President Roosevelt held.

The detailed correspondence between Churchill and Roosevelt in preparation of the Yalta meeting reveals the Prime Minister as much more thorough, circumspect and responsible than was the President. Churchill did not want to go to Yalta unless some preliminary understanding of the two Western powers could be reached. Roosevelt was most curt in informing Churchill that neither he nor his staff members had enough time for that. A typical Roosevelt message to Churchill reads: "I regret that in view of the time available to me for this journey it will not be possible for us to meet your suggestion and have a British-American staff meeting at Malta before proceeding to Argonaut." (Code name for Yalta.)

Doggedly Churchill persisted in demanding an Anglo-American exchange of views prior to the Conference. Finally, he was rewarded with at least a brief meeting of the Foreign Ministers at Malta. Yet Roosevelt was satisfied with being briefed about the Malta conversations but a few hours before the First Plenary Meeting at Yalta.

After much exasperating correspondence with Roosevelt re a preparatory meeting at Malta, Churchill tried hard to put the President in good humor. He informed him that he would be waiting for him on the quai, and he added: "No more let us falter! From Malta to Yalta,

Let nobody alter." To this pleasant message, Mr. Roosevelt, in his unconscionable hurry, answered: "We plan to arrive by ship at Malta early forenoon 1 February and hope to proceed at once [sic!] without faltering. It will be grand to meet you on the quai."

Roosevelt did not merely seem in great haste to get away from Churchill to be with Uncle Joe (who let him wait at Yalta anyhow), he was a speed demon with regard to the entire conference. "My idea of the length of the stay at Argonaut is that it should not be more than five or six days." Roosevelt wrote to Churchill. In that case, the Prime Minister suggested, at least Stettinius might find it possible to meet with Eden for forty-eight hours at Malta. "I do not see any other way of realizing our hopes about world organization in five or six days. Even the Almighty took seven. Pray forgive my pertinency."

CONCEAL RATHER THAN DISCLOSE

Incomplete and mutilated though the published Yalta Papers are, they afford us a few glimpses at what went on. Grudgingly and belatedly given, they leave many pertinent questions unanswered. There is for instance nothing to give us any clue as to what the enigmatic Harry Hopkins—labeled by some as Roosevelt's "Rasputin"—advised the President to do. In this respect we must depend on such New Deal sources as Robert Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins*. Meetings of Hopkins with Roosevelt are merely entered in the log, and the "editorial note" in the published record informs us that "no record of the substance of this meeting has been found." Possibly Mr. Bohlen, now our Ambassador in Moscow, some day will tell us more about this when he will have reached the stage of doing his memoirs. How much he then may re-



—Wide World Photo
Winston Churchill

veal remains to be seen. Mr. Alger Hiss also seems hardly the type to disclose voluntarily even a part of the important data and aspects he no doubt knows. Nor is Vyacheslav Molotov likely to let us in on any of his secrets.

The Papers make abundantly clear that Soviet Russia had the upper hand at Yalta, and that President Roosevelt, advised by Hopkins and Stettinius (who was advised by Hiss), was totally ignorant of the infamous Communist world conspiracy. But that had been known and documented long before the publication of these incomplete and expurgated Yalta Papers.

BOOKS RECEIVED FROM PUBLISHERS

THE STORY BOOK PRESS, Dallas, Texas.

The Invaders, by Roland Roggenbrod. \$5.50. (An anti-Communist novel, cast in the Southwest.)

D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, Inc., New York.

The Influence of Force in Foreign Relations, by Captain W. D. Puleston, USN, Ret. \$4.50.

RICHARD R. SMITH, PUBLISHER, West Ridge, New Hampshire.

Popular Diplomacy and War, by Sisley Huddleston, \$3.50.

P. J. KENNEDY & SONS, New York.

School of Darkness, by Bella V. Dodd. \$4.00.

THE DEVIN-ADAIR COMPANY, New York.

Billions, Blunders and Baloney, by Eugene W. Castle, \$3.50.

Big Dam Foolishness, by Elmer Peterson, \$3.50.

France: The Tragic Years, 1939-1947, by Sisley Huddleston, \$5.00. (See Review on Page 17.)

HENRY REGNERY COMPANY, Chicago, Illinois.

The American Story, by Garet Garrett, \$5.00.

Still the Rice Grows Green, by John C. Caldwell, \$3.75.

Guideposts to the Future, by General William H. Wilbur, \$2.50.

THE CAXTON PRINTERS, LTD., Caldwell, Idaho.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, ed. by Harry Elmer Barnes, \$6.00.

These Men My Friends, by George Stewart, \$6.00.

Black Banners, by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, \$4.00. (A novel of wartime Austria.)

(Continued from Page 48)

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

Gettysburg	WGET**	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV**	56	Tues	10:30 p
	WARD-TV*	56	Sun	3:00 p
Lock Haven	WBPZ†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
	WBPZ†	1230	Thurs	9:30 p
New Castle	WKST†	1280	Mon	9:30 p
	WKST-TV**	45	Wed	8:30 p
Oil City	WKRZ†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Philadelphia	KYW*	1060	Sun	6:15 p
Pittsburgh	KDKA*	1020	Sun	10:15 p
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Reading	WEU-TV**	33	Tues	9:30 p
Scranton	WUSV-FM*	89.9	Thurs	7:15 p
	WUSV-FM**	89.9	Tues	7:30 p
	WARM-TV*	16	Thurs	10:00 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
	WISL†	1480	Thurs	9:30 p
State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
St. Marys	WKBI†	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	WKBI†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wellsville	WNBT*	To be announced		
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	1:00 p
	WLYC*	1050	Sun	5:00 p
York	WNOW**	1250	Sun	5:30 p
	WNOW-TV**	49	Fri	8:30 p
	WNOW-TV*	49	Sun	7:00 p

PHILIPPINES

Manila	DZAQ-TV*	3	Sat	8:00 p
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PUERTO RICO

Mayaguez	WTIL**	1300		
San Juan	WBOA**	1400	Tues	8:00 p

SOUTH CAROLINA

Aiken	WAKN*	990	Sat	1:00 p
Barnwell	WBAW**	740	Sat	6:00 p
Camden	WACA*	1590	Sun	2:00 p
Charleston	WTMA*	1250	Sun	6:00 p
Cheraw	WCRE**	1420	Sat	12:30 p
Columbia	WCOS-TV**	25	Sun	2:30 p
	WIS*	560	Sun	1:15 p
Conway	WLAT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WLAT†	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Florence	WJMS*	970	Thurs	8:30 p
	WJMS*	1250	Sun	9:15 p
Georgetown	WCTN†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenville	WFCB*	1330	Wed	10:15 p
	WGVL-TV**	23	Tues	6:30 p
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
	WGSW†	1350	Thurs	9:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280		
	WJAY*	1280		
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	7:00 p
Rock Hill	WTFY*	1150	Sat	6:00 p
Spartanburg	WSPA*	950	Sun	2:00 p
Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WFIG†	1340	Thurs	9:30 p
Union	WBCU*	1460	Fri	7:15 p
Walterboro	WALD*	1490	Thurs	7:15 p
	WALD**	1490	Sun	12:15 p

SOUTH DAKOTA

Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KORN†	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KRSD†	1340	Sun	2:00 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga	WDEF*	1370	Sun	6:15 p
	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WAGC†	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Cleveland	WBAC†	1340	Sat	7:00 p
	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Cookeville	WHUR*	1400	Thurs	9:00 p
Dickson	WDKN*			
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	6:45 p
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WDSG†	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Harriman	WHBT*			
	WHBT*			
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Tues	9:45 p
	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	
	WDXI†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL*	910	Mon	7:30 p
	WJHL-TV**	11	Tues	6:00 p
	WJHL-TV*	11	Sun	3:00 p
Knoxville	WKXV*			
	WKXV*			
Knoxville	WROL*	620	Mon	10:15 p
	WTSK-TV*	26	Thurs	9:00 p
	WTSK-TV**	26	Thurs	8:00 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*			
	WCOR*			
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WCRK†	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGSN*	1450	Sun	2:30 p
Nashville	WSM*	650	Fri	10:15 p
	WSIX-TV*	8	Sun	5:00 p
Newport	WLIK*	1270		
	WLIK*	1270		
Oak Ridge	WOKE*	1290	Sun	7:00 p
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	12:30 p
	WTPR†	710	Mon	8:30 p
	WTPR†	710	Thurs	8:30 p
Pulaski	WKSR*	1420	Mon	7:15 p
Sparta	WSMT*	1050	Sun	1:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	WCDD†	1340	Thurs	8:30 p

Call a few friends who will call others when Facts Forum or any other patriotic programs are coming on the air.

* * * * *

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

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

... Our experience in using Facts Forum radio programs in advertising our business ... has been highly satisfactory. We started two years ago using the FACTS FORUM Dan Smoot programs over six stations: Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, Amarillo and Weslaco, Texas; and Shreveport, Louisiana.

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By sponsoring the FACTS FORUM programs, we are reaching the people we hoped to reach and are attracting the people who buy goods we sell. We are frequently complimented for making these programs available to the public and are very seldom criticized. . . .

The advertising is creating good will for us and is keeping our name before the public—this helps our business. Should we discontinue presenting these programs I feel that we would hear from the people in our area expressing disappointment. They seem to approve of Facts Forum and credit it with being an instrument which is combating the deadly encroachment of communism.

KEN. W. DAVIS, President
Mid-Continent Supply Co.
Mid-Continent Bldg., Fort Worth, Texas

... Just recently was I fortunate enough to find your excellent magazine on the newsstand. I consider it one of the best twenty-cent values of our day.

FRANK N. SCALISE
1358 Woodlawn Ave.,
Pittsburgh 21, Penn.

... I certainly hope all our lawmakers, especially the new, younger men, are giving your Poll reports the serious attention they deserve. . . .

DAISY McCUTCHEON
400 14th Ave., Dillon, S. C.

... Mr. Smoot's radio effort was magnificently courageous. . . . Your magazine in every home is the master need and answer since the lack . . . of the true facts (so long concealed) has kept our populace in ignorance, consequently submissive to propaganda. . . .

M. J. CHAPMAN
23 S.W. Temple St., Apt. 301
Salt Lake City, Utah

I certainly thank you for the last [Free Circulating Library] book that you sent upon my request. It is now being passed on to others in this community vitally interested in maintaining good schools as well as good government. . . .

MR. JOHN W. BALL
Box 424, Highland Springs, Va.

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	Sun	8:00 p
	KBMT-TV*	31		
	KFDM*	560	Mon	9:15 p
Beeville	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL*	1490	Mon	7:00 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
	KTXC†	1400	Thurs	8:30 p
Bonham	KFYN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFYN*	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KHUZ†	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	7:00 p
Brownwood	KBWD†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Bryan	KORA*	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
College Station	WTAW*	1150	Fri	8:45 a
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Wed	9:45 p
	KVDO-TV*	22	Sun	4:00 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY*	1290	Tues	1:00 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV*	4	Wed	10:30 p
	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA*	570	Mon	10:30 p
	WRR†	1310	Thurs	10:00 p
Denton	KDNT*	1440	Tues	7:45 p
Eastland	KERC*	1590	Sun	4:00 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	8:15 p
	KEPO*	690		
Freeport	KBRZ*	1460	Sun	1:00 p
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KNAF†	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Gainesville	KGAF*	1580	Sun	12:45 p
Greenville	KGVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Kermit	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kerrville	KERV*	1230	Fri	8:15 p
Kilgore	KOCA*	1240		
Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	6:00 p
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:15 p
Levelland	KLVT*	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW*	1490	Sun	1:15 p
Longview	KLTI*	1280	Sun	3:00 p
	KLTI*	1280	Sun	12:30 p
	KTVE-TV*	32	Sun	6:15 p
Lubbock	KDUB-TV*	13	Sat	5:00 p
Lufkin	KTRF*	1420	Sat	6:15 p
	KTRF*	1420	Mon	8:30 p
Marlin	KMLW*	1010	Thurs	5:45 p
Midland	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:00 p
	KMID-TV*	2	Sat	6:30 p
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960		
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
New Braunfels	KGNB*	1420	Sun	9:00 a
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Tues	7:30 p
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:30 p
San Angelo	KTXL-TV*	8	Sun	4:00 p
San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
	WOAI-TV*	4	Sun	1:00 p
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
	KRRV*	910	Sun	7:30 p
	KRRV*	910	Thurs	8:30 p
Snyder	KSNY*	1450	Sun	6:00 p
	KSNY*	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	12:45 p
Sulphur Springs	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:45 p
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KXOX†	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Taylor	KTAE*	1260	Sun	1:00 p
Texarkana	KTSE*	1400	To be announced	
Tyler	KLTV-TV**	7	Wed	10:00 p
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KVIC†	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Waco	KANG-TV**	34	Sun	2:00 p
	KANG-TV*	34	Sun	3:00 p
Weslaco	KRGV*	1290	Wed	9:45 p
	KRGV-TV*	5	Sun	10:30 p
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV*	6	Tues	9:30 p

UTAH

Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Salt Lake City	KSL*	1160	Sun	2:15 p
	KALL†	910	Thurs	7:30 p
Vernal	KJAM*	1340	Mon	6:00 p
	KJAM*	1340	Sun	3:00 p

VERMONT

Newport	WKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN*	1340	Sun	8:30 p

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christiansted, St. Croix	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Thomas	WSTA*	1340	To be announced	

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VIRGINIA

Arlington	WEAM†	1390	Thurs	10:00 p
Arlington	WEAM*	1390	Tues	10:00 p
Bedford	WBLT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WBLT†	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Fredericksburg	WFVA*	1230	Sat	7:15 p
Galax	WBOB†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WBOB†	1400	Thurs	9:30 p
Norfolk-Hampton	WVEC-TV*	15	Sun	5:00 p

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F.D.R. ON YALTA

(Continued from Page 4)

good start on the road to a world of peace. There were two main purposes in this Crimean Conference: The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed and the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German Army, the German people, are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied armies; and every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops in Germany on German soil toward a meeting with the gallant Red army.

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord that would bring order and security after the chaos of the war, that would give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world. Toward that goal a tremendous stride was made.

At Teheran a little over a year ago there were long-range military plans laid by the chiefs of staff of the three most powerful nations. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran, however, at that time there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political arrangements were made and none were attempted.

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field.

There was on all sides at this conference an enthusiastic effort to reach an agreement. Since the time of Teheran, a year ago, there had developed among all of us—what shall I call it?—a greater facility in negotiating with each other that augurs well for the peace of the world; we know each other better.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached.

There were a number of things that we did that were concrete, that were definite: for instance, the lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of representatives, of civilian representatives of the three major powers, has proved to be too long—fourteen months. During that long period local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland, Greece, Italy, and Yugoslavia.

Therefore, we decided at Yalta that even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three governments to meet more often in the future, we would make sure that there would be more frequent personal contacts for exchange of views between the Secretaries of State and the foreign ministers of these three powers.

We arranged for periodic meetings at intervals of three or four months. I feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrences of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide cooperation and collaboration.

When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying out strategic and tactical plans for the complete and final military victory over Germany, there were other problems of vital political consequence.

For instance, first there was the problem of the occupation and control of Germany after victory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither nazism nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world. [Applause.]

Secondly, again for example, there was the settlement of the few differences that remained among us with respect to the International Security Organization after the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. As you remember, at that time and afterwards, I said we had agreed 90 per cent. That is a pretty good percentage. I think the other 10 per cent was ironed out at Yalta.

Thirdly, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas that would be in the future, or which have been, liberated from the Nazi yoke. We over here find it very difficult to understand the ramifications of many of these problems in foreign lands, but we are trying to.

Fourth, there were the special problems created by Poland and Yugoslavia.

Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters, and we argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached. And, more important even than the agreement of words, I may say, we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together. [Applause.]

We know, of course, that it was Hitler's hope and the German war lords' hope that we would not agree—that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity, a crack that would give him and his fellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the objective for which his propaganda machine has been working for many months.

But Hitler has failed. [Applause.]

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united—not only in their war aims, but also in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united, to be united with each other—and with all peace-loving nations—so that the ideal of lasting peace will become a reality.

The Soviet, the British, and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other. They conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill, and with me on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of the Allied powers. They completed their plans for the final knockout blows to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran Conference, the Russian front, for instance, was removed so far from the American and British fronts that, while certain



—United Press Photo

President tells Congress about Yalta meeting March 1, 1945.

long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. They were too far apart. But Russian troops have now crossed Poland. They are fighting on the eastern soil of Germany herself; British and American troops are now on German soil close to the Rhine River in the west. It is a different situation today from what it was fourteen months ago. A closer tactical liaison has become possible for the first time in Europe. That was something else that was accomplished in the Crimean Conference.

Provision was made for daily exchange of information between the armies under the command of General Eisenhower on the western front and those armies under the command of the Soviet marshals on that long eastern front, and also with our armies in Italy—without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington or London as in the past.

You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombings by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russian advance on Berlin.

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used in the day-by-day tactics of the war. We have begun to realize, I think, that there is all the difference in the world between tactics on the one side and strategy on the other—day-by-day tactical war in direct support of Soviet armies as well as in the support of our own on the western front.

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves, German materials to the eastern and western fronts from other parts of Germany or from Italy.

Arrangements have been made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort—American, British, and Russian.

The details of these plans and arrangements are military secrets, of course; but this tying of things in together is going to hasten the day of the final collapse of Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow, and I think all three of us at the Conference felt that they will learn more about them tomorrow, and the next day, and the day after that. [Applause.]

There will be no respite from these attacks. We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender. [Applause.]

You know, I have always felt that common sense prevails in the long run—quiet, overnight thinking. I think that is true in Germany just as much as it is here. The German people as well as the German soldiers must realize that the sooner—the sooner they give up

and surrender—surrender by groups or as individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to re-establish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

We made it clear again at Yalta, and I now repeat, that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders have deliberately withheld that part of the Yalta declaration from the German press and radio. They seek to convince the people of Germany that the Yalta declaration does mean slavery and destruction for them. They are working at it day and night, for that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins—to deceive their people into continued and useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear at the Conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the temporary control of Germany by Great Britain, Russia,



—Wide World Photo
Marshal Stalin and President Roosevelt confer in the Palace at Yalta, Crimea, Russia.

France, and the United States. Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany—and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated—coordinated in Berlin by a Control Council composed of the representatives of the four nations.

Unconditional surrender means something else. It means the end of nazism. [Applause.] It means the end of the Nazi party and all of its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all militaristic influence in the public, private, and cultural life of Germany.

It means for the Nazi war criminals a punishment that is speedy and just—and severe.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its militarism and its military equipment; the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of all of its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German general staff which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations—reparations in kind for the damage which it has done to the innocent victims of its aggression.

By compelling reparations in kind—

in plants, in machinery, in rolling stock, in raw materials—we shall avoid the mistakes that we and other people—other nations—made after the last war, the demanding of reparations in the form of money which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple—it is to secure the peace of the rest of the world now and in the future. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive warfare. [Applause.]

These objectives will not hurt the German people. On the contrary, they will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the general staff and kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body politic, which for generations has produced only misery, only pain for the whole world.

During my stay in Yalta, I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury, and terrible destruction which comes out of German militarism. Yalta on the Black Sea had no military significance of any kind. It had no defense.

Before the last war, it had been a resort—a resort for people like the czars and princes and aristocracy and the hangers-on. However, after the war, after the Red revolution, and until the attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler a few years ago, the palaces and villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by the Russian people.

The Nazi officers took over the former palaces and villas for their own use. The only reason that the so-called palace of the former czar was still habitable when we got there was that it had been given—or he thought it had been given—to a German general for his own property and his own use. And when the rest of Yalta was destroyed, he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought had become his own personal villa. When the Red army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea almost a year ago last April, it was found that all of the palaces were looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all of them were destroyed by bombs placed on the inside. Even the humblest of the homes of Yalta were not spared.

There was little left of it except blank walls, ruins, and destruction.

Sevastopol—that was a fortified port about forty to fifty miles away—there again was a scene of utter destruction of a large city and great navy yards and great fortifications. I think less than a dozen buildings were left intact in the entire city.

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry, but I

saw Sevastopol and Yalta, and I know there is not room enough on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency.

But to go on with the story—which I hope to do in under an hour—of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimean Conference were the agreements reached with respect to a general international organization for lasting world peace. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached. It involved the procedure of voting—of voting in the Security Council. I want to try to make it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind—and many conferences.

At the Crimean Conference the Americans made a proposal—a proposal on the subject which, after full discussion, I am glad to say was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of it publicly, but it will be in a very short time.

When the conclusions reached with respect to voting are made known, I think and I hope that you will find them fair—that you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem—I might almost say a legislative problem. They are founded in justice and will go far to insure international cooperation for the maintenance of peace.

There is going to be held, you know—after we have straightened that voting matter out—in San Francisco a meeting of all the United Nations of the world on the twenty-fifth of April. There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we are not making the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to win the war finally, we work together to keep it from happening again.

As you know I have always been a believer in the document called the Constitution. I spent a good deal of time in educating two other nations of the world with regard to the Constitution of the United States—that the charter has to be and should be approved by the Senate of the United States under the Constitution. I think the other nations of the world know it now. I am aware of the fact and now all the other nations are. And we hope the Senate will approve what is set forth as the Charter of the United Nations when all come together in San Francisco next month.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of



BIG THREE AT YALTA—Preparing military plans for the final defeat of Germany, clockwise around table from extreme left, Vishinsky, Molotov, Stalin, Maisky, Gromyko, Leahy, Stettinius, Roosevelt, Bohlen, Byrnes, unidentified man, Eden, Churchill, two unidentified men, and Kerr. —Wide World Photo

the program of this government in the creation of the International Security Organization.

The Senate and the House will both be represented at the San Francisco Conference. The congressional delegates will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American delegation is—in every sense of the word—bipartisan because world peace is not exactly a party question. I think that Republicans want peace just as much as Democrats. It is not a party question any more than is military victory—the winning of the war.

When the Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch for world conquest back in 1939 and 1940, and then by the Japanese treachery in 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected, I think, by every patriotic American—by every human soul overseas, too.

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be just an American peace, or a British peace, or a Russian, French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations—or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It cannot be a structure complete. It cannot be what some people think—a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace—and it will be a peace—based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter—on

the conception of the dignity of the human being—and on the guaranties of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

As the Allied armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated peoples whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four long years, and whose economy had been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas—that is not unexpected—as in Greece, or in Poland, or in Yugoslavia, and there may be more. Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of these places queer ideas of, for instance, “spheres of influence” that were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go on unchecked, these developments might have had tragic results.

It is fruitless to try to place blame for this situation on one particular nation or on another. It is the kind of development that is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems that may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. Things that might happen that we cannot foresee at this moment might happen suddenly—unexpectedly—next week or next month. And I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement—and, incidentally, a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest, or of any former Nazi satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. They will join together, during the temporary period of instability after hostilities, to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see to it that interim governments—the people who carry on the interim governments between the occupation of Germany and the day of true independence—will be as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible thereafter.

The responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles away can no longer be avoided, I think, by this great nation. Certainly, I do not want to live to see another war. As I have said, the world is smaller—smaller every year. The United States now exerts a tremendous influence in the cause of peace. Whatever people over here think or talk in the interests of peace is, of course, known the world over. The slightest remark in either House of Congress is known all over the world the following day. We will continue to exert that influence only if we are willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. It will be our own tragic loss if we were to shirk that responsibility.

Final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly and, therefore, they will often be the result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way 100 per cent—nor will Russia, nor Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward that ideal. But I am sure that, under the agreement reached at Yalta, there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a true expression of the people's will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends—with the exception only of such action as may be agreed upon by the International Security Organization we hope to set up.

The United Nations must also begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy—I do not want them to starve to death—so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials, machine tools, trucks, locomotives, and things like that. They have left the industry of these places stagnant and much of the agricultural areas unproductive. The

Nazis have left complete or partial ruin in their wake.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the national interest of all of us to see that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need continuous relief from us. I should say that was an argument based upon common sense.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allied powers was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in postwar Europe, and we came to the Conference determined to find a common ground for its solution. We did. We know everybody does not agree with it—obviously.

Our objective was to help create a strong, independent, and prosperous nation—that is the thing we must all remember—those words agreed to by Russia, by Britain, and by me: the objective of making Poland a strong, independent, and prosperous nation with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves.

To achieve this objective, it was necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Poland was enslaved. There are, you know, two governments: one in London, one in Lublin, practically in Russia.

Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing provisional government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland. Poland needs a temporary government in the worst way—an interim government is another way to put it. However, the new Polish provisional government of national unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.



—Wide World Photo
Prime Minister Winston Churchill (left) shakes hands with Marshal Joseph Stalin (right) as President Franklin D. Roosevelt (center) looks on at Yalta.

Throughout history Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation, Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace, a strong and independent Poland is necessary to prevent that from happening again.

The decisions with respect to the boundaries of Poland were frankly a compromise. I did not agree with all of it by any means. But we did not go as far as Britain wanted in certain areas; we did not go as far as Russia wanted in certain areas; and we did not go as far as I wanted in certain areas. It was a compromise.

While the decision is a compromise, it is one, however, under which the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the north and west in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon line in the east. The limits of the western border will be permanently fixed in the final peace conference. Roughly, this will include in the new, strong Poland quite a large slice of what is now called Germany. It was agreed also that the new Poland will have a large and long coastline and many new harbors; also that East Prussia—most of it—will go to Poland. A corner of it will go to Russia; also—what shall I call it—the anomaly of the Free State of Danzig—I think Danzig would be a lot better if it were Polish.

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon line—this is an example of why it is a compromise—the people east of the Curzon line are predominantly White Russians and Ukrainians—a very great majority—not Polish; and the people west of that line are predominantly Polish, except in that part of East Prussia and eastern Germany which would go to the new Poland. As far back as 1919, representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples. You must remember also that there was no Poland or had not been any Polish government before 1919 for a great many generations.

I am convinced that this agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent, and prosperous Polish State.

The Crimean Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shoulders rests the chief responsibility and burden of the war. Although, for this reason, another nation was not included—France was not a participant in the Conference—no one should detract from the recognition which was accorded there to her role in the future of Europe and the future of the world.

France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany, and to

participate as a fourth member of the Allied Control Council on Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the International Conference at San Francisco next month.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council, together with the other four major powers.

And, finally, we have asked France that she be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

There were, of course, a number of smaller things I have not time to go into on which joint agreement was had. We hope things will straighten out.

Agreement was reached on Yugoslavia, as announced in the communique, and we hope that it is in process of fulfillment.

We have to remember that there are a great many prima donnas in the world all wishing to be heard before anything becomes final; so we may have a little delay while we listen to more prima donnas. [Laughter.]

Quite naturally, this Conference concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe—and not with the Pacific war.

At Malta, however, our combined British and American staffs made their plans to increase their attack against Japan.

The Japanese war lords know that they are not being overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again.

The Japs know what it means to hear that the United States Marines have landed. [Applause.] And I think I may add, having Iwo Jima in mind, that "the situation is well in hand." [Applause.]

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila [applause] and with Admiral Nimitz establishing air bases right in their own backyard. [Applause.] But lest somebody lay off work in the United States I can repeat what I have said—a short sentence—even in my sleep: "We haven't won the wars yet," with an "s" on "wars." It is a long, tough road to Tokyo; it is longer to Tokyo than it is to Berlin in every sense of the word.

The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan; on the contrary, we must be prepared for a long and a costly struggle in the Pacific.

But the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany. [Applause.] I say that advisedly with the thought in mind that that is especially true if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as

thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way back from the Crimea I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence. For instance, from Ibn Saud of Arabia I learned more of the whole problem of the Moslems and more about the Jewish problem in five minutes than I could have learned by the exchange of a dozen letters.

On my voyage I had the benefit of seeing the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force at work.

All Americans, I think, would feel as proud of our armed forces as I am if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought—and won. [Applause.]

I think that this is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The conference in the Crimea was a turning point, I hope, in our history and, therefore, in the history of the world. There will soon be presented to the Senate and to the American people a great decision that will determine the fate of the United States—and I think, therefore, the fate of the world—for generations to come.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility of another world conflict.

I know that the word "planning" is not looked upon with favor in some circles. In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning; and, on the other hand, many great improvements in living and many benefits to the human race have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning—reclamation of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For the second time in the lives of most of us this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective the nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The ground work of a plan has now been furnished and has been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution

has been. No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it—and sacrifice for it.

Twenty-five years ago American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again and expect the world to survive.

I think the Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells—and it ought to spell—the end of the system of unilateral action, exclusive alliances, and spheres of influence, and balances of power, and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries and have always failed.

We propose to substitute for all these a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world into which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world—must live, and can live.

And that, my friends, is the only message I can give you. I feel it very deeply as I know that all of you are feeling it today and are going to feel it in the future. [Applause.]

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Write letters of 150 or less words to your favorite paper about any subject of national interest. If you need more than 150 words to express your views, divide the material into two or more letters. Letters must have been published in newspaper or magazine, and clipping sent for entry. First award, \$25 cash plus 75 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS for persons specified by winner; second award, \$10 cash plus 50 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, 30 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS, with a token award of 5 records containing 10 Dan Smoot talks, for all other letters which Facts Forum publishes. Decision of judges will be made four days prior to closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month.

FIRST HALF OF 1955 CONTEST:

The letters submitted by you for the monthly contest will be held in competition for the half-year contest ending June 30, 1955. A judging committee different from the monthly contest and not used heretofore will be selected for this contest. First award, \$300; second, \$200; third, \$100.

SLOGAN:

An award of \$32 will be given for the best slogan adopted for use the following month. Closing date is four days prior to the closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month. Each person is invited to keep one slogan only in this competition. Entries may be changed at any time.

POLL QUESTIONS:

Do you have questions regarding subjects of national interest which you feel would be suitable for use in our monthly Poll? Facts Forum offers a prize of \$10.00 for each question selected by our judges for such use. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces, so as not to exceed one line on the Poll Card. **EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN THE CONTEST.** Questions will be judged for their current interest, fairness and conciseness. Keep questions "unloaded." Questions must be worded so that they can be answered Yes or No.

SUBJECT FOR PROGRAM:

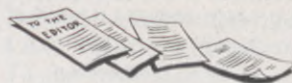
Send questions to be answered on the **ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS** program to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. Those who send questions which become the subject of a broadcast will receive a \$100 bond.

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTERS' ROUNDUP:

Send questions for this program to **REPORTERS' ROUNDUP**, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The best three questions submitted will receive Cyma dual-purpose clocks.

PROVOCATIVE PROSE:

Send quotations worth reading and remembering. Be sure to list authors and sources. Persons sending in excerpts printed in FF NEWS will receive one-year subscriptions to FF NEWS. If winners are already subscribers, they may in turn designate someone whom they want to receive the award subscription. In case of duplication of entries, the one with the earliest postmark will be used.



Award Winners



LETTERS to the EDITORS

1st Award

CHRISTIANITY OR SOCIALISM

To the *Chicago Tribune*:

Teaching Sunday school has real compensation. Somehow it is easier to reach for the higher things on week days if you have shouldered the burden of giving guidance.

But, who writes our texts? Who introduced phrases like: "social creed," "ecumenical," "labor justice," "unity of all churches"? What has happened to phrases like "piety," "thrift," "love for nation," "the will to work," "justice for all," "principle"?

If I didn't wander from the prepared texts I would become a party to the subordination of Christ's teachings. Christianity is for the individual, to lift us up, not to drag us down.

What profit is there if we use Christianity as a club to level us all into a faceless mass? Shall we use the church to destroy ourselves? Shall we be like the English weavers who destroyed their looms? Shall we use the churches to destroy America's character? We should be deeply troubled.

M/Sgt. Edward M. Horan

Rantoul, Illinois

* * *

2nd Award

HIGH COST OF DYING

To the *Manchester Union Leader*:

I have sent the following letter to the Senate:

"You raise your pay \$7,500 because of the high cost of living. You can do no less than raise the pay of soldiers by \$7,500 because of the high cost of dying.

"Who are more important to freedom? Did solons die at Belleau Woods and Heartbreak Ridge? Or soldiers?

"Living in Washington costs Cadillacs and cocktail parties; but dying on Iwo Jima cost guts and blood and grief unending.

"That isn't all of the cost today. The American soldier once fought under the protection of the Stars and Stripes. Now he is made to fight under the bastard blue ensign of the UN, whose members, while he fights for their liberty, profit by furnishing his enemy the means to kill him; whose members, when he is captured, run away and abandon him to the mercies of the Red enemy.

Eugene R. Guild, Capt., USA, ret.

Fighting Headquarters, Fighting Men,
Box 548, Glenwood Springs, Colorado

* * *

3rd Award

HUNGRY ENOUGH FOR FREEDOM

To the *Borger (Texas) News Herald*:

The firm (?) policy of our govern-

ment is paying off! The Red hordes are now 120 miles from Formosa in their island hopping. Yesterday it was Nanchi. What will it be tomorrow or next week?

Yes—there is a firm policy—betray our nation's friends, but feed our nation's enemies!

Giving them wheat has propaganda value? Phooey! Has it ever had for us—spelled U.S.? If they get hungry enough they will throw off the yoke of the Kremlin masters.

Our men were hungry at Plymouth and Valley Forge, remember? Hungry enough for FREEDOM to obtain it, and hand it down to us.

In the name of Almighty God—their refuge and strength—let us not betray them.

Mrs. Marcel Pittet

1944 Sharon Ave.,

Indianapolis, Indiana

* * *

4th Award

SAYS SECRET MEETINGS ENDANGER FREE PRESS

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

There ought to be a new awakening of the people of our country for the freedom of the press. We have noticed for many months a tendency of the city, county, state and federal governments to have private hearings, excluding the reporters. These reporters, undoubtedly, do not report anything except the actual proceedings. These things the people are entitled to know.

Are we not following the policies in force behind the Iron Curtain? When we, the taxpayers, do not rebel against any elected official or appointed official having secret sessions and shutting out the reporters and denying us the right to know the facts, we are taking away the greatest guarantee of our liberties.

The taxpayers are entitled to know the facts and we must depend in a great measure on the press.

Clarence Carpenter

416 Wilson Building,

Dallas, Texas

* * *

5th Award

ANOTHER U.S. BLUFF

To the *Manchester Union Leader*:

We promised to make the Reds desire peace by "acts at the time and place of our own choosing." They called our bluff, broke the Korean truce, and moved into Indochina. We appeased again and warned "massive retaliation." Again they called our bluff—convicted Americans illegally held, and attacked the Tachen Islands.

We passed the Formosa resolution and moved into Formosa Straits. Another bluff, so colossal as to impress the Reds that THIS TIME we mean business, but pure bluff just the same. Certainly Chou has sufficient reasons to believe that we are too proud or too yellow to fight.

Should Chou En-Lai now offer a cease-fire for all Chiang's Islands except Formosa, watch our appeasers demand acceptance. Then, how long would it be until our State Department would announce that Formosa, Japan, Korea, and Alaska are no longer within the perimeter of our defense?

R. C. Jordan
1115 North 25th St.,
Birmingham 4, Alabama

6th Award MARINE OATH

To the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*:

In reading the new oath of enlistment for the Marine Corps, which I understand is to be used for all armed services, two significant changes engaged my attention. The word "God" is omitted, as is the reference to defending the Constitution. Considerable verbiage of little significance is added.

Do these changes portend a gradual or sudden absorption of the United States Armed Forces into the UN, where the word "God" is hated and the Constitution despised?

I have administered the oath of enlistment many times when it contained the words "God," and "Constitution," and it is dear to my heart. Veterans everywhere should rise up in righteous indignation.

C. G. Richardson
Box 281, Kirkland, Washington

7th Award 'A DIM, DANGEROUS PATH'

To the *Omaha Evening World Herald*:

Your editorial "A Dim, Dangerous Path," is another example of your untiring efforts to keep this country on a sound economic and democratic basis.

The federal government cannot afford to embark on a grandiose school building program any more than the various states can. If the citizens of the states do not feel they can afford individually such elaborate physical educational facilities as those proposed by Washington, then how can they afford all this simply because the plan is Government-sponsored?

Such a program would be paid for BY THE CITIZENS OF THE STATES, no matter whether it be sponsored by some state educational group or by a national group.

The states should jealously guard their right to determine their own educational standards. They simply cannot retain this right if they accept any appreciable amount of federal financial

assistance for schools. This surely would entail increasing encroachment by Federal bureaucrats.

L. L. Henderson
Rt. 2, Corning, Iowa

8th Award RED COLLABORATION

To the *Cincinnati Times-Star*:

Some U.S. soldiers, former prisoners of the Chinese Communists, may be sentenced to life imprisonment if it can be proved that they collaborated with the Reds during their imprisonment.

But how about those high officials of the U.S., Great Britain, and the UN who collaborated with the Communists much more effectively than did these unfortunate prisoners, by discharging our great general, MacArthur, and by deliberately arranging our defeat in Korea?

Elizabeth Smith
R.F.D. 1, New Richmond, Ohio

9th Award BAN ON PUBLICATIONS OPPOSED

To the *New York Times*:

Recently the New York Times explored the decline of Slavic studies in the educational institutions of this country. One reason cited for the decline was the fear of students that their study of Russian or related languages might subject them to future investigations. It is most unfortunate that the study of the Russian language is diminishing at a time when it is most vital to the security of our country.

The news that the Post Office is refusing to deliver Soviet publications to any except "authorized" persons is most disturbing. It is high time that many loyal Americans learn Russian, and read Russian publications carefully. If only diplomats and foreign agents may read Pravda or other Soviet publications, our information on Russia will be dangerously reduced. Such arbitrary censorship is an unjustified denial of our traditional rights to read anything we wish, and should be ended immediately.

Coburn Gum
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

10th Award IGNORANCE IS OWN EXCUSE FOR BEING?

To the *Houston Chronicle*:

Recently a friend remarked to me very matter-of-factly that he had not read a single magazine, newspaper or book during the past eight years and consequently knew little, if anything, about communism or any other kind of ism. What can you say for a person like that? Is ignorance its own bliss for being?

Gen. Dean said once that the average American soldier was not as wide awake to the role of his country in world affairs as the Communist soldiers with

whom he came in contact while a P.O.W., but they were better informed on Communist objectives than the average American he had met since coming home.

John B. Lynch
1037 San Mateo, SE.
Albuquerque, N. M.

11th Award FARM FREEDOM

To the *Los Angeles Times*:

Hunger and famines resulting from food scarcity in Communist-controlled countries are nothing new. This sad state is the result of farm collectivism, advocated by all Communists.

Communist agriculture "experts" coming to America to observe our farm methods and machinery will not increase their production.

When farmers are free to own their own farms and equipment, control their own lives and business, and sell their produce on a free market the result is abundance and plenty for all.

This method, however, is capitalism, the economic system Communists detest above all. And I doubt if the Communist dictators prefer freedom for their subjects and abundance to personal power, controls and scarcities. If they did, there would be no Communists.

Rodi Horstman
12734 Grovetree Avenue
Downey, California

12th Award DEEP IN RED CHINA, OUR FORGOTTEN MEN

To the *Charlotte Observer*:

All but a few of us seem to have forgotten those American soldiers held in Communist China. There is talk of only eleven or thirteen Americans held, yet according to the December 18, 1953, *U.S. News & World Report* there are 944 missing G.I.'s still being held in China.

Long before China had made her announcement, the only people who had protested China's imprisoning our troops were Senator McCarthy and retired Army Captain Eugene R. Guild of Colorado.

What are we going to do about these American troops China holds? President Eisenhower suggests we be patient—sit quietly by until the UN gets good and ready to see if it can do anything.

The next time someone asks us to be patient about this, tell that someone to ask our imprisoned American troops to be patient. It is easy for us to be patient—we are not in jail.

Mickey Colbert
3061½ Elm St., High Point, N. C.

13th Award SAYS AVOID WAR

To the *Indianapolis Star*:

Today's pressing question is whether we should adopt a realistic policy in

dealing with China and Russia. Any other course could lead to international suicide. In the event of war China alone might be a sitting duck, but backed by Russia it might be a different story. Caution demands we keep this in mind. We prefer coexistence to non-existence.

We should make every effort to avoid a war of possible mutual extinction. All grave international questions should be settled by the UN. It exists for this purpose. Let us respect it as such.

China [Ed. note: i.e., Red China] does not relish the presence of our military forces any more than we would relish Chinese forces in our coastal areas. Why should we growl and snarl at each other like ill-tempered pooches? As a Christian nation, we should make every effort to prove to the world that our profession is more than just eyewash.

T. J. Due

Westphalia, Indiana

* * *

14th Award MINORITY RULE

To the *Dallas News*:

The people of the United States are living under minority rule because the people do not exercise the right to vote. Foreign people make sport of the fact.

The people in public office get the majority of the votes cast, but it is the majority of the minority. This is a great danger within the United States. The voter should get a tax reduction for doing the duty of casting his or her vote.

Frank B. Helsel

505 N. Pacific, Monahans, Texas

* * *

15th Award RUSSIANS AND PEACE

To the *Washington Post*:

In this pessimistic world I would like to make a few optimistic assumptions.

First, that Russia doesn't like this race for armament superiority and that its cost is retarding her domestic progress.

Second, that the Soviet leaders and citizenry are as frightened as our leaders and citizenry by the continuous increase in the destructiveness of atomic weapons.

Third, that the Russians realize that they would reap great economic benefits from improved international relations.

And, last, I would suggest that public opinion still carries some pressure in the USSR and that world opinion counts much more.

In this optimistic state I feel that a revision of the United Nations Charter could be successfully begun this year. I mean a revision of the Charter that would facilitate universal disarmament and would permit enforcement of a limited form of world law.

M. G. Carbone

161 N. Columbus St.,
Arlington 3, Va.

16th Award IMMIGRATION QUOTA LAW NEEDS FIXING

To the *Indianapolis Star*:

The Serge Rubenstein murder focuses attention again on immigration control. Allegedly a draft dodger, he also allegedly entered in 1938 under Russia's quota, though on an irregular Portuguese passport. Apparently he milked this country for millions.

Thus, Rubenstein is added to the long list of undesirable aliens. Al Capone allegedly enjoyed a \$200,000,000 intake in his vice empire. Harry Dexter White, second generation immigrant, recalls unsavory Yalta memories that gave Stalin Poland, split Germany, opened the way to Moscow's domination of China, once our firm friend. He already is being forgotten. Has not displaced person Klaus Fuchs' treason doubled the tax bill of every American?

Despite all, there are constant attacks on the McCarran-Walter Act, which was enacted to bring up to date the Quota Acts of 1921-22-24. The Quota Acts blocked a deluge estimated at 25,000,000. These would have made our 1930 depression's unemployment unbearable.

C. M. Goethe

Anglo Bank Building
Sacramento, California

* * *

17th Award RESERVES RIGHT TO PAN OFFICIALS

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

In reference to your editorial of February 22, "Fanaticism on Communist Issue Plays into Hands of Enemies":

If you had been writing editorials during the time of the Boston Tea Party you would have called the patriots fanatics, too, I suppose. During the Roosevelt era, the public was told to accept his able, intelligent and well-balanced experiment in socialism, as he was our president and knew what was best for us.

Then came Truman's "red herring" type of intelligence. Must we be forever trustful and never question the verdicts of our elected public servants, or be called fanatics because we differ?

Mrs. John W. Osborne

1411 Berkley Ave., Dallas, Texas

* * *

18th Award NEEDED AMENDMENT

To the *Dallas News*:

Voters should secure a copy of the proposed amendment to the Constitution as offered by Sen. Price Daniel, Jan. 26. It concerns the need for a new method of electing Presidents of the United States.

Under the present law, should a presidential candidate in any state receive just one vote more than his opponent, he still will receive the entire electoral vote of the state. In states where parties

are almost equal—such as New York, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania and others—block-voting minority groups, who will fight this amendment, can control all of the electoral votes of those states. With such power they are in position to bring great pressure on any or all presidential candidates.

Most people interested enough to investigate and study this proposed amendment will give it strong support.

R. E. Williams

3311 29th, Lubbock, Texas

* * *

19th Award THE YALTA CONFERENCE AND THE UNITED NATIONS

To the *Monroe Morning World*:

There are an astonishing number of letters appearing in your paper that pontificate against the Yalta conference and the United Nations.

Roosevelt was making valiant efforts to hold Russia in the war. The whole of Manchuria would have been a small price to pay for the lives of American boys.

Second, it was agreed that Dairen would be an open port. Well, there have been open ports created before.

Third, there was an agreement that Russia was to repossess certain territory that had been forcibly taken from her by Japan.

The United Nations Charter was conceived in a noble principle. That it has not always worked according to that principle is due to human imperfections.

Senator Lodge is seated with a much better perspective of the operations and their ensuing results than are those who criticize. They fulfill the old maxim, "An empty wagon makes the most noise."

T. Y. Harp

RFD, Mer Rouge, La.

* * *

20th Award FINE FOR A WELCOME HOME

To the *Ponca City News*:

Congress and the Senate had no trouble raising their wage or the Federal employees, etc., but when the Democrats came up to give the taxpayers a cut, that was outrageous. I think that is the first time in about twenty years that the Democrats suggested such legislation.

Mebby if they come out with a bill to send each taxpayer \$50 as a reward for paying from 20 percent to 91 percent taxes for the last 15 years, it might pass, as it would be spending money instead of saving it.

It looks like most of them are trying to forget the prisoners in Communist China and if they should be fortunate enough to get home, they would probably be tried for aiding the enemy at about \$100,000 each just to show them that we were glad to have them back.

R. J. Updegraff

200 So. Lincoln
Ponca City, Oklahoma

THIS MONTH'S SLOGAN

Facts Are The Luggage Fellow Travelers Discard

—Submitted by **JOHN BROWN**

Curtis Brown, Ltd.
3 Henrietta St., Convent Garden
London, W.C. 2, England

FACTS FORUM POLL

Yes No

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1. Is U.S. wise to insist upon being attacked first? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2. Would Yalta have been different if MacArthur and Eisenhower had been there? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. Will "anti-Communists" remain impotent victims of vicious smears? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. All peaceful means failing, shall we abandon our captive soldiers? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Is hero worship dangerous to our country? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. Has the President power under "treaty law" to suspend the Constitution? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7. Is the Senate too lenient in confirming Supreme Court appointees? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8. Do people grasp the shameful import of "Billions, Blunders & Baloney?" |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9. Do policies of the Administration represent the will of the majority? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10. Will Americans ever be permitted to vote on the Bricker Amendment? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11. Should Russian farmers be permitted to come to "Iowa" to study farming? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12. Should Chiang Kai-shek and Rhee be allowed to take the initiative now? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 13. Is England a reliable ally of the U.S. in Asia? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 14. Should the government reduce the number in the Army? |

Remarks

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)	NO. AND ST.	CITY AND STATE
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☐ Bill me for \$2.00 for 1 yr. subscription to Facts Forum News.

• To receive regular Facts Forum Poll card each month, already addressed and with postage paid, simply write your request once to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas.

• You or your friends may write in your votes by listing your answers on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which you have no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.), and mailing to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). Your votes will be counted the same as if they were entered on a ballot.

See Page 47 for Results of April Poll

POLL QUESTION WINNERS

FOR MAY

An award of \$10.00 each has been made to each of the following persons, who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

1st: **MR. THOMAS J. CASHMAN**
619 Park Ave.
Portsmouth, R. I.

8th: **MISS CONCHA V. SAVAGE**
804 1/2 No. Kingsley Dr.
Los Angeles 29, Calif.

2nd: **MR. JOHN RICHARD PACK**
Box 13,
Madisonville, Ky.

9th: **Sfc. ERNEST A. MURO**
Qtrs. 422-N
West Point, N. Y.

3rd: **MR. JOHN NOLAN**
187-12 Williamson Ave.
Springfield Gardens 13, N.Y.

10th: **DR. FRED MORRISON**
504 Union Bank Bldg.
Kokomo, Ind.

4th: **CAPT. EUGENE R. GUILD, ret.**
Hq., Fighting Homefolks of
Fighting Men
Glenwood Springs, Colo.

11th: **MR. H. A. MUELLER**
915 North German St.
New Ulm, Minnesota

5th: **MR. J. D. HENDERSON**
511 W. Olive
Odessa, Texas

12th: **MAUD E. DIXON**
1469 Fillmore St.
Denver 6, Colo.

6th: **MR. SPENCER H. MacCALLUM**
Princeton University
12 Campbell Hall
Princeton, N. J.

13th: **MR. FRANK CUSACK**
R. R. 2
Golden Lake, Ontario, Canada

7th: **MR. FRANK E. RILEY**
McDaniel, Md.

14th: **S/Sgt. JAMES R. CARPER**
USAF, Hq., 70th Strat Recon Wing
Lockbourne AFB,
Columbus 17, Ohio

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

... Your [ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS] program is the most educational I have had the opportunity of witnessing. . .

ROBERT E. CORCORAN, RA-21275040
40 Btry. 607th AFA Bn.
APO 949, Seattle, Wash.

I received my records OK and... was so proud of my prize [Dan Smoot recordings awarded in Letters to the Editor Contest]... I hope to enter other of your contests. . .

MR. W. L. DILLARD
Rt. 4, Scottsville, Ky.

I cannot resist complimenting you on the excellent method of presenting both sides of problematical questions of the day!

HENRY FRYCHBERG
Office of the Rector
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, N. C.

Radio & TV Schedule

(Continued from Page 55)

Newport News	WACH-AM**	1270	To be announced
	WACH-AM*	1270	To be announced
	WACH-TV*	33	To be announced
	WACH-TV**	33	To be announced
Orange	WJMA**	1340	Sun 9:30 p
Richmond	WRVA*	1140	Sun 12:15 p
Roanoke	WSLS-TV*	10	Sat 2:30 p
	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun 2:30 p
Staunton	WAFB*	900	Sun 12:00 p
Suffolk	WLPB**	1450	
	WLPB**	1450	
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues 5:45 p

WASHINGTON

Bellingham	KPUG†	1170	Sun 8:30 p
Everett	KRKO†	1380	Sun 8:30 p
Grand Coulee	KFDR**	1400	Sun 3:30 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Wed 6:30 p
	KSEM**	1450	Sat 8:30 p
Olympia	KGY†	1240	Sun 8:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun 10:45 a
	KOFE**	1150	Sun 2:00 p
Seattle	KOMO*	1000	Mon 6:30 p
	KVI†	570	Sun 8:30 p
Spokane	KHQ-TV**	6	Sun 5:30 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed 9:15 p

WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield	WKQY†	1240	Mon 9:30 p
Charleston	WCAW*	1400	Sun 8:00 p
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon 9:30 p
Fairmont	WJPB-TV**	35	Sat 8:00 p
	WJPB-TV*	35	Thurs 9:30 p
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon 9:30 p
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon 9:30 p
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV*	4	Sun 7:30 p
Parkersburg	WCEF*	1050	To be announced
	WTAP-TV**	15	Wed 9:30 p
	WTAP-TV*	15	Sun 5:30 p
Wheeling	WKWK*		Sun 7:45 p
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon 9:30 p

WISCONSIN

Appleton	WBHY†	1230	Mon 8:30 p
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon 8:30 p
	WATW†	1400	Thurs 8:30 p
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon 8:30 p
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon 8:30 p
	KFIZ†	1450	Thurs 8:30 p
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon 8:30 p
	WJPG†	1440	Thurs 8:30 p
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon 8:30 p
La Crosse	WLCX†	1490	Mon 8:30 p
	WLCX†	1490	Thurs 8:30 p
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun 8:00 p
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon 8:30 p
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	To be announced
Sturgeon Bay	WDOR*	910	Sun
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced

WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun 7:15 p
Cheyenne	KFBC-TV*	5	Sun 6:00 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Tues 6:30 p
Lander	KOVE†	1230	Mon 7:30 p
	KOVE†	1230	Thurs 7:30 p
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon 7:30 p
	KPOW†	1260	Thurs 7:30 p
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon 7:30 p
	KWYO†	1410	Thurs 7:30 p
Torrington	KGOS**	1490	Tues 7:30 p

Let Freedom Ring

A NATION cannot long endure without Patriotism, and the best means we have to keep Patriotism bright and glowing, and to turn back the ugly tide of communism, may be so natural and so simple that it has been overlooked.

The Golden Rule, time honored, accepted, and its merit so well known that it is unquestioned, may be the deep and powerful force which, if applied for the noble purpose, would save America's opportunity system from the skillful design of its enemies who in their bright, distorted minds plan its destruction.

"Do unto others as you would have others do unto you"—recognize their love of country, and share their pride in it as you would like them to take note of your loyalty to the land you love, and share with you your pride in loyalty. Seek out Patriots—they are not hard to find—and give them a pat on the back just as you silently yearn for a kind word about your own devotion to America. Let them again feel that it is not old fashioned nor unfashionable to be Patriotic—not even unprofitable. You would like for your love of your land to be a constant joy to brighten your day. You may be sure they would like the same. As you "do unto others," see that their loyalty to country shall not brand them as a crank, or result in any other hardship, but become a healthful, prideful, pleasure. Here you can meet on common ground.

It is natural—it is usual—to appreciate others of like mind. Find them—they are all around you—you will find them, some timidly, plugging for freedom, perhaps fearful of attracting notice which will start the smear artists working—find some ADDING PATRIOTISM (to their) ADS, or some commending and encouraging those who are advertising for America as well as for sales. All need your help. And when you find them, let them know you understand and appreciate them. Your approval can mean much to them in this strange atmosphere where a display of loyalty to our country can start a raising of eyebrows. Their approval will in turn give you a renewed confidence, and a new hope for the future—hope for your children—hope for Freedom in a free world—hope for America.

Patriots are overwhelmingly in the majority, and when you and your kind by the millions begin standing up to be counted, become vocal, and let your convictions be known, an awakening and quickening of common sense about public

affairs in America will afford the traitors meagre feeding ground—a barren field for infiltration. Communists do not fancy facing the hot flame of Freedom.

Again, you may tingle with the thought LET FREEDOM RING!, and you may unexpectedly find yourself humming the tune—or voicing the words. The flag—our country's flag—and "The Star Spangled Banner" again may stir your blood, and you will feel as grateful as the title implies when you remember, or sing, "God Bless America!"

When this comes to pass, with you and with your friends—it will be without sacrifice, hardship or travail, for the most natural thing in all the world has taken place. The sending and the receiving of a force as potent as love of liberty—loyalty—pride in loyalty, reinstates true value. It will halt appeasements, end betrayals, and when it reaches a national scale, will restore National pride.

LET FREEDOM RING!—With millions tingling the joyous bells! Each and every person taking part in this crusade should watch out for other participants, large or small, to boost them on their way. The plan for PATRIOTISM IN ADS is not an avenue for personal aggrandizement, and cannot be centered around any one person. It must grow and expand far beyond any individual, or his ideas. It is for our country and those who love Liberty devotedly.

There are no dues to pay. In sharing in ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS you will have become part and parcel of a national existence which is a joy unto you. Wholly on your own you will have become a vital link in an unbroken chain of integrity, loyalty, and pride in loyalty which must be held intact to keep America's opportunity system functioning.

Your cost is nil. If you advertise and frequently include patriotic plugs in your ads, more than twice as many people will read them as would otherwise, and you will have shown the best of reasons for patronage. To all Patriots: The only cost to you is to find, recognize, understand, approve, and encourage the Patriots who are all around you, probably neglected and lonely, and knowing of their pride in their patriotism "do unto them as you would have them do unto you." LET FREEDOM RING!

Constructively,

H. L. HUNT



Excerpt from
PAUL HARVEY NEWS, April 6

Shop talk:

Congratulations to Dallas, Texas' H. L. Hunt...

And the businessmen everywhere who are following his lead in putting patriotism...into their advertising.

Decent, loyal Americans...have been competing for so long...they've almost forgotten how to cooperate.

So the one product we all share...

A breed of government that has borne more bountiful fruit than all the rest of the world put together...goes begging...

Because its salesmen...haven't been selling.

And it's good to see one man who could be relaxing...

Reinvesting instead...

In an effort to get the rest of us off our cotton pickin' posteriors and back out into the market place...pushing our product.

Reselling the gospel of old fashioned, God-fearing, flag waving Americanism. Because somebody's representatives have been selling a lesser product to a hundred million new customers a year just because they were better salesmen.

From **SID HARDIN**

Sponsored by H. Rouw Co. (grapefruit)
 Edinburg, Texas

RADIO BROADCAST, April 16

Local advertisers such as merchants, automobile dealers, implement dealers, department stores, and all other similar business enterprises can include in their advertising, by use of very little space, a schedule of suggested radio programs known to be patriotic in their nature. ED MAHER, the Ford Dealer in Dallas, Texas, while advertising his business, is inserting in his FORD "Ads," some suggested radio programs which can be heard over local Dallas stations,

and listing them as "*PARTISANS FOR PATRIOTISM*," giving names of Commentators, station dial numbers, and the time of such programs. [Ed. Note: The table published in Ed Maher's ads, started April 1st, included Sid Hardin, giving the time of his program over KRLD, Dallas. A car dealer helps sell grapefruit and a grower helps sell cars while both sell patriotism.] Such a plan of advertising not only presents very effectively the goods, ware and services being offered to the public; but renders a great service in arousing and awakening the people to a high sense of Patriotism by directing them to a source of authentic information on the rewards of the American System; and, at the same time warning them of the enemies of Americanism.

Without the American System, the American business man would have nothing to sell; and the people would have no purchasing power. Therefore, it is sound business, while advertising goods and services, to insert a "plug" supporting the system that makes business possible.

We fight a holding action as long as we merely OPPOSE the MISTAKEN element in America today; we may hold our ground with a negative position, but it takes a positive position to advance. Mere opposition to communism, socialism, and the subtle plans and schemes of [Mistaken] Leaders to undermine and destroy our freedoms is not sufficient; we must overcome them with the sheer force of the superiority of our American System of Government with its unlimited freedom of Opportunity for the Common man.

The long range program of "Adding Patriotism to Advertising," now currently gaining ground and prestige, offers a new and powerful means of awakening the American people to the advantages and opportunities under the American System; of warning them of the subtle devices, plans and schemes of our enemies; and promoting American Patriotism with a crusading zeal. We, therefore, urge you to [encourage] the Merchants who "Add Patriotism to their newspaper advertising."

