
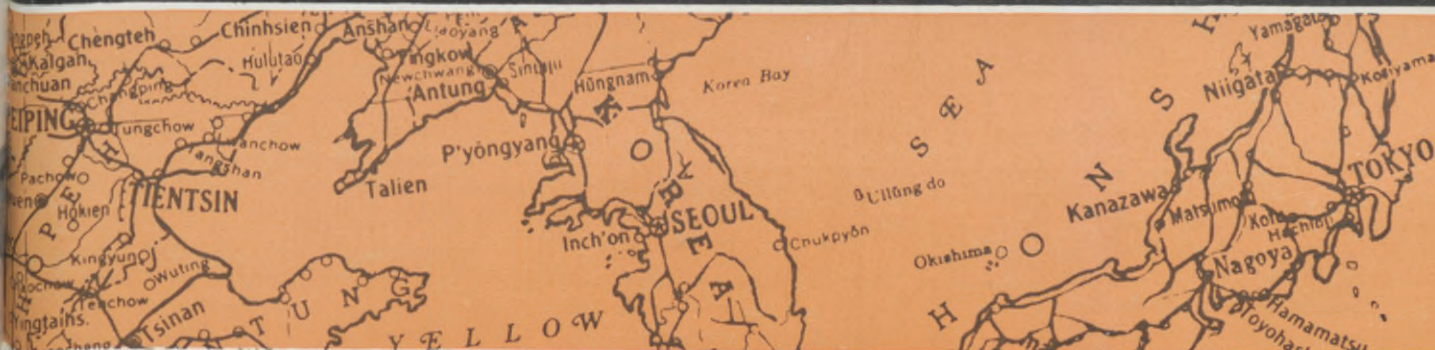


FACTS FORUM


NEWS

America's Most Thought-Provoking Magazine



RED CHINA U. N. VOLCANO

Page 2



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

President of Nationalist China



BIG DITCH vs H-BOMB

"How America Can Best Fight Communism"

A NEW CONTEST FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

See Pages 32 & 33

AN

IMPORTANT

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Don't Miss . . .

IN THE
Next Issue

OF

Facts Forum News

New Era for Indian Americans?

General Custer, at Little Big Horn, may have lost to the Indians, but the Indians as a whole have been losing ever since. Now, to terminate or not to terminate? — that is the question regarding governmental supervision of Indian affairs. Should the United States government continue its supervision, or is the red man ready to "paddle his own canoe?"

Read the complete pro and con analysis in the November issue.

Postponed Attractions

The editors are rather chagrined over the necessity to postpone until the November issue two articles scheduled to appear this month, which have been unavoidably delayed.

We believe you will agree these are well worth waiting for:

Interview of A.D.A.'s

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

and

Status of Forces Treaty

Pro and Con

by

Rep. Frank T. Bow (R-Ohio)

Rep. James P. S. Devereux (R-Md.)

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RED CHINA, THE U.N. VOLCANO

is anxiously watched by

Freedom's Fortress

and Chiang Kai-shek

By JOHN C. CALDWELL

Coast line of Formosa





Free China's government building, Taipei, Formosa

THROUGHOUT Asia people are jumping on the neutralist bandwagon. This is my unhappy conclusion, based on two recent extended trips to the Far East, covering Asia from Korea and Japan south through Formosa, Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, and eastward to the borders of Tibet and India. The growth of neutralism is itself disturbing; even more so is the deterioration in morale observed in the six months between one trip in January and another in June and July.

Neutralism is being carefully nurtured by the Chinese Communists, who have given up sabre-rattling in favor of a gigantic "smile" campaign, with headquarters in British Hong Kong. And it is inspired by the chilling fear that Communist China will be seated in the United Nations — if not during the sessions of the General Assembly this November, certainly in 1957.

The fear grows with talk of easing trade restrictions, with the pronouncements of men like David Marshall, lately Chief Minister of Singapore, who stated in Hong Kong that communism poses no menace for Southeast Asia. It increases through such diplomatic moves as Egypt's recognition of Red China. Certainly the major diplomatic goal of the Communist world, backed by India, is admission of the Chinese Reds to the United Nations. And the fear in non-Communist Asia is that with the assistance of communism's newly-acquired errand boy, Egypt, the goal can be achieved. For the people of Asia do not need an abacus, much less an adding machine,

to realize that the Communist bloc, plus the neutrals, plus the Arab bloc and some of the uncommitted nations, can ease Red China into the United Nations.

Some observers believe the first step may be a complicated maneuver to substitute India for Nationalist China on the Security Council, thus giving the Reds one more vital vote and influencing the uncommitted nations. It matters little what method is used. What is important is for the Free World to understand the consequences and move swiftly to block Red China's admission in 1956.

The unanimous resolutions of the House and Senate against admitting Red China to the UN helped dispel some of the fear of Asians, and may even cause some nations now inclined to vote for Red China to hold off for another year. But the danger remains; the fear is still there.

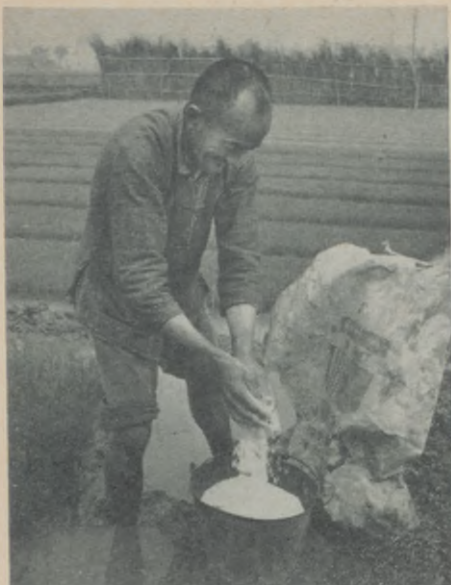
The effect of this fear can be seen in Bangkok, where the Chinese language press, anti-Communist nine months ago, has made an almost complete shift to neutralism or outright support of Peiping. Or it is seen in the near defeat of the pro-West government of Japan in recent elections. It can be

John C. Caldwell, well-known newspaper columnist, has been writing articles and books about China since the age of eighteen. An American citizen, born in China and partly educated there, he has served the United States Government for years as an expert on Far Eastern affairs.

noted in the sudden emergence of fully-organized Red cadres among the Chinese population of Sarawak, in British North Borneo. And it can be seen in the deterioration of morale on Formosa, in the increased anxiety of the Free Chinese. For if Communist China is admitted to the United Nations, the "Two China" idea will become reality; trade restrictions will be lifted, recognition of Peiping by other nations will inevitably follow, and Free China's remaining influence in Asia will be lost.

Every move made by Red China in recent months has been aimed at creating a neutralism that will favor its goal of attaining the prestige and respectability that United Nations membership will give. The latest in these moves was the invitation to a number of American newsmen to visit Communist China. The Communists have placed the United States in a difficult position. If we refuse permission for American writers to visit Red China, we will be damned by the Communists and even by some of our allies. And if we waive present passport restrictions, we also run a risk. For many of the men who would visit Communist China are the same men whose dismal reporting have created the mess we are in today. How can we be sure that men who called the Communists mere reformers less than a decade ago, who did not understand the nature of Nationalist China's problems on the mainland, will not again be deceived?

Thus once again, as has so often been the case during the past decade,



Formosan farmer applying fertilizer, gift from U. S.

we find the enemy holding the trumps. But our hands are not tied in Asia. There is action that can be taken, particularly if the seating of Red China is defeated this year and we have a year of grace. And as important as it is to block this move, it is equally important to develop positive action, to provide an antidote for the poison of Red neutralism.

While all the nations of Asia are involved in the struggle that lies ahead, it can be properly evaluated only if the historical importance of the overseas Chinese is understood. These are the 12-million-odd Chinese who live, neither on Formosa nor in Red China, but are scattered in vast communities and isolated farms all through Asia from Hong Kong southward. It is against these Chinese that the Communists have directed their programs of propaganda and terrorism. It is among these Chinese that the Reds have made most progress. And it is by understanding how this has been accomplished that the Free World may be able to block the further expansion of communism in Asia.

Industrious Character of Chinese

For centuries the Chinese from the two south coastal provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung have been adventurers and seafarers. In the tenth century South China junks penetrated as far east as the Arabian and Red Seas. The native populations of Southeast Asia, made up of Malays and numerous aboriginal tribes, have never been known for industry or business acumen. It was the immigrant Chinese, sometimes merely exploring, or per-

haps escaping from a revolution in China, or moving because of flood or famine, who began the development of the area.

When the British began to develop Singapore in the early nineteenth century, they sent recruiters northward to find Chinese. When the Rajah Brooke on Sarawak wanted to develop his little kingdom in the jungles of Borneo, he found a Chinese who had been resident for some years, and sent him back home to the Fukien coast to get colonists. When the Buddhist leaders of Thailand wished to build a great city of gleaming temples in Bangkok, they sent to China, and Chinese artisans did the job.

And thus it is that there are 893,000 Chinese among Singapore's present population of 1,100,000. In Sarawak there are 260,000 Chinese, making up nearly 30 per cent of the total population, and in complete control of business life.

Altogether there are 12,500,000 overseas Chinese. Nearly 50 per cent of the population of the Federated Malay States is Chinese; there are three million Chinese in Indonesia, one million in Viet-Nam, and three million in Thailand. Of Hong Kong's 2,400,000 people, 2,225,000 are Chinese.

All through Asia, from the borders of China southward through India and eastward to Burma, the Chinese control business; they publish Chinese language newspapers, operate Chinese language schools, and worship in Chinese language churches.

Industry Plus Wealth Equals Jealousy

Human nature being what it is, native peoples were frequently jealous of the industrious and frequently wealthy Chinese. And even though frequently invited to settle in Southeast Asia, the overseas Chinese was often discriminated against. In British-controlled areas there was no schooling provided for the overseas Chinese for many years. In British Sarawak there was no high school at all until 1948!

Very few Chinese cared to attend the British-operated public schools which, to this day, have a curriculum aimed at preparing a youth to pass the Cambridge examinations. Children in Malaya, North Borneo and Singapore study the same fairy tales and children's tales read by British children. In geography they learn the names of all the members of the commonwealth



Free China is now producing much of its own fertilizer.

and colonies. In a part of the world where snow is never seen, children read about snow and ice skating.

Thus, not being assimilated in his adopted country, the overseas Chinese has always looked north to China. The old-style families want their children to go back to China, at least for a visit. And the old folks want to be buried in the good earth of China. Unable to properly educate their children in the few schools provided by the British, Dutch, French, and Thais, the Chinese communities began to establish their own schools. The Revolution of 1911-12 in China, overthrowing the Manchu throne and establishing a republic, gave the overseas Chinese new pride in their homeland, and gave tremendous impetus to education and the establishment of Chinese language newspapers.

It is only natural that the overseas Chinese have always looked to China. Discriminated against by the British, Dutch, and French rulers of Southeast Asia, they were forced to keep their home ties, and were forced to educate their children as Chinese children.

Red Campaign Bars No Holds

The Chinese Communists, who moved into Southeast Asia even before they had defeated the Nationalists, for over a decade have cleverly and thoroughly exploited the overseas Chinese. No holds have been barred in this Red campaign. The Reds have moved swiftly to control the Chinese language press, to infiltrate the nearly 1,800 Chinese schools, and to establish control of labor unions in predominantly Chinese Singapore. They have

spent millions of dollars in persuading young overseas Chinese to go to Red China for their college education. At the same time they have also done everything possible to corrupt and weaken the overseas Chinese. Singapore, Malaya, and North Borneo have been flooded with opium, and these areas have now the highest rate of opium addiction in the world.

In the important city of Singapore the Communists now control two of the three Chinese language newspapers; their infiltration of the private Chinese schools (there are 370 in Singapore) has been almost complete, and the Reds boast an "army" of 100,000 Chinese teen-agers, which can be called out at a moment's notice to strike, riot, and demonstrate. Control of labor is almost complete, Red-dominated unions causing a total of 575 major strikes in 1955, representing a loss of 969,000 man-days of work.

Cancer Threatens Southeast Asia

The Communist cancer in Singapore has spread out, infecting Chinese for hundreds of miles in every direction. Operating from bases in Singapore, Red agents have now almost completed the infiltration of schools in British North Borneo. And in these operations the key weapon has been *control of the press*, of book publishing, and of all information media through which the people might learn the truth about communism and the truth about Free China. But while the immediate target is the overseas Chinese, the ultimate aim of the Reds is to control the whole of Southeast Asia. By creating neutralism among the Chinese, the Reds plan to infect the Malays, the Dyak tribes people, the Thais, Loatians, and Cambodians. For neutralism spills over from one group to another, especially if the group first infected also is in control of economic life of a nation.

Let us see just how successful the Communists have been during the seven years they have directed their energies against the overseas Chinese, and, through them, the peoples of all Southeast Asia:

Indonesia, the British-controlled areas, and Burma either recognize Red China or prohibit any pro-Free China activity. These areas have a population of 108 million, including over six million Chinese.

Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos recognize Free China, but are moving steadily toward neutralism. The

population is 25 million including approximately four million Chinese.

Viet-Nam and the Philippines recognize Free China, and are anti-Communist. The population is 31 million including 1,200,000 Chinese.

It is obvious that the Communists are winning Southeast Asia. Given the enhanced prestige that United Nations membership will provide, she can complete the neutralization of Thailand and Laos, which are especially vulnerable because of proximity to Red China. Both Singapore and the Federated Malay States are moving toward independence. Remember that 80 per cent of the population of Singapore is Chinese, and 80 per cent of the Chinese are under twenty-one — many of them students in the Communist-dominated schools. There is still a chance that Singapore might be saved, but can anyone believe the Chinese will not go Communist, legally and in an election, if Red China becomes a "respected" member of world society?

I have emphasized the threatened loss of Southeast Asia but it is obvious that Japan and Formosa will be equally threatened if the Communists are allowed to pursue their activities. In this summer's Diet elections, the neutralists in Japan made impressive gains. Rearmament will be increasingly difficult, and it will be equally difficult to prohibit the Japanese from trading with Communist China. Japan has been crawling with cultural dele-

gations from China, and has sent its own quota of delegations to visit Mao's Utopia.

There can be no doubt but that morale on Formosa has deteriorated as the threat of Red China's acceptance and further recognition becomes more and more apparent. The Nationalist government, never too good at public relations, is increasingly putting its foot in its mouth, is becoming suspicious and plain cantankerous. While desperately wooing the overseas Chinese, Nationalist China is continually alienating the people of Southeast Asia by its fearful application of security regulations. Chinese from Singapore, Hong Kong, or Bangkok who would like to visit Formosa, perhaps to invest in the island's healthy economy, must cool their heels for weeks before getting a visa.

Every foreigner, including Americans, who carries a camera is increasingly suspect. A few months ago there occurred a typical example of poor public relations caused by Free China's fears, and her increasing isolation from the rest of Asia.

A British-owned airliner, unable to land at Hong Kong's frequently fog-bound Kaitak airport, flew on to Tainan, an International Emergency Airfield in South Formosa. When the plane landed, fuel exhausted, it was surrounded by Chinese soldiers with drawn guns. For several hours the passengers were forced to remain in the plane, which became hot as an



Typical prosperous farming village in Formosa



A new East-West highway is being built through Formosa's mountains.

oven. Finally they were allowed to disembark, again at gun point, and were herded into the tiny waiting room of a local airline, where they spent the night sleeping on tables.

This unfortunate episode occurred first, because the plane was British, and Britain recognizes Red China. Second, among the passengers were businessmen from all over Southeast Asia, and who knows but that there were Communists among the lot? The fact that there also were people — British, Chinese and Southeast Asians — who might very well be impressed by courteous treatment, entirely escaped the trigger-happy Nationalists.

Fear Alienates Friends

It is obviously a part of Communist strategy to isolate Free China, and this aim is being accomplished. Free China has but few friends in Southeast Asia, in spite of the magnificent story it has to tell. Yet the Nationalist government spent the better part of June wrangling with the Philippines, one of its few remaining friends. The cause? A Filipino had landed on an uninhabited island in the South China Sea, and removed a Chinese flag. No one lives on the island, and no one ever will live there. But because she is frightened, because "face" is still important, the government of Free China engaged in weeks of stupid controversy with one of the few safely anti-Communist governments in Asia.

There is an interesting sidelight to this episode. An American radio network had asked President Chiang Kai-shek for a feature interview which would have been carried by several hundred stations. But the Chinese Foreign Ministry was so busy writing and translating indignant notes for transmission to the government of the Philippines that it could not spare a single man to translate the questions for the interview into Chinese.

Stakes Extremely High

It must be obvious that the stakes in Asia are extremely high, that United Nations membership for Red China cannot be allowed on the basis of America's national interest. At the very best it will mean American prestige will sink to a new low. And, at worst, it will be a long step toward loss of a continent.

But this is the negative aspect of the problem. It is not enough merely to block the Communists in their efforts to seat Red China. For if the effort fails this year, it will be tried again. And all the while the Communists will be continuing their infiltration of Southeast Asia and Japan.

What, of a positive nature, can be done to offset Red China's growing prestige, her so-far-successful efforts to infiltrate and subvert the people of Asia?

Veteran Far East correspondent Rodney Gilbert, in a newly published

book, *Competitive Coexistence* (Free Enterprise Publications), states that "Red China can not only be destroyed from without, but can be destroyed from within; and in a relatively short time." Gilbert sees three ways in which the Chinese Reds might be destroyed. One would be a spontaneous and reckless popular revolt, in which he believes Communist soldiers would join. The second would be a conspiracy within the top Red Army command. And the third would be a movement touched off by a Chinese Nationalist landing on the China coast.

Chinese Reds Face Problems

There is growing evidence of serious unrest in China. Currently there are revolts under way in Tibet and in Inner Mongolia. But let us admit that Mr. Gilbert is too optimistic, that revolt of a general nature is not now in sight. Even so, it seems obvious that the Chinese Reds are facing serious problems. And if it is an aim of the United States to contain and eventually force the defeat of communism, it is certainly the height of folly to consider admitting Red China to the United Nations. For, with admission, there will come increased trade, which the Chinese need badly. Anything which in any way eases the problems of these gangsters is contrary to the best interests of the Free World and of the United States.

But even more pertinent than his observations about the inevitability of revolt, is a suggestion Mr. Gilbert makes in his book. To hasten the coming of a massive counter-revolution, Gilbert suggests the use of the organized expression of anti-Communist sentiment in all the Chinese communities outside Red China. An effective and continuous expression of hostility to and contempt for Red tyranny in the homeland of the 12 million overseas Chinese will, Gilbert believes, have a devastating effect upon the morale of millions of Communist cadres, propagandists, the student bodies of Chinese schools, and the officers of the Red Army.

Gilbert writes, "A small part of the money tossed into 'neutralist' states in Asia, with a sneer for thanks, would finance the organization of articulate anti-communism throughout the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia."

Although he does not go quite far enough, Gilbert has hit the nail on the head. There is an antidote, which if

Continued on page 48

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Portions of the U. S. fleet enter the Panama Canal.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

"Big Ditch" vs. the H-Bomb

Prominent engineers have urged the building of a third locks addition to the Panama Canal to strengthen the canal against atomic attack. The Third Locks Project is under fire by supporters of a plan to build a new Sea Level Canal through Panama or Nicaragua. Both sides claim their plan is best for safeguarding vital military and commercial shipping from the Atlantic to the Pacific divisions of the hemisphere.

WHAT would happen if an enemy atomic attack completely devastated our present Panama Canal? A plan has been suggested in Congress to build an entirely new waterway through Panama or Nicaragua, offsetting this potential danger. Advocates of this plan believe the strategic value of the now existing canal has materially decreased because of the tremendous advance in the destructive value of thermonuclear weapons.

Immediate construction of the new Sea Level Canal has been suggested. Its supporters claim that a modern Sea Level Canal would be far less vulnerable to damage from an enemy attack

than the existing Panama Canal, which was built in a series of lock levels. The principal advantages of the sea level design would be that the canal's structures and foundations would be far more difficult to destroy or damage seriously, and the results of such damage would be less grave than similar damage to the old high-level lock canal. If the locks in the present canal were destroyed, vital naval traffic through the canal, including aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, troop transports, convoys, etc., would have to be completely halted for perhaps an entire year before the locks could be repaired and Gatun Lake refilled. In addition, the Sea

Level Canal would be a safeguard against the total destruction of the present canal from an H-bomb attack.

However, another and entirely different project has been proposed by a group of engineers who suggest improving the present Panama Canal with a Third Locks Project. The design and purpose of the Third Locks Project is to make it as difficult as possible for an enemy to inflict serious damage and greatly decrease the consequences of damage if it occurred. Unusual features are included in the design of the locks to make them more resistant to damage by bombing and to facilitate their repair after damage. The engineers admit that direct atomic attack

would wreck any type canal in existence either now or in the future, but less damage would be inflicted on the lock level canal because of its higher resistance against landslides.

Their contention is that the estimate of expenditures for the third locks addition to the canal would be approximately from \$210 million to \$360 million, while the building of an entirely new Sea Level Canal would cost the taxpayers roughly between \$5 and \$10 billion. In addition, the Third Locks Project can be completed in the shortest time, which would be approximately four or five years. The Sea-Level Canal would take quite a few years longer to complete.

The basic features of the Third Locks Project are to increase the capacity of the canal in respect to the size and number of vessels that may be accommodated, and also to decrease the probability of interrupted ship traffic due to enemy action. The wider and larger dimensions of the proposed locks will allow the passage of larger vessels, including the largest of modern aircraft carriers. Thus, the additional flight of locks to be provided throughout will increase the number of vessels that can transit the canal in a given period, since vessels can be dispatched through the channels at shorter intervals than through the locks.

Protection Against Fog

One of the project's main purposes is to lessen the effects of fog upon the capacity of the canal. Fogs of such density as to block navigation of the cut occur frequently during the rainy season, from May to December. During a fog, the lockage of vessels northbound at the Pedro Miguel cut is impracticable because they cannot proceed immediately into the cut, and there are at present no adequate berthing or anchorage facilities available above the locks. Fog rarely blankets the actual locks themselves so as to interfere with their operations, and if berthing space or anchorage were available above the locks, ships could be held and locked up until the fog cleared the cut. After the fog had lifted, they could be dispatched at close intervals, and the anchorage could be cleared of vessels in readiness to receive southbound vessels.

With the third set of locks in operation, the Panama Canal's capacity could be one ship every thirteen minutes. Also, it is deemed essential to

widen the Gaillard cut to permit two-way traffic of all vessels. The cut can be widened at a cost of tentatively \$70 million for a minimum width of 500 feet. The wider channel resulting would be extremely beneficial in reducing surges, decreasing the chances of accidents in the cut, avoiding delays to individual vessels, simplifying dispatching, and would offer other advantages similar or comparable to those of the anchorage. Also, the increased width and depth would reduce the "suction" effects that would be experienced with large vessels in channels of smaller dimensions.

Widening of the channel would allow a reduction in the total time required for a vessel to transit the canal. Delay would be avoided in approaching the locks, attaching the lines of the towing locomotives, and departing from the locks after lockage. The average saving in time would be about half an hour for every vessel passing through the canal. In time of war this would be a vital factor, particularly in moving an entire battle fleet through the canal.

Economically, the elimination of such delays is of tangible value to each vessel, and the total economic value would increase in proportion to the total traffic. Estimating liberally the average value of the savings in time at approximately \$75 per vessel, the economic benefit would range from \$470,000 annually for the year of highest traffic to date, to about \$1,500,000 for the traffic to be anticipated one hundred years from now in 2056.

Cutting Down Accidents

With safer and wider clearance assured, the reduction of physical and mental strain on pilots navigating their vessels through the canal would be beneficial. The decrease in the need for assistance by tugs would be another additional advantage towards reducing accidents in passage. Since the Panama Canal first opened, there has been an estimated total of 708 accidents during actual transit. The average damage per accident to each vessel has been about \$2,100 each time. It is estimated that accidents experienced in approaching and departing from the locks would be reduced by about one-third in number if the Canal is widened.

The ratio of accidents would assume great importance during war time. Only recently, an important military

vessel struck the bank near Cunetto, and encountered delay for repairs from an accident that might have been avoided in a wider and straighter channel. While it is generally conceded that the superior power and maneuverability of war vessels reduces their liability to accident in the cut, this particular accident furnishes current evidence, if any is needed, of the desirability of a better channel. With the wider channel in use, the minimum time of transit for war vessels would be reduced considerably, and the probability of blocking the channel by the sinking or damage to a military ship would be diminished substantially.

Great Savings in Operating Costs

The most important advantage, from the economic viewpoint at least, is the reduction in the annual operating cost of the Pacific locks. The ultimate prospective savings would amount to more than \$500,000 per year. The increased traffic would mean additional revenue in canal tolls during peak periods of merchant ship traffic.

Probably the next most important advantage is the increase in the total usable storage in Gatun Lake as a result of the reduction of water surges in the cut and the addition of Miraflores Lake at the summit level. Together, they would increase the usable storage by about 160,000 acre feet, which has an immediate value for power purposes in the neighborhood of \$40,000 per year.

The ultimate value of this storage may be higher, when it is required for lockage, but that time is remote, and the value could be determined only after detailed study of other possibilities that may be better for both power and navigation. It has been previously pointed out that a similar result can be accomplished by either widening or deepening the cut sufficiently to reduce the surges or to permit lower levels in Gatun Lake, and that storage at a higher level than Gatun Lake is far more valuable. The reduction in the time of transit by eliminating the delays in approaching and departing from the Pedro Miguel locks would have a large theoretical value.

Maurice H. Thatcher, former governor of the Canal Zone and head of the society of more than 2,000 surviving engineers, designers, and construction workers who actually built the "Big

(Continued on page 64)



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Excavations going on in the Culebra Cut in 1913, one year before the completion of construction on the Panama Canal. Note the huge rock formations that had to be dynamited through to permit the digging of the canal.

IT STARTED BACK IN 1904 . . .

The Panama Canal was built with the blood, sweat, and tears of people from many nations. The saga of the tremendous odds encountered in its construction still inspires us today, nearly half a century later. Untold thousands of laborers, pick and shovel wielders, section hands, and engineers toiled for many years in the steaming jungles of Panama to build the canal.

During the late 1870's, the French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, fresh from his triumph in successfully building the Suez Canal, headed a French company given permission by the Republic of Colombia to dig a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. He soon found out that he had bitten off more than he could handle with the Panama Canal Project. His Suez Canal, a beautiful piece of engineering work up to that time, goes through flat land only. While the weather is hot in Egypt, the climate is not particularly unhealthy, and workmen could be hired from the neighboring inhabitants.

In Panama, tropical conditions prevail. During the rainy season, vegetation grows up almost in a night, and drainage is difficult. Moreover, the region was extremely unhealthy, and many men engaged on the work died or became seriously ill from the dreaded yellow fever for which there was

no cure at that time. . . . Rocks had to be dynamited. Mountains had to be dug through. Needless to say, the first attempt to get the natives of the district to continue work on the canal was unsuccessful. De Lesseps finally had to admit defeat, and the work on the canal was abandoned for several years.

Meanwhile, in the U. S., there was mounting interest in the canal. A growing need existed for a shorter water highway between East and West coasts. Much time and money were lost because ships had to take the long, land route around the tip of South America. Finally, after much discussion, the French company was bought out for \$40 million, and the U. S. took over the building of the canal in 1904.

Though the actual work in digging the canal was staggering, far surpassing anything of the sort that had ever been accomplished before, the work of the U. S. Army Medical Corps in making the isthmus healthful and in taking care of a vast legion of laborers was an even greater feat. Activities in the region were virtually paralyzed by yellow fever. After several courageous American soldiers volunteered to subject themselves as human guinea pigs to the bite of mosquitoes, it was proven beyond a shadow of a doubt that a particular kind of mosquito was the carrier of the deadly tropical dis-

ease. Immediately the Medical Corps swung into action. A large sanitary force detachment under orders from Dr. W. C. Gorgas, installed a system of sewage in the Panamanian cities of Colon and Panama. His orders to pave the streets were carried out, preventing the collection of heaps of garbage and stagnant water in which mosquitoes bred. They kept the undergrowth cut down along the canal and sprayed the ditches with crude oil, thus killing the young mosquitoes. As a result, yellow fever has become almost unknown. Before any actual work was done further on the canal, nearly two and half years was spent in making the region healthful and safe from tropical disease. Immediate construction began then and the canal was finally completed in 1914.

If today we would truly value the achievements wrought in the Canal Zone, we should keep ever fresh in our hearts and minds how gallantly the forces of death were faced and conquered, the difficulties of construction overcome, and the equipment, provisioning, and housing of "an army in the field" organized. The names of the engineers Goethals, Gaillard, and Stevens and of Dr. Gorgas and others who worked on this great canal, have been added to the list of those who valiantly served their country and more than their own country — the whole world.



RENI PHOTOS

REPORTERS' ROUNDUP INTERVIEW OF

HIS EXCELLENCY

Gaganvihari L. Mehta

Ambassador of India to the United States

This official spokesman for Prime Minister Nehru of India indicates that the United States is not winning friends through its foreign aid policies. India, according to Ambassador Mehta, would prefer direct aid in the form of loans. Other aid, he emphasizes, should be channeled through the United Nations, removing any doubt that "strings" of foreign control are attached.

Ambassador Mehta states that Red China's admission to the United Nations is not urged by India alone. He feels that "recognition of facts" is necessary, pointing out that at least a dozen other countries have recognized the Peiping government of China.

AS OFFICIAL spokesman for Prime Minister Nehru of India, His Excellency, G. L. Mehta, Ambassador of India to the United States, interviewed on a recent Reporters' Roundup program, was questioned by veteran reporters Ernest K. Lindley of *Newsweek* magazine, Lyle Wilson of United Press, and Jim Lucas, of Scripps-Howard Newspapers.

Moderator Robert F. Hurleigh, Mutual commentator and Director of Washington Operations for Mutual Broadcasting System, outlined Ambassador Mehta's long and distinguished career in business and public life. Before his present diplomatic appointment in September, 1952, Ambassador Mehta was a member of the Planning Commission of India, and Chairman of the Tariff Commission. He was born in Bombay in 1900, and was educated at the University of Bombay and the London School of Economics.

Mr. Wilson opened the questioning, bringing into immediate focus a subject which is uppermost in the minds of Americans where the Far East is concerned. "Mr. Ambassador, will the Indian government persist in urging the admission of Communist China into the United Nations?"

"It is not a question of the Indian government persisting only," replied Ambassador Mehta. "There are today in the United Nations a number of

countries which have recognized the Peiping government. Indeed, some of your allies, among whom are the British government, have not only recognized them, but want freer trade with China. France also wants freer trade with China. The first country which recognized China (the Peiping government) so far as I know, was Burma. Then India and the British came next. There are several countries which feel that recognition of facts is necessary for a settlement of questions in the Far East. That does not mean that we approve or disapprove of the policies of a particular country, or of that régime. Indeed, there are many countries in the United Nations whose structure of government — of the way it came about or its policies — your government, and our government also, disapprove." [Ambassador Mehta's reply ignored the fact that only one government of a country is recognized by the United Nations. Nationalist China would be disqualified for United Nations membership by recognition of the Communist faction as the true representatives of China.]

Mr. Lucas said, "Mr. Ambassador, one of the things most vexing in this country is that your people seem to feel there is little choice between us and communism — that they are equally good or equally bad, and we feel that there is considerable more

merit on our side of the question. Is that a fair statement of India's thinking and policy?"

"I am afraid that is not quite a fair statement," corrected the Ambassador. "Are you referring to this recognition of China, or a general . . ."

Mr. Lucas explained that he had no reference to China — his question concerned communism as a philosophy or an ideology.

"Well, India has, by its own volition, got a democratic constitution," replied Ambassador Mehta. "It has free elections. It has had no censorship of the press. It has constitutional opposition functioning.

"Even our economic planning is democratic in character," he continued. "There is nothing to prevent us from going out of the commonwealth of nations — the British Commonwealth — just as Burma did. We are completely free. But we have remained within the Commonwealth. We have said, and our leaders have said, time and again, that we believe in the fundamental principles of democracy.

"There is no question, therefore," he explained, "of India being in any way committed to a Communist philosophy or ideology."

Mr. Lindley introduced the subject of Prime Minister Nehru's proposed visit to the United States. "Mr. Amba-



WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Adlai Stevenson, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., U. S. Ambassador to United Nations, Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau (left to right), all of whom, according to Gaganvihari L. Mehta, Ambassador of India to the United States, favor channeling of foreign aid through United Nations. Christian Pineau, visiting here in June, 1956, urged U. S. to lead the West in a new, friendlier policy toward Russia.

sador, I would like to come around to the forthcoming visit of your Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru," he said. "What specifically do you expect him to take up when he visits this country?"

"You know, Mr. Lindley, Mr. Nehru was invited last year by President Eisenhower, as far back as last August or so," explained Ambassador Mehta, "and he was unable to come. When Mr. Dulles, Secretary of State, visited New Delhi, he repeated this invitation and expressed particularly the President's desire that Mr. Nehru should come here and meet him. This is not Mr. Nehru's first visit. He was in this country in 1949. He is coming at the invitation of President Eisenhower to have an informal and friendly talk with him on various common problems, on a survey of the international situation."

Ambassador Mehta stated that a heart-to-heart talk, or a meeting of minds was what was hoped for, indicating that Prime Minister Nehru was not coming specifically to ask for anything, or to bargain over any proposals.

"It is really a question of surveying the whole picture of several problems which affect both the countries," he summarized. "That does not mean that they will necessarily agree on every issue, but if they can understand one another a little better, I think it is desirable."

Mr. Lindley requested information regarding which problems would be discussed by President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nehru.

Ambassador Mehta stressed that in replying he was, of course, only guessing. "I don't think that any specific agenda has been formulated," he said. "But, for example, take this shift in Soviet policy. You know, our Prime

Minister went to Soviet Russia last year. He has certain views as to what this shift in policy means."

Mr. Mehta indicated that this, and also the admission of [Red] China to the United Nations, would be discussed, predicting that President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nehru would discuss not only Indian opinion regarding the admission of [Red] China to the United Nations, but also of Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, and Pakistan. One of the areas of discussion, in his opinion, would be the feelings of various countries in that region in regard to China and the whole problem in the Far East. [It will be noted that throughout this interview, Ambassador Mehta referred, not to "Red China" or "Communist China," but rather simply to "China," or the "Peiping government."]

He pointed out that Pakistan, to whom this country gives military aid,

is having trade negotiations with Soviet Russia. "Their Prime Minister was to visit Peiping recently," he pointed out. "He has twice cancelled his visit because of ill health." It was implied that although the United States does not wish to recognize Red China and does not agree that Red China should be granted United Nations membership, Pakistan, to whom the U. S. sends military aid, is on terms of considerably more friendliness with the Soviets and with Red China's Peiping government.

"Then also," he continued, "there are several other questions which have a bearing on India's economic development which will be discussed. So I think it is really a survey, or an 'across the table' discussion. The whole idea has been that it should be completely informal, stripped of any diplomatic formalities and so on. They will get together probably outside Washington, and meet alone for several hours."

Mr. Lucas asked Ambassador Mehta's opinion of the relations between India and the United States at the present time. "Has there been improvement, or have relations deteriorated?" he inquired.

"It isn't exhibited often that there is any ill feeling at all," replied Ambassador Mehta, explaining that he was not saying this simply for the sake of formality or courtesy, and that the same thing applied both to India and to the United States.

"I have been in this country nearly
(Continued on page 52)



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is greeted by Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of West Germany, at Bonn Airport, July 13, 1956. Nehru assailed U. S. foreign policy in speech made at Bonn.

Can Security Be Guaranteed?



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Left: Senator Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) said that it has been impossible to devise a federal system of disability which would be abuse-proof.

Right: Doctor Elmer Hess, President of the American Medical Association, pointed out that a program of disability benefits will be all but impossible to administer.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

No, security cannot be guaranteed, claim critics of the Social Security system. They maintain that putting the government in the insurance business foretells an all-inclusive, socialistic government under which the citizen will of necessity forfeit liberty for security. Such views are expressed below.

SEVEN score and nineteen years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty . . . and then along came Social Security in 1935," was the recent barbed comment of one critic, averring that the entire system was, from the outset, a "declaration of dependence" — of sorts.

Then, to add insult to amendment (1939, 1946, 1950, and 1954), complain other critics, along came House Bill 7225, which embodied additional changes in the Social Security system. President Eisenhower, at a news conference before his signing of the bill, stated he thought it "unwise" to saddle the Social Security system with "something I don't think should be there."

Opponents of the revised program are saying that too long has Congress been viewing the system as the world's

best field of political hay. Moreover, critics are saying that an unastigmatic scrutiny of the system will reveal that it is nothing short of a high water mark in a socialistic flood, said flood being pumped out of Washington disguised as humanitarianism.¹

Having the original Social Security program foisted upon them was bad enough, claim foes of the system, but now the present Big-Brother-knows-best legislation is indeed a bitter "bill" to swallow.

It has been pointed out that enthusiastic socialistic centralizers are well aware that Social Security is part and parcel of the Marxian design; and, if the trend continues, that there will be an ever-increasing "compulsory" projection of government into the life of every citizen.² Few will agree that the phrase, "universal compulsory cover-

age for everybody for everything," has a pleasant and unregimented sound.

It has been charged that if some of the staunch defenders of increased Social Security benefits have their way, citizens of the United States may soon be federally insured against everything except nosebleed. It is thought by many that hyper-emotional proponents, smitten with the compassionate aspects of a revised program, are unable to see the built-in boomerang inherent in such a system.

Foes of the revised Social Security system point out that the increased pay-roll tax, which the revised program will necessitate, will make available United States Treasury monies

(Continued on page 14)

¹Dean Clarence E. Manion, "Social Security Robs Peter to Pay Paul," Mutual Broadcasting System, February 5, 1956.
²*Ibid.*

MAIN POINTS OF NEW SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENT

1. Benefits for individuals aged 50 and over who are totally disabled.
2. "Primary" benefits, wife's benefits, widow's benefits, and parent's benefits payable to women at and after age 62, instead of age 65.
3. Continuation of child's benefits for children after age 18, if they were totally disabled on attaining age 18 and, except for age, would be eligible for child's benefits.
4. Coverage to lawyers, dentists, veterinarians, Chiropractors, optometrists, and other professional workers.



Left: Congressman Jere Cooper (D-Tenn.) introduced the Social Security bill, H. R. 7225.

Right: Senator Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.) stated that we should honor and take care of our aged people.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Yes, security can and must be guaranteed, claim advocates of a liberal Social Security system. They say that changing social conditions make increased Social Security benefits imperative, and that the federal government is the logical dispenser of such benefits. This line of reasoning is outlined below.

ADVOCATES of a liberalized Social Security program maintain that if foes of the program could read some of the thousands of pathetic, often tragic, letters which pour into the offices of legislators, pleading for assistance, perhaps they would not be quite so adamant in their objections to amendment.

Proponents of H. R. Bill 7225, which liberalizes Social Security benefits, claim that its passage will prove a boon to hundreds of thousands who are disabled, as well as to women who will be able to retire at 62 instead of 65 years of age.

When President Eisenhower signed the bill on August 1, 1956, he expressed the hope that it would advance the economic security of the country. Those senators and congressmen who have long fought for passage

of the bill feel sure that it will indeed provide additional security.

Senator Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.), speaking before the United States Senate, stated that older people today constitute more of our present low-income group than ever before in history. He said that many women are widowed in their fifties or early sixties, and that a great percentage of them have either never worked, or have not had recent work experience. Therefore, they find it all but impossible to find jobs. The only alternatives are either being dependent on their children, or seeking assistance from public or private welfare agencies.

As for unmarried women who have held jobs for long periods of time, they find, when searching for new work, that the policies of new employers regarding age usually preclude their

employment. The minority of the Senate Finance Committee stated:

Any woman who loses her job between the ages of 62 and 65 cannot easily get other employment. The fact is that the overwhelming majority of women at the ages of 60 to 65 are not gainfully employed. When this age group is compared to the age group 55 to 64, we find that women go out of the labor force about two and one-half times faster than men.¹

Another aspect of the matter is the wives of men over 65 years of age . . . since wives are generally several years younger than their husbands, and since a wife heretofore could not retire at an early age, the alternatives were to either try to live on the meager retirement income of the husband, or to work herself and help augment their income.

(Continued on page 15)

¹84 Congressional Record (1956), p. 11887.

No!

(Continued from page 12)

which the Washington free spenders will utilize for whatsoever their generous (with taxpayers' money) hearts desire. The Supreme Court (*Helvering v. Davis*, 301 U. S. 619) has already ruled that tax money is not earmarked, and that Congress is at liberty to spend it as it wants. Furthermore, the Court has beat down congressional efforts to earmark taxes and set them aside for special purposes (*United States v. Butler*, 297 U. S. Page 1, 1936).³

The Social Security Administration at one time assured the Supreme Court that it was not in the insurance business. Now, however, it seems to want to give the impression that it is in the insurance business.⁴ And, as a matter of fact, many insurance companies view with alarm such federal encroachment, as well they might. The need to purchase commercial life insurance is greatly reduced by the ever-expanding compulsory federal insurance. Moreover, the ability of the average individual to pay for commercial life insurance is being drastically reduced by the increased premium he has to pay for the compulsory federal insurance by pay roll deduction.

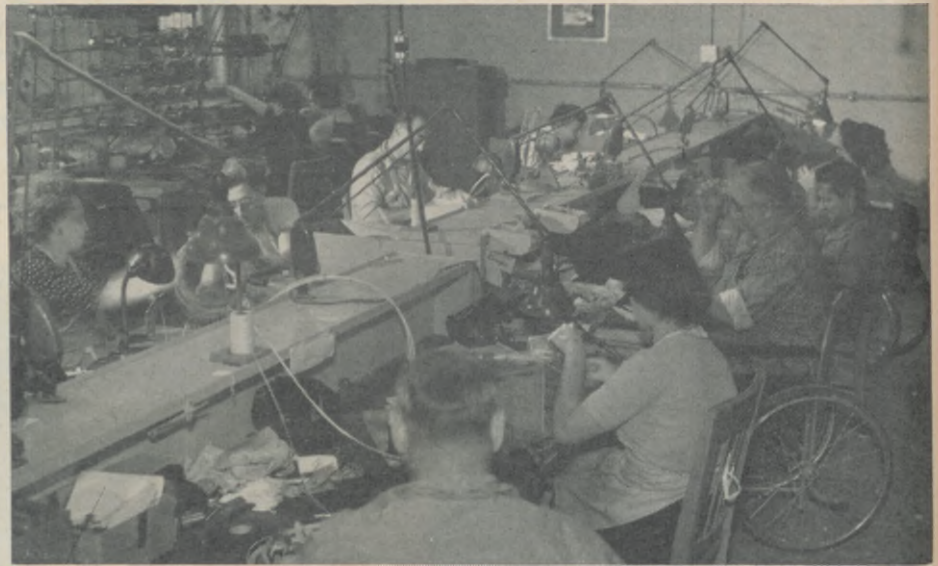
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By letting the above area represent the total life insurance needs of an average family of four, earning around \$5,000 yearly, it can be seen that this was the field in which private insurance companies had to operate before Social Security encroachment.

\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$

The shaded area above reflects the amount of federal compulsory "life insurance," limiting by approximately half the field in which private insurance companies have to operate at present.

The ultimate result of the movement will be that insurance companies will be unable to continue adding as many new policy owners, and may be forced to ask the government to take over their liabilities. The government would be in a position at such a time to say, "We will gladly assume the liabilities, but in order to do so we



Examples of personal fortitude, in the face of almost impossible odds, are employees of Abilities, Inc., at work in their Coil Winding Department. Here, they turn out electric components for companies such as Remington Rand and Sperry Gyroscope Company.

must also take over the assets" — such assets comprising most of the home mortgages in America, office buildings of the companies, stocks, bonds, etc.

It is in such a manner as this, warn many insurance companies, that socialistic "Greeks" in a "Trojan" horse are being dragged into the camp of our republic.

Opponents of the Social Security revision state that welfare-staters and socialist-minded legislators have employed the old tried-and-true emotional appeal to camouflage the implications of a revised program. For example, the increase in the tax, to finance a revised program, may seem small indeed compared with what the tax will soar to later under the revision in the Social Security Act. Under the bill the tax will jump to nine per cent in 1975.

It appears fairly obvious that a larger and larger percentage of people will be moving into the retirement bracket, and a smaller and smaller group will be shelling out more and more taxes to support them.⁵ The government, even with its clever dollar jugglers — past masters at fiscal legerdemain — cannot continue taking from today's Peter to pay tomorrow's Paul.

Under the new plan women will start drawing Social Security benefits at 62, and disabled workers of both sexes will start drawing benefits at 50 years of age. This new plan will help breach the gap in the cradle-to-grave security⁶ which, critics say, seems so

desirable to some.

The revision will not be so all-inclusive as many believe, however. Senator Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah) made the following statement:

I believe in social security. I also believe we should help our disabled. But I do not believe this program is either in accord with the fundamental principles of social security or that it will solve the problems of all our disabled. When a survey of my state tells me that this amendment would help less than one out of four . . . I am more convinced than ever that this amendment is not the solution. . . .

I do not think this amendment does either equity or justice.⁷

Senator Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.), speaking before the United States Senate, stated that private insurance companies had had unfavorable experience with total-disability insurance, which had resulted in losses of millions of dollars. He stated, further, that a public-disability program would most likely have the same experience in case there should come a business recession. The reason for this would be obvious — the tax under the new amendment might have to be substantially increased at a time when the people would be least able to pay it.

Senator Byrd pointed out that it has been impossible to devise a federal system of disability which would be

(Continued on page 16)

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵The Houston Chronicle, March 19, 1956.

⁶What About the Plan to Pension the Disabled? U. S. News and World Report (May 18, 1956), p. 82.

⁷84 Congressional Record (1956), p. 11853.

Yes!

(Continued from page 13)

Senator Herbert H. Lehman (D-N.Y.) stated that he preferred to see an amendment which lowered the retirement age of women to 60; however, he was willing to accept 62. Senator Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.) concurred, stating that he had favored the age of 60 as a retirement basis for women, but that he was willing to accept 62. The consensus among proponents of the amendment seemed to be that the age of 60 was a better retirement age for women, due to their difficulty in finding employment, but that he and other legislators were willing to "go along with" the 62-year limitation as an improvement over the 65-year previous limitation.²

Perhaps the greatest storm of protests from foes of the Social Security amendment has resulted because of the disability benefits. This is the focal point of the many criticisms of the new system.

Defenders of the amendment maintain that the hardships of total and long-continued disability are worse than those of old age. The reason for this is that the aged usually have accumulated more of a reserve; also, many of them have retained, in part, an ability to earn. The totally disabled rapidly exhaust what little reserve they have accumulated, if any, because of their long-continued inability to work and because of the medical care and costs with which they must need reckon.

Legislators Compromise

Misfortune is no respecter of age, say advocates of the revised Social Security system. A person may be struck down early in life, before he has had an opportunity to accumulate any kind of cash reserve. For this reason many legislators are in favor of paying disability benefits at any age; however, they have compromised thus far on the 50-year-old limitation in H. R. 7225.

Senator Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) pointed out that disability benefits will be paid as a right, not as a gratuity. In this way the recipient will avoid the humiliating stigma attached to receiving what might otherwise be charity. Under this program the dis-

abled person will receive aid before he is destitute, so that he and his dependents can be spared such worry and hardship.³ In effect the amendment will replace assistance with insurance. Senator Douglas stated that the American people wanted self-respecting insurance rather than public relief.

Senator Douglas pointed out that as the new system begins to cover more and more people over a period



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Senator Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) stated that the American people wanted self-respecting insurance rather than public relief.

of time, the taxpayers of the nation will be helped directly because, in lieu of the welfare-assistance payments currently being paid to the disabled, such people will begin to receive insurance benefits instead.⁴

Senator Lehman stated that there has been an argument raised over the proposal to pay disability insurance at a certain age. He said he found this hard to understand, for many insurance companies practice this, even though the insured is younger than 65 years of age. As for this being something new or socialistic, he maintained that such things had been practiced by insurance companies as far back as he could remember.⁵

The principal objections to insurance against disability are approximately four in number, according to Senator Douglas. The first objection is that medical determination of the degree of disability will be extremely difficult, thus placing an undue strain on doctors; also, that this will lead to abuses. Second, the very nature of the benefit will invite malingering on the

part of those who long for the certainty of a benefit check rather than a facing of the uncertainty of a competitive world. Third, the payment of benefits will hinder the rehabilitation of the disabled. Fourth, it has been charged that the program will cost too much.

Proponents of the Social Security amendment refute the first objection by pointing out that the determination of disability has been and is being made in hundreds of thousands of cases — for example, those in federal employ, veterans, and those employed by private companies. Many of these have been adjudged disabled and have been drawing benefits. Almost half a million people are getting disability benefits from publicly-administered funds; thousands are being paid under private plans; and, additionally, workmen's compensation for industrial accidents creates a large caseload. So it would seem that the objection regarding the difficulty of disability determination is a relatively minor one.

Mr. Nelson H. Cruikshank, director of the Department of Social Security, AFL-CIO, remarked:

Persons who say that the government cannot administer a disability program apparently shut their eyes to the fact that it is [already] administering a number of such programs.⁶

As for the objection relative to malingering (opponents of the amendment claim that there is both a subjective and an objective factor in disability), some people develop psychosomatic ailments which may disable them, it is true. These people may, in all sincerity, believe themselves afflicted with nondiagnosable ills such as headaches, backaches, etc. The question arises, then, whether a doctor would certify applicants as being disabled when, in actuality, they may not be. It has been pointed out that if doctors do not certify them, the doctors may acquire a reputation for being "tough," and may lose many patients. Meanwhile, the patients would beat a path to the door of those doctors who handed out disability papers wholesale. Senator Douglas,

(Continued on page 17)

²Ibid., p. 11888.

³Ibid., p. 9601.

⁴Ibid., p. 9606.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 9602.

No!

(Continued from page 14)

abuse-proof. Moreover, it has been extremely difficult to define total disability. For example, a person may be physically disabled, but still capable of making economic contributions, as well as social ones. Too, he may be disabled in one capacity, but not disabled in another — for instance, disabled as a machinist, but not disabled as a watchman. Disability, then, is a relative matter.

Again, a person may be a clever malingeringer — dedicated to exploiting the government. There is much evidence to the effect that disability rises and falls with the prosperity cycle. In times of recession disability figures run high.

Also, who would attempt to define the disability status of a married woman, disabled for outside employment, but perfectly capable of doing housework at home?⁸

Medics Disapprove

Senator Byrd stated that eminent physicians and surgeons have appeared before the Senate Finance Committee in regard to Social Security. Doctor F. J. L. Blasingame, representing the American Medical Association, testified that the medical profession was concerned because they may be placed in the roles of policemen, stating that the majority of his profession felt that the determination of disability would be both hazardous and difficult. For example, there will be the individual, faced with the prospect of either receiving or not receiving a disability benefit — depending on the doctor's "verdict" — who may develop a neurosis as completely disabling as an actual pathological condition.⁹

Doctor Elmer Hess, President of the American Medical Association, in a letter to Senator Byrd on May 25, 1956, told of the growing concern of doctors everywhere over the new legislation. Doctor Hess wrote that the Senate Finance Committee had, after two months of careful hearings, listened to over 100 witnesses, which included many well-qualified persons, and that those people testified against the disability factor in the Social Security bill.

Under the definition in H. R. 7225,

a program of disability benefits will be all but impossible to administer, averred Doctor Hess. He wrote:

... The problem of determining whether and to what extent a person is disabled involves not only physical ailments and handicaps, but also mental and emotional factors, including such intangibles as character, will power, and personal motivation. Many persons with severe handicaps, including paraplegics, multiple amputees, and the blind, are making their way as self-sufficient individuals. On the other hand many persons with far less serious impairments, but without the will to work, would welcome early pensions at the expense of the taxpayers.¹⁰

It has been proposed that the positive approach to disability is rehabilitation rather than cash benefits, for



Alex Alazraki, with more than a dozen men in his charge at Abilities, Inc., was born with only half arms and half legs. Married and self-sufficient, Alex drives his own car with controls he designed himself.

anything less than rehabilitation is in reality not humanitarian. The disabled person really needs the incentive and dignity of a productive occupation, not pension and pity. Not only will a dole retard a rehabilitation program, but it will have an adverse effect psychologically.¹¹

It is a matter of record that the country is presently making great progress in rehabilitating the disabled through programs already in effect. Such programs are federal and state aid under 1950 amendments to the Social Security Act, workmen's compensation, Vocational Rehabilitation Act, private insurance plans, Veterans' Administration rehabilitation services, etc. It is generally conceded, among foes of the Social Security revision, that it would be feasible to follow and subsequently improve pre-existing

programs rather than to inaugurate a new venture which might prove dangerously unpredictable.

Doctor Hess, in his letter to Senator Byrd, pointed out that if a disability benefit became a statutory right, pressures for further liberalization of Social Security might prove irresistible. He wrote that many supporters of H. R. 7225 had made clear that their aim was to have disability benefits at any age. Using this as a precedent, the door would be open for a rash of welfare proposals which might change the entire philosophy of the Act.¹²

System Endangered

Informed persons state that in an actuarial sense there is no reliable and factual information on the many problems of rehabilitation and disability. Therefore, it necessarily follows that it would be all but impossible to arrive at a cost for such a program. Providing benefits to cover every possible need might necessitate such a tax burden that the structure of the entire Social Security system could be endangered.

One aspect of the amendment is that it may do much to discourage rehabilitation of disabled citizens. One Henry Viscardi, testifying before the Senate Finance Committee, was especially impressive in this respect. Mr. Viscardi is president of a remarkable concern, Abilities, Inc., of Long Island, New York. This organization was established and is being run by persons considered permanently and totally disabled.¹³ Mr. Viscardi's own sensitive description of his disability is as follows:

I was born a crippled child, horribly deformed, with no lower limbs, and I spent the first seven years of my life, consecutive years, in one hospital.

And when I was a child, I remember asking my mother, "Why, me?" And she told me that it was time for another crippled boy to be born into the world; the Lord and his counselors held a meeting to decide where he should be sent, and the Lord said, "I think that the Viscardis would be a good family for a crippled boy."¹⁴

Mr. Viscardi, testifying before the committee, stated that he was appre-

(Continued on page 18)

⁸Ibid., p. 11863.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 11864.

¹⁴Ibid.

Yes!

(Continued from page 15)

speaking in regard to this, stated:

I have . . . a higher opinion of the medical profession than many of its official representatives. I believe that the overwhelming majority of the doctors of the country are scrupulously honest in their diagnosis. I do not believe them to be venal, and I will defend their characters and their professional integrity against the implications which have been leveled against them. . . .⁷

Senator Douglas remarked that representatives of the American Medical Association seemed to have the idea that doctors will be the men who pass on whether a claimant receives benefits. Such is not the case, for the doctors will merely furnish medical information to a state board. This board will then make the final determination after analyzing both medical and other information. In this way the doctors will be under little pressure, which is one of the principal objections of the Association, for the doctor will be somewhat of a consultant rather than a state functionary.

Disabled Will Be Checked

Since the objections charging malingering and impediment of rehabilitation are somewhat closely allied, they may be considered together. For one thing, a person drawing benefits for being disabled is not assured that he will continue to draw such benefits indefinitely. He will be checked. And, if he appears to be neglecting opportunities for improvement, his situation can be reassessed.

As for rehabilitation, competent medical opinion reveals that not more than 25 per cent of the disabled who are older than fifty years can be restored to self-support. Senator Lehman stated that he served for many years on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and had had much experience with rehabilitation. He stated that testimony was given before the Committee to the effect that there is a backlog of two million cases of handicapped people in the United States, and that the number is being added to by at least 250,000 each year. Meanwhile, only 50,000 or so are being rehabilitated.

Senator Lehman stated that testimony from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and from

members of his own staff, revealed that for every dollar spent in rehabilitation, five dollars was returned to the country by enabling the person to be self-supporting and thus assume his share of the tax burden.⁸

Advocates of the Social Security amendment admit that since President Eisenhower signed the bill into law, there is, understandably enough, a need to finance the extra benefits; so it will be necessary for Social Security taxes to be raised by about \$850 million annually, beginning January 1, 1957.

Benefits Cheap at the Price

As for the objection to the high cost of the measures included in the Social Security amendment, it has been pointed out by proponents that the over-all benefits derived will be cheap at the price. Senator Russell B. Long (D-La.) stated that when the costs were actually worked out, he believed that a person would be paying approximately seventy-five cents each month to insure against disability, and that his employer would be paying a similar amount.

Senator Long stated that the idea of preserving a man's pride — by having him pay for the insurance which he receives later — appealed to him. He pointed out, however, that the man in the upper brackets, salary-wise, will receive the smallest percentage return with regard to the amount he paid. For example, the man who earns \$4,200 or more each year will receive disability payments of about thirty-one per cent of his earnings. On the other hand a person earning \$100 each month will receive about fifty-five per cent of his earnings.⁹

Senator Douglas stated that not only would the amendment be insurance — it would be *social* insurance. His opinion was that in social insurance it is possible to have some sharing of benefits and some allocation of costs, whereas this is not possible in private insurance. He made the following statement:

Social security is good for everyone in most circumstances. Its broader effect is to give a greater proportionate benefit to those who are most in need, on the Christian principle of "Share ye with one another your burdens."¹⁰

Senator Long, calling attention to the vigorous opposition from a number of sources, stated that he had in

mind, specifically, the American Medical Association. He mentioned that it had been only a year ago when a spokesman for the Association had asked the legislature to pass a bill giving doctors a tax deduction which would help in insuring themselves against disability. Senator Long stated:

In other words the doctor recognizes that if he should go blind, for instance, he could not continue his practice as a doctor. So they came before the committee and asked for a tax deduction. Most doctors are in a relatively high income-tax bracket. If we had adopted that proposal, it would have meant that Uncle Sam was picking up about fifty per cent of the check. . . .¹¹

"The working man wants what the doctors want," said Long. "If it is good enough for the doctors, it should be good enough for the working man."¹²

Additionally, President of AFL-CIO George Meany denounced the American Medical Association for "false and malicious" attacks on the Social Security bill. The AMA's campaign against the disability part of the bill, according to Meany, "violates the humane traditions of medical practice and brings discredit to the spokesmen of a profession sworn to the good of the sick."

Meany stated that the bill contained "adequate safeguards against chiseling," and added that it was "shocking to hear spokesmen for an organization which professes the highest ethical standards accuse its own members of a willingness to engage in conspiracies to defraud the government."

"Labor," said Meany, "apparently has more faith in the integrity of the individual physician than does the AMA."¹³

Ills Are Determinable

Those who defend the new Social Security revision state that while it is true that many psychosomatic ill will be difficult to determine, there are multitudinous ill which are easily determinable. Take, for example, arteriosclerosis. This is a thickening of the walls of the arteries, and it accounts for over fifteen per cent of disability cases.

Then again there is paralysis, or

(Continued on page 18)

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., p. 9604.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³AFL-CIO News, January 28, 1956.

No!

(Continued from page 16)

hensive about a program providing benefits for disabled people. He said he had great faith in solutions obtained in the competitive free enterprise of today. Abilities, Inc., was organized by handicapped people almost four years ago. Their basic principle was that they would accept no charity. Borrowing \$8,000 from local citizens at interest, and paying a prevailing wage, this unique organization began to compete for contracts in the electronics field. In its third year of operation Abilities, Inc., had grown to 169 employees, and its gross sales exceeded \$600,000. It might be added that represented in its group of employees, all severely disabled, is every known static and progressive illness. It is estimated that 20 per cent of the employees could qualify for retirement and also disability benefits. Some employees are as much as 82 years old.¹⁵

Mr. Viscardi commented, further:

I come to indicate my apprehension that we may stigmatize the disabled by this legislation; we may condone the ignorance and the misunderstanding which exists; and we might then deprive millions of our citizens of the right to know a productive life and have them resigned to subsidy, which is not their heritage as Americans.¹⁶

There is a growing concern among authorities on the subject about emphasis being placed on continuing disability rather than on rehabilitation. The Task Force Report on the Handicapped, of the Office of Defense Mobilization, in 1952, concluded:

... The term "totally disabled" is a term we are today beginning to feel applies to very few people. ... Any benefit which diminishes the incentive toward rehabilitation and self support is socially undesirable.¹⁷

Wayne B. Warrington, commissioner of the Arizona State Department of Public Welfare, pointed to the dangers involved in a disability benefits program. His opinion was that H. R. 7225 will do much to destroy the self-sufficiency of our citizenry. He cited, as a case in point, a hypothetical man of the future who, at age 50, decides he has a physical impairment which will be of long duration. Inasmuch as he has, over a period of many years, paid a considerable sum of his income to the federal government as

an "insurance premium," he may well feel that the government has a great deal of his money — money to which he is entitled.¹⁸

Senator Byrd stated that later disability benefits may doubtless be paid for partial disability, and when the health of 70 million persons is dealt with, a vast field will be opened, one of such magnitude that no one can tell where it will end. He said that he has seen many an aid program start at the mouse stage and grow to elephantine proportions.

Senator Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.), speaking in opposition to an amendment proposed by Senator George, had this to say:

Whatever differences there are in the language of the George Amendment and the disability provisions of . . . H. R. 7225 are of very little consequence. Both proposals would put the United States government into the business of paying cash benefits for physical disability. . . . It is a broad . . . step in the field of social legislation.

It may be argued that this is a modest program. . . . Let no one be deceived by that approach. It is but the beginning. . . .¹⁹

Senator Curtis went on to point out that legislation of short duration was not being dealt with; rather, the Social Security system had been set up to run in perpetuity, and future costs must be reckoned with — costs of from ten years to 100 years. He stated, further, that elective public office holders sometimes erred in their ideas as to what their constituents wanted. He said that if it were possible to get the mathematics of the proposition across to the majority of the people, doubtless the Social Security revision would have little support.

Many forward-looking Americans —

representing those both for and against Social Security changes — realize that in addition to reckoning with the hundreds of millions of dollars which will be the immediate cash outlay for a new, liberalized program, there must be considered, additionally, those persons who will go from doctor to doctor until they can secure the necessary medical evidence to support their disability claims.²⁰

Opponents of the changes in the Social Security system warn that the people would do well to examine ALL changes in the round, pointing out that the new, revised program commits posterity. And, conceivably, it may be that posterity, busy with weightier problems of unemployment, inflation, and overpopulation, will be unable to pick up the tab for future liberal Social Security benefits.

Also, critics claim, one should not lose sight of the fact that the value of the American dollar has long been on the wane, and that no matter what benefits are provided, doubtless they will lose value through the years, thereby contributing to a most insecure security.

At any rate someone will have to pay for the revised program. The "gimme" group and the "something-for-nothing" clique have not yet seemed to grasp the fact that somebody, somewhere, some time, will have to ante up the necessary wherewithal.

That "somebody" is the taxpayer, his children, and his children's children. END

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 11865.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 11867.

²⁰Ibid., p. 11870.

Yes!

(Continued from page 17)

cerebral thrombosis. It accounts for perhaps ten per cent of disability cases. Then comes hypertension, or high blood pressure. Also, there is arthritis, multiple sclerosis, diabetes, and cancer. All these diseases are easily determinable by doctors in so far as disability is concerned.

Senator William Langer (R-N.D.) stated that he had received letters from doctors who claim the door has

been opened to socialized medicine. He said that he did not agree with them.¹⁴ Senator Walter F. George (D-Ga.), speaking in this respect also, said it was his personal conviction that the door to socialized medicine had not been opened. He stated, further:

... So long as we retain our present freeze system and our free economy, socialized medicine can be brought into this country only by the doctors themselves. Someone should have the courage to say to them that if they continue to make trifling objections, they may invite something bad. . . . The doctors alone can

¹⁴84 Congressional Record (1956), p. 11857.

bring on socialized medicine in the United states.¹⁵

Senator Olin D. Johnston remarked that he recalled the unfavorable comment which arose concerning the original Social Security bill. Some declared that it was socialistic; others charged that it was the beginning of a program which would put everyone on the federal retirement program; others held that it would break the country.¹⁶

Proponents claim that there are millions retired today who refute such charges. The system has been in operation for twenty years, and reserves, investments, and earnings of the system increase each year. Millions retire each year and start drawing benefits, and the program has not cost the federal government a cent; the cost is paid for out of the Social Security contributions of the 53,400,000 participants in the program.

Billions for Foreign Relief

Senator Johnston remarked that the country could hardly justify denying the aged and disabled workers the utilization of their own savings, especially in view of the fact that the country had given away in excess of \$114 billion for the relief of foreign people during the last 30 years.

Many legislators expressed dissatisfaction to the end with a bill which did not provide more liberal disability coverage — one broadened to include any age group which was permanently and totally disabled — not necessarily that of 50 years or upward. As a matter of fact, numerous other advocates of the new-type disability benefits have made it clear that a person disabled in his thirties, say, is fully as much in need of help as one disabled at fifty years.¹⁷

Some legislators favoring the Social Security amendment agreed, however, that the fifty-year limitation was a step in the right direction; and, since it was better to take one step at a time rather than no step at all, they were in accord with the proposed amendment. This same holds true for the retirement age of 62 years for women. Some thought that the age limit should be placed at sixty; however, they agreed that retirement at sixty-two was better than having the person wait until she was sixty-five. This is more of the one-step-at-a-time, but a step-in-the-right-direction philosophy.

It is generally agreed, even among the most enthusiastic amendment supporters, that perfection will not be

achieved in the administration of a liberal Social Security program; but, thanks to the untiring efforts of a number of legislators, all of the prospective recipients of benefits will not be penalized because of such imperfection.

Some say that it is extremely easy for those persons not disabled in any way to be negative regarding a disability provision in a Social Security amendment. But as for those hopelessly crippled or otherwise disabled with cancer, multiple sclerosis, arthritis, or any of the scores of other diseases — they can't be negative and objective . . . their problems are very real.

Critics of the amendment cite isolated cases where, in the case of rehabilitation, personal initiative triumphed over handicap. Such rehabilitation is the ideal situation, of course. Unfortunately, claim advocates of the amendment, such opportunities for the majority of the handicapped exist only

in imagination and theory. Too few of the disabled are really qualified to do work of a technical nature. This being the case, who is going to hire a paraplegic, or an arthritic invalid, or a blind man?

Advocates of a more liberal Social Security program are jubilant over the presidential signing of the bill. They claim that a new day of hope dawned for hundreds of thousands of unfortunate people when the President wrote his signature on the bill, lowering the sixty-five-year retirement age for women to sixty-two, and permitting permanently-disabled workers to start drawing benefits at the age of fifty years.

"This," they say, "is humanitarian legislation. It provides a new milestone in security for the people of America."

END

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 11858.

¹⁷"What About the Plan to Pension the Disabled?" U. S. News and World Report (May 18, 1956), pp. 82-85.

Here's How You Can Help

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THE SHOCKING TRUTH ABOUT

Communist-Owned G. I. Schools!

The Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations charges that for years, known Communists have actually been running and operating G. I. training schools for veterans, subsidized with the U. S. taxpayer's money . . .

Do you approve of veterans attending schools owned and operated by Communists? Do you want your tax dollars spent financing Communist-dominated G. I. schools?

This is precisely the sort of thing that is being investigated by the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. According to their recent report, over three million dollars has been taken from the U. S. Treasury to subsidize four allegedly Communist-owned and operated schools attended by veterans under the G. I. Bill since 1945.

The three schools specifically mentioned in this report that are controlled by alleged Communists, are the Cartoonist's and Illustrator's School, New York City; the Radio and Television Technical School, Allentown, Pennsylvania, and the California Labor School, San Francisco, California. The fourth school mentioned, the Robert Louis Stevenson School, New York City, has been previously under alleged Communist ownership.

According to the Subcommittee's report, the Veterans' Administration received information from a reliable source during 1951 indicating two persons connected with the Cartoonist's and Illustrator's School may possibly have communistic backgrounds or

leanings. Finally after three years had elapsed by October 7, 1954, the Veterans' Administration decided that no further Public Law 16 and 894 veterans would be sent to the Cartoonist's and Illustrator's School. It was also determined by the Veterans' Administration that new enrollments of disabled veterans would oppose good public policy until all facts would be presented regarding the associations and activities of the "two persons" allegedly having Communist sympathies.

Important testimony was presented to the Subcommittee by John J. Huber, an FBI undercover agent who was assigned to join the Communist Party as a member from 1944 until 1947. Under oath, Huber testified he first was introduced to Burne Hogarth, (part owner and the current vice-president of the Cartoonist's and Illustrator's School) in 1944 at a confidential meeting of the James Connally branch of the Communist Party in New York City. Huber disclosed that Hogarth's name was definitely on the membership rolls of that particular branch of the Communist Party from 1939 until 1947.

Part of Huber's testimony consisted of reading condensations of reports made by him to the FBI. Huber stated that Burne Hogarth was nominated to



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

"NOW, LOOK HERE!! YOU" . . . Silas Rhodes, co-owner of the Cartoonists and Illustrators School, points his finger and shouts at Senator McCarthy during a public hearing of the Senate Investigations Subcommittee. The clash with McCarthy stemmed from Rhodes' refusal to say whether he was ever a Communist. The Subcommittee has been looking into charges that schools now or formerly owned by Communists have received millions of dollars from the government for training veterans.

the position of mass organization representative of the Unity Center of the Communist Party. Subsequently, Hogarth was then nominated and elected to a position as delegate to the county council of the Unity Center of the Party on January 30, 1945. The former undercover agent also charged that the Robert Louis Stevenson School of New York City previously was the temporary headquarters for a Communist controlled organization called the West Side Legislative Conference. The name of Burne Hogarth was designated as executive secretary of the committee. Huber identified Hogarth as the individual described in his testimony.

Following Huber's testimony, Dr. Bella V. Dodd appeared before another hearing of the Subcommittee. Dr. Dodd, an active Communist for several years, broke with the Party in 1948 because her own personal beliefs clashed with the Communist doctrine.*

Dr. Dodd declared on the witness stand that it became the policy of the Communist Party at a meeting in September, 1945, to try and organize veterans' schools being formed.

In her testimony before the Subcommittee, Dr. Dodd stated that she

*Her book, "School of Darkness," was reviewed in the September, 1956, issue of *Facts Forum News*.

became acquainted with Burne Hogarth, part owner of the Cartoonist's and Illustrator's School. She then worked with him concerning Party structure and Party decisions. She depicted Hogarth as a "militant fighter for the Party position."

As a result of this testimony, Hogarth was subpoenaed to appear before the Subcommittee on January 18, 1956. After taking oath, Hogarth declared that the Subcommittee had no jurisdiction for inquiring about areas not related to contractual relations between the school and government before August 20, 1947. He also denied present membership in the Communist Party and past existing membership dating from August 20, 1947 to 1956. In answering the question, if he had been a member of the Communist Party prior to 1947, Hogarth invoked the Fifth Amendment which allowed him the privilege of not bearing witness against himself. But Hogarth overstepped these bounds when he refused to even tell the Subcommittee where he went to grade school at the age of five or six! When Senator Ervin on the committee pointed out that Hogarth couldn't possibly be incriminated or prosecuted for merely telling the committee where he first entered kindergarten, Hogarth still continued to invoke the Fifth Amendment.

In addition, Hogarth also invoked

the Fifth Amendment in not replying to the following questions from the Subcommittee:

Was he a member of the Unity Center of the Communist Party in New York during November of 1944?

Was he nominated for the executive committee of the Unity Center of the Communist Party on January 9, 1945?

Hadn't he been Executive Secretary of the Citizens Committee, Upper West Side?

Wasn't he a member of the Communist Party on August 19, 1947?

The Subcommittee also heard the sworn testimony of New York Police Lieutenant Thomas McGuire. The lieutenant joined the Communist Party from 1940 until 1942 as an undercover agent for the New York Police Department. Routine reports were regularly made by McGuire during this period. Lieutenant McGuire's reports indicated that he had met Silas H. Rhodes, president of the Cartoonist's and Illustrator's School on several occasions. These meetings were primarily in connection with the American Peace Mobilization, an organization listed in the U. S. Attorney General's file on subversive activities.

Silas H. Rhodes also appeared before the Subcommittee for cross-examination on the witness stand. He took the same line of defense as Hogarth previously relied on, maintaining the Subcommittee had no jurisdiction to inquire into any of his actions or associations prior to August 20, 1947, the



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Dr. Annette T. Rubenstein, whose private school collected two million dollars from the government for training ex-G. I.s, appears before the Senate Investigations Subcommittee. The former owner of the Robert Louis Stevenson school in New York City invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked whether she is a Communist or ever has been.

date the school was originally licensed by the New York State Board of Education. When asked if he had membership in the Communist Party prior to that date, he invoked the Fifth Amendment. Rhodes again invoked the Fifth Amendment to a query on whether it was necessary for him to end his membership in the Party prior to establishing the school.

When the Subcommittee tried to discover Rhodes' competence as an educator and director of a school that trains veterans, he was asked specific questions about his educational background. He absolutely refused by invoking the Fifth Amendment, to disclose where he went to high school or college and whether he had any experience in teaching before August 20, 1947.

Regarding the activities of the Radio and Television Technical School in Allentown, Pennsylvania, testimony was given by Herman E. Thomas of Allentown, an undercover FBI agent inside the Communist Party for over ten years. Thomas related that he was introduced in 1951 to Michael Freedland, administrator and half owner of the Radio and Television Technical School, by Irving Riskin, a member of the Communist Party. He soon learned that Communist Party leaders in the area had met and stayed overnight as guests at Freedland's home in Allentown. At one of the meetings held at Freedland's house, Thomas revealed

(Continued on page 60)



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Ex-G. I. students attend mass meeting to discuss veterans' problems at Texas A&M College. The Subcommittee's report indicated that the Communists tried to infiltrate the smaller G. I. trade schools. So far there has been no evidence implicating the larger universities teaching the democratic way of life, such as Texas A&M.

Do Vets Need . . .

The New Veterans' Pension Law

The bill signed into law on August 1 by President Eisenhower will . . .

ELIMINATE . . .

\$10,000 free life insurance formerly provided to all service personnel.

Inequity which allowed more to dependents of reservists killed on active duty than to dependents of "regular" servicemen killed under same circumstances.

DECREASE . . .

Veterans' low cost government life insurance — will be available only to disabled veterans.

INCREASE . . .

Benefits for widows and beneficiaries.

Veterans Administration death compensation — will be based upon rank of deceased. (Increases range from 75% to 175%.)

SUPPLEMENT . . .

Benefits for widows' dependent children when Social Security benefits are too low or lacking. Places all servicemen under the Social Security system, with the government paying part of the serviceman's credits.

Discussions which preceded adoption of this legislation are of interest to Mr. John Q. Public, who will foot the bill, or benefit from resultant savings.

Mr. T. O. Kraabel, Director of the National Rehabilitation Department of the American Legion, discusses affirmatively the American Legion-sponsored War Veterans' Security bill. . . .

THE question of veterans' benefits is currently the subject of more publicity, attention, and discussion than at any time in recent years. To a great extent, the American Legion has been in the spotlight because of our effort to provide a modest measure of security for disabled and aging veterans through our War Veterans Security Bill, H. R. 7886.

We welcome the opportunity to present the facts about this bill and about the American Legion's position concerning increased benefits for service-connected disabled veterans and the survivors of deceased veterans for this reason. When they know the facts, the American people acting through the Congress, will continue to express the nation's gratitude to its defenders by approving the necessary moderate veterans' benefits which we ask.

The House of Representatives proved this when it passed by an overwhelming vote of 364 to 51 the American Legion's War Veterans Bill. This bill is not a general pension proposal. It would merely liberalize existing benefits to this extent. World War I veterans, on reaching age 65, would

be presumed to be permanently and totally disabled and automatically eligible for a \$90.00 monthly benefit, if they meet existing income limitations of \$1400 a year for veterans without dependents, \$2700 a year for veterans with dependents. Those who served overseas for thirty days or more in World War I would receive 10 per

cent additional. Eligible veterans less than 65 would receive \$75.00 a month instead of the present \$66.15, and those so helpless or blind as to need aid or attendance be granted \$150 a month instead of the present \$135.45.

That's our bill. In substance, it provides a modest cost-of-living adjustment in the amount of existing bene-



American Legionnaires T. O. Kraabel (standing, left) of Washington, D. C., and Robert W. Sisson (standing, right) of Little Rock, Arkansas, watch three Medal of Honor holders dig into hearty meal at the servicemen's center in Chicago, Illinois.

A Symposium on Anti-Stalinism and the
20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party,
published by the Committee on Un-American
Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives.

SELECTIONS FROM . . . THE GREAT PRETENSE

In a foreword to the 173-page Symposium, Congressman Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, points out that this report was organized "in an endeavor to provide an adequate explanation and an indication of what the world may expect from the Soviet Union's new course."

The selections from the Symposium will conclude in this issue with the Summation by J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Ranging over a broad area of Soviet-Communist policies and their origins, the contributors to the Symposium stand together on these three major conclusions:

1. The current policy and tactics of the Soviet Union present the greatest danger ever to confront the West;
2. The current developments in the Soviet Union are a reflection of growing strength and confidence rather than weakness;
3. The policy of anti-Stalinism proclaimed by Khrushchev does not denote any abandonment of the messianic Soviet program of universal conquest.

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Kenneth Colegrove is professor emeritus of political science at Northwestern University and has taught also at Oberlin College, Syracuse University, and the University of California. He is the author of "Militarism in Japan," and "The American Senate and World Peace." He has prepared articles for the World Book Encyclopedia. During World War II, Dr. Colegrove served as consultant to the Office of Strategic Services in Washington and, in 1946, went to Japan as a consultant to General MacArthur on constitutional questions. In 1954 he became editor in chief of the Institute of Fiscal and Political Education of New York.

"In the psychological battle to capture men's minds during the cold war, the 'collective leadership' is now displaying the same flexible strategy successfully employed by Lenin, Stalin, Zinoviev and the Third International."





Wladyslaw Kulski, professor of international relations at Syracuse University, was born in Warsaw and educated at Warsaw and Paris. He was a member of the Polish diplomatic corps from 1928 to 1945. Dr. Kulski came to the United States in 1946 and became a citizen in 1953. His book, "The Soviet Regime, Communism in Practice," has been acknowledged as one of the foremost works on the Soviet Union and international communism.

"The 20th Congress was more than a national convention of the Soviet Party. It was attended by top delegates of thirty-nine foreign Communist Parties . . . [who] were provided with new instructions by their Soviet elder brothers."



Ismail Ege was formerly an important official of the Soviet military intelligence apparatus. Turkish by birth, he joined the Russian Communist Party in 1921. In 1938 he graduated from the General Staff War College in Moscow with the rank of major. During an intelligence assignment as press attache' of the Soviet Embassy in Turkey, Major Ege denounced his Soviet citizenship and was granted political asylum by the Turkish government.

"Despite the denunciation of Stalin, the great human drama, world conflict, the struggle between the free world and the totalitarian Soviet bloc continues on an even greater scale, for now entire continents are at stake."



Robert J. Kerner, director of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the University of California, is an authority on the modern history of Central and Eastern Europe. He has studied at the Universities of Berlin, Vienna, Moscow and Paris. In 1952 he spent three months studying the areas along the Iron Curtain. Dr. Kerner is the author of twenty books and more than one hundred articles on Central and Eastern Europe, and was one of the founders of the "Journal of Modern European History."

"... Evidence points clearly to the fact that 'peaceful coexistence' can be purchased by the West only in yielding to the world revolutionary objectives of Moscow."



Gregory Klimov, an engineer by profession, was attached to the staff of the Soviet Military administration in Germany after World War II. Here he witnessed the Soviet despoliation of Eastern Germany, in defiance of the Potsdam Agreement, and saw the Soviet repudiation of its wartime alliances. After his defection to the West, Major Klimov wrote an account of his experiences: "The Berlin Kremlin," published in English as "The Terror Machine." Presently, he is completing a new book, "Power," dealing with events in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death.

"With Stalin banished, the new leadership could claim credit for its own accomplishments and thereby indulge the excessive vanity which characterizes all despots."



Harry Schwartz is Soviet affairs specialist for the "New York Times." Dr. Schwartz graduated from Columbia University and later received master of arts and doctor of philosophy degrees there. During the war he was employed by the State Department as a research expert on Soviet economics and then was assigned to the Soviet Economic Intelligence Branch of the Office of Strategic Services. Dr. Schwartz taught economics at the University of Syracuse from 1946 to 1950. He is the author of numerous books, including the classic on the subject, "Russia's Soviet Economy."

"World communism is now embarked upon the most skillful and seductive foreign policy in its history."



Frederick Woltman, columnist for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, has received a wide range of citations for his writings on domestic and international communism. Mr. Woltman was awarded the Pulitzer prize in 1947 for his articles on the Amerasia case. His article for this symposium is a reprint of a column published on March 22, 1956.

FROM
THE GREAT
PRETENSE

American Communists Begin Their Crawl

By

FREDERICK WOLTMAN

THE Communist Party, which for decades hailed Stalin as the "greatest living" Marxist-Leninist and symbol of peace, is preparing for the big crawl. Its hour of humiliation is at hand.

A major upheaval has already started to rock the American comrades since the 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party a few weeks ago blasted their idol off his pedestal.

Heads Due to Roll

Soon their breast-beating and wails of confession ("self-criticism" in Red terminology) will fill the air. Most of the Party's leaders, in prison or out, will knuckle under to the Kremlin's new version of history; namely, that their hero was really a terroristic, homicidal maniac and military bungler who nearly lost Russia to the Nazis.

Some heads are expected to roll. Particularly that of the 75-year-old William Z. Foster, Party chairman and Stalin's tool here ever since the Soviet dictator ousted Jay Lovestone in 1929 and put the Foster faction in control.

Indeed, Eugene Dennis, re-emerging as Party secretary after his prison term, has already virtually pushed Foster out in the cold. Photos of Stalin are coming down fast off the walls of local Communist offices.

It's only a question whether Foster will get the same merciless shellacking — and expulsion — he handed out to his rival, Earl Browder, in 1945, when a drastic Party line shift was ordered in Moscow.

Double Talk Coming

There will be a transitional period of near-death agonies. There will be an outpouring of millions of words of double talk to sell anti-Stalinism to the rank and file which had been fed Stalinism every morning for breakfast.

In the windup, the Communist Party will be thoroughly committed to the new look: to convince the American people, including capitalists, that

the Soviet chiefs are just a bunch of good guys.

And it was all Joe Stalin's fault.

Went Off Deep End

The crawling process began last week. Alan Max, editor of the Communist Party mouthpiece, the *Daily Worker*, came up with a declaration that would have cost him his neck last month.

Maybe, Mr. Max said, admitting he was bothered and confused, "we went overboard in defending things like the idea of Stalin as infallible, in opposing any suggestion that civil liberties were being fully respected in the Soviet Union, in discouraging serious discussion and criticism of Soviet movies, books, etc."

This unprecedented confession of kowtowing to Stalin was followed by an equally astonishing *Worker* dispatch from Moscow. The 20th Congress, it said, had condemned "glorification of Stalin" as "very harmful" to the Party and the Soviet Union. For twenty years!

This, the article said, led to a Stalin "cult," which must never again happen to any Communist Party. And that's what makes it tough for the American Red chieftains to get themselves off the hook.

For on December 16, 1949, they put out a special *Daily Worker* edition eulogizing Stalin on his 70th anniversary. No words, or holds, were barred.

Stalin was "the organizer of the world working class for peace," the "plain man of the people," the military genius who "saved millions of American boys" by his successful defense of Stalingrad.

A Simple Soldier

Stalin was "a man with the head of a scholar, with the face of a simple working man, in the clothes of a simple soldier. * * *

"Compared to this master theoretician and organizer," gushed Foster, "the capitalist politicians of our times are illiterates and mere rule-of-thumb blunderers."

Yet, time and again, they "repeated their ignorant and malicious lie about Stalin's 'totalitarianism,' meaning by this mystifying gibberish that Stalin dictates what people shall think or do."

Dictates? The 20th Congress said he shot people for less.

Let's Not Get Complacent

By

J. ADDINGTON WAGNER

he must have reckoned that in the minds of people throughout most of the world, terrorism and brutality and suppression of freedom were linked with the name of Stalin and the Stalin régime.

It is logical to assume that Khrushchev concluded the odds favored the new strategy. He aimed at two vital objectives — internally, the elimination of any practical opportunity for Stalin's followers to oust his own group; and externally, an increase in sympathy and support of the present Soviet leaders on the part of uncommitted and non-Communist peoples who would be led to believe that Khrushchev and his confederates were

THE American Legion and its National Commander have arrived at the following evaluation of the recent developments in Russia, the significance of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow and the address of Nikita Khrushchev on February 24, 1956.

In substance, Khrushchev's address contained three basic parts:

1. The denunciation of Stalin and the cult of one-man rule.
2. The idea that it is no longer necessary for the Communists to resort to civil revolt, force, and warfare to accomplish their goals; rather, these can be accomplished by parliamentary persuasion and ballots.
3. The contention that the new collective régime in Russia wants to be friendly with the United States.

Khrushchev in publicly denouncing Stalin and the creed of one-man dictatorship took a calculated risk. He risked provoking unrest, uprisings, and even open rebellion by the followers of Stalin within the Soviet Union and satellite countries. Against this risk he must have balanced the knowledge that ultimate control of the situation rested with the Red Army, and the belief that the army leaders would be drawn more solidly into the net of collective dictatorship because of their natural resentment of one-man dictatorship. He must have reasoned also that within the Soviet Union there were followers of Stalin who disagreed personally but not in principle with the Khrushchev group and who sought to seize power for themselves. Finally,

FROM
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opposed to the terrorism of Stalin but had been powerless to do anything about it.

Recent reactions of leaders in some non-Communist nations would indicate that Khrushchev's move was well-conceived.

Soviet leaders have good reason to feel elated over their successes since World War II. They have seen millions of people in vast areas of the earth enveloped in the silent darkness behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. In recent months they have derived further satisfaction from the visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin to India and other nations of the East. They count as gains for their side the current turmoil in the Middle East, the trend toward neutralism and popular fronts in Greece and Italy, and recent Communist successes in France.

The announced emphasis upon parliamentary persuasion would appear to be an attempt to attract the non-Communists, Socialists, and other non-belligerent radicals and liberals to the side of communism against the common foe — capitalism. Such a shift might open a new avenue of deceit through which the Soviet leaders could use all of these groups, and pacifists as well, for the promotion of world communism. For example, the people of India, long committed to a policy of pacifism, might well be enlisted actively in the Communist fold by means of this device.

It is likely that this also represents an attempt to divert attention from the new, complex, and subtle tactical line which is designed to carry communism into non-Communist nations through the back door rather than the front.

It should be remembered that the Soviet spokesmen have not ruled out altogether the tactic of aggressive war and civil revolt. They have merely stated it is not now necessary. They have not said that it may not become necessary in the future. Undoubtedly Khrushchev hopes that non-Communist nations will become complacent and let their guard down. This new policy pronouncement does not really represent a change in Communist doctrine; the Communists have always indicated a preference for taking over nations by parliamentary intrigue and subterfuge. Where this cannot be done, historically they resort to force and violence and warfare. The 20th Congress and Khrushchev's address may present a change in emphasis or

(Continued on page 62)



J. Addington Wagner of Battle Creek, Michigan, National Commander of the American Legion, 1955-56. An attorney by profession, he served as National Vice Commander of the Legion for 1952-53, and as chairman of the Legion's Americanism Commission for 1953-54. A graduate of Washington-Lee University Law School, Mr. Wagner served as assistant attorney general of the state of Michigan, 1940-41.

FROM
THE GREAT
PRETENSE

Summation

By
J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation



THE Communist leopard frequently changes his spots, but the same blood — bad blood — continuously flows through his veins.

Recently, we have witnessed another spectacular about-face in the Communist line. Joseph Stalin, who ranked with Marx, Engels, and Lenin as an untouchable saint in the godless Soviet temple, has been exposed by his own worshipers as a power-crazed tyrant, a pathological fraud, and a coldhearted executioner.

When Moscow broadcast this new Party line, Communists throughout the world were quick to comply. Here in the United States, the Communist Party made a new entry in its ledger: Joseph Stalin, whom it had openly proclaimed as the greatest man of his generation, was less than mortal — his feet were of clay.

To the uninformed, this is truly a remarkable development. Such drastic changes of opinion usually are developed over a long period of time. Yet, this should have been no surprise coming from a movement which has no moral principles, which lives by expediency, and which will make any move to advance the Communist cause.

SINCE integrity never has been a Communist stumbling block, the Kremlin has succeeded in rewriting history time and again before its followers' eyes. For example, during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, American Communists not only expressed opposition to United States intervention, but they also did their utmost to disrupt our defense efforts. Then, on June 22, 1941, the picture radically changed. Adolph Hitler rudely rejected Stalin's companionship, thereby converting World War II into the "great democratic war against fascism."

The defrocking of Stalin has brought repercussions in Communist circles throughout the world. It is one thing to smash an idol, yet quite another to dispose of his disciples. Here in the United

States, confusion and disillusionment have developed in the Communist Party. There is no danger that the umbilical cord will be severed. The Party in America still is a dedicated child, completely dependent upon the proud parent in Moscow. Through the years, however, the top functionaries of the Communist Party, U.S.A., have been strong followers of the Stalin myth. To speak against "Joseph the Great" used to be blasphemy and treason. In some nations, those who opposed Stalin by word or deed were publicly eradicated. In this country, anti-Stalin influences in the Party were strongly castigated and expelled.

Now that the pendulum has swung in the other direction, we find peoples behind the Iron Curtain placing flowers on previously unmarked graves. In the United States, however, the Communists are confronted with a unique problem. To publicly apologize to expelled Party members would be most embarrassing. It would openly expose the direct line which connects the Soviet Union with Communist headquarters here. Still, the Party in America must follow Moscow's example and bare its chest. Having been blindly led into this situation, the Communists within our borders find themselves trapped by their own intellectual dishonesty. Already, motions have emerged within the Party to censure its program of the last ten years. But at this point the American Communist Party cannot risk its faces — and it has an unlimited number of them — by openly whipping its most prominent disciples of Stalin.

There is a temporary, yet important, advantage to the free world in the Soviet admissions that discrimination and atrocities took place under Stalin's régime. America's Communist leaders now are confronted with a truth which they long had suspected. Questions have been asked — an extreme type of behavior in Party circles. But inertia is a difficult

force to overcome. Minds which are accustomed to continuous slumber are seldom able to remain active very long.

After the first flush of bewilderment, the Communists in the United States have begun settling down into the same familiar rut. While one corner of the Party's mouth parrots the Moscow line, the other proclaims, "We are a bona fide political Party, dedicated to the ideals of equal opportunity for all." By American standards, however, they are a most unusual breed of politicians. The methods they employ to get out the vote are puzzling indeed.

In recent months, the united front campaign, always a dangerous Communist tactic, has received even greater emphasis. Former Communists who dropped out of the Party and some who were expelled have been approached to renew their memberships. In other instances, non-Communist individuals and organizations have been approached by Party leaders under the pretext of wanting to assist in promoting a mutual objective. The Communists are confident that if they can openly cling to the coattails of reputable groups, eventually they will succeed in wearing the entire suit.

ONE of the Party's most effective propaganda platforms continues to be its front organizations. If America's resistance can be softened by the lies shouted from these hives of concealed communism, the Party will be in a better position to launch a frontal attack upon our government.

American Communists have announced that they stand on a platform of "jobs, peace, equal rights, and democracy." But they omit the two most important words — "Moscow style." When the Communist smirk begins to change to a smile, as is the case right now, we would be well advised to refocus our sights. Behind those changing spots, the same bad blood still flows through the leopard's veins. **END**

Moscow's Anti-Stalin Purge

ITS MOTIVATIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE

By JOSEPH Z. KORNFEDER

Mr. Kornfeder, a former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; formerly with the Comintern; and graduate of the Lenin School of Political Warfare, voices an opinion based on intimate acquaintance with the processes of communism. His point of view is judged worthy of comparison with conclusions expressed in the Symposium on the same general subject, in this issue of *Facts Forum News*.

THE posthumous purge of Stalin in Russia has produced a soul-quaking ideological disturbance in the pro-Soviet world.

Russian communism in its short and turbulent history has seen violent commotions, but none like this. The first among them, still fresh in my memory, was the expulsion, arrest, and subsequent execution of thousands of Trotskyites, polished off by the murder — years later — of Trotsky himself, in Mexico.

Then came the blood purges of 1935-38 — massacres in which perished nearly all of the Leninist (Old Bolshevik) members of the Soviet Communist Party. If anyone ever rose to absolute power on the piled-up corpses of his own comrades, step by step, Stalin did.

Accompanying this terror of terrors was a perverse justification, by means of an orgy of vilification, fabrication, smear, and unrestrained character-assassination.

Sandwiched between these crimes against his own comrades was Stalin's war against the Russian peasants, in which millions of helpless victims were slaughtered, starved, or transported in cattle trains to slave labor camps.

The next big ideological shock to the "comrades" was Stalin's 1939 alliance with Hitler. Evil begot evil. The "comrades," with the exception of a

few, threw their "ideals" to the wind and performed their treasonable assignments on orders from Stalin, arm in arm with Hitler. The whole Communist movement inside and outside Russia became a strange and nauseous conglomeration.

That in brief is the sociological "achievement" of communism in the past thirty years.

The events are known. What is not known is how one man, Stalin, could outsmart a Party which had won a

civil war, whose leaders were steeped in organization, maneuver, and intrigue. Much has been said about Stalin's deceptive and ruthless methods, but those he liquidated were no angels.

Marxism-Leninism is a guide to action *only so long as the Party is in opposition*. Once the Party is in power, it is no guide. Stalin, a pragmatist driven by insatiable greed for power, used theory to suit his own purposes but was neither guided nor hampered by it. While other leaders were sometimes mental prisoners in the doctrinal cage of Marxism-Leninism, Stalin dealt with realities as they arose.

Working Class Disillusioned

Marxist-Leninist doctrine said that, after the seizure of power, the working class was to rule, with the peasants as allies. The Party was to lead the working class into an undefined Utopia mystically known as "socialism" — an avowed goal which, in the mouths of its agitators, sounded pretty good while in opposition. But, when it came to power, an ideologically power-drunk working class found out that someone — *they* — still had to do the work and that one could not do a day's work and rule and manage *all of society* at the same time. As a result, someone else had to do the ruling; only a few of the workers were



Joseph Z. Kornfeder, who long ago renounced the Hammer and Sickle.



The Kremlin in Moscow — Citadel of World Communism

WIDE WORLD PHO

capable of it. The masses had to be driven back to their erstwhile status of serfdom.

A new ruling class was formed, composed of the technological and management intelligentsia, led by the new political élite, the Communist Party. The latter included many of the more able workers, but the mass of workers refused to accommodate themselves to the new subservient status, and by the end of the blood purges (1938) the social composition of the Party had shifted almost entirely away from the workers and into the new ruling class, headed by Stalin.

Outwardly the Party remained more or less the same, and Stalin methodically fostered that fiction; but a new class had been enthroned, and it was not the working class.

In Moscow, back in the late twenties, when I represented the faction of the Communist Party coming to power in the American Party, I wrote a thesis dealing with the rise of the "new middle" or managerial class in American society. On orders from Stalin it was translated into Russian and (abbreviated) appeared in the *Bolshevik*, theoretical organ of the Communist Party. It also appeared in two installments (1930) in the American *Communist*. Stalin saw in the mid-twenties the rise to power of managerial strata in Soviet society, and he used my article to say it indirectly.

Stalin rose to power on the backs of that new managerial class,* while the defeated working class slid down, down to a servitude worse than any under the Czars.

The Managerial Class and the State

In the course of shifting its power base from the working to the managerial class, the Communist Party underwent drastic changes. From a collectivist party with some internal democracy, it grew into a militarized, police-like enforcement instrument over the masses, with functions spearheaded by the political police (OGPU). After reorganization, only the façade of the Party as inherited from Lenin remained. Stalin continued to speak in the name of that façade, but authority was vested in three power apparatuses, as follows:

1. THE POLITICAL POLICE (OGPU), which commanded all police forces

*The managerial class includes all directors, managers, superintendents, etc., of factories, mines, mills, commercial and transport enterprises, communication services, offices, theatres. It includes also technicians, engineers, scientists, artists, writers, doctors, professors, and other professionals. The upper crust in managerial society (state capitalism) is the political élite organized into a Communist or Fascist — one-party — monopoly. The political élite as a rule includes all or most of the officer personnel of the armed forces, the police, etc.

inside and outside Russia, also all prisons and concentration camps. In short, it commanded millions of persons and, by its control of armament plants and military stockpiles, including the Red Army's munitions, was Stalin's overlord over everything. It was headed by Beria.

2. ARMED FORCES APPARAT. An ingenious system of double control through Party cells and secret police inside the Army, Navy, and Air Force, headed by Bulganin.

3. THE PARTY APPARAT PROPER, what we would call civilian authority. It controlled industry, transportation, commerce, communication, education, etc., or such parts thereof as were not controlled by the OGPU; headed by Malenkov.

Stalin was the over-all boss, with the OGPU his special and preferred instrument. The three, Beria, Bulganin (or Voroshilov), and Malenkov, stood next to Stalin as symbols of his despotic power, at the reviewing stands on top of the Red Square Lenin Mausoleum, on each of the anniversary parades.

Along with Stalin's reorganization of the Party, there was an increase in monetary remuneration and in prestige for the new ruling class, with corresponding enslavement and more thorough exploitation of the masses.

In fourteen years (1924-38) Stalin

thus transformed a party of limited dictatorship into an unlimited, absolute dictatorship. There emerged under the Party's label a police state, in essentials similar to the Nazi State under Hitler. In short, communism, with the cunning and ruthless assist of a Stalin, was revealed as being fully as totalitarian as fascism.

History also discloses that the managerial class comes to power led by totalitarian or semi-totalitarian political élites. The managerial class, not owning the enterprises they serve, exert their power through the State. They are not necessarily a revolutionary class, but may become so.

A revolutionary political élite, Communist or Fascist, may use the "under-privileged" as political cannon fodder to rise to power, but cannot rule without the managerial class.

In the first stages of the Managerial Revolution, the totalitarian system of government apparently agrees with the interests of the "managerials." The 1936 "Stalin Constitution" appeared to guarantee certain rights to "organized" individuals, and to express a desire toward stabilization of the newly-privileged managerial class.

Stalinism Marches On

But Stalin, after he had led the managerial class to victory over all other classes, was not satisfied to be merely their leader; he wanted to be absolute master. The purges which followed completed the annihilation of the "Old Bolsheviks" and cut deeply into the ranks of the managerials, thus antagonizing all classes. Abysmal hatred of Stalin was expressed by the millions in concentration camps, by the huge mass desertions during World War II, and finally by the unanimous repudiation of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

As already indicated, Marxism-Leninism as an opposition theory served effectively as a guide to Communist action. Lenin's special contribution (with help from Trotsky) was as the Party's political engineer in the struggle for power. After Lenin's death (1923) and Trotsky's exile (1927), Stalin became the guide. Although forever quoting Marxist-Leninist scripture, he actually had to find his own way, having little if any precedent.

Civil war in Russia came to an end only in 1921. Stalin was in actual power for twenty-eight years, until his death in 1953. Nearly all the technique and strategy which the present

leaders (his former lieutenants) know, they learned from Stalin. The open denunciation of Stalin may prod them to a new start, but the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party gives no such encouragement. From its proceedings the following points are clear:

1. The Congress was run Stalinist fashion, all decisions being handed down from the top and without dissent "unanimously" adopted by the delegates. Fear of "heretical" dissent still dominates, just as in Stalin's time.

2. Despite perennial food shortages, Stalin's war-like policies against the peasants continue; are even worse.

3. Concentration on heavy armament industry and modern military hardware is not lessened, although supplies of civilian goods are long overdue.

4. Except for some deceptive maneuvering toward the outside (co-existence, etc.), the cold war continues and intensifies.

Even Stalin's voodooistic methods of encouraging criticism and then punishing and liquidating the critics are unabated. The "new" leaders "pulled a Stalin" on the late Beria, head of OGPU, and then proceeded to purge thousands of alleged "Beria men," including members of the Central Committee of the Party. A purge of "Stalin men" was begun some months ago and is now gaining momentum, both within and without the Soviet Union. Thus Stalin's dictum that "the best critic is a dead one" still prevails.

Real Reforms Needed

If the present temporary successors to Stalin were shoved aside or should yield to the heavy anti-Stalinist pressures from below, there would be not a mere reburying of a dead man, but the burial of all things Stalin stood for. The following reforms would come:

1. A switch from concentration on heavy to light industry, in order to provide civilian goods and raise the standard of living.

2. Relaxing of agrarian policy by abolishing compulsory collectivization, thus increasing the food supply for the cities.

3. Demilitarization of the Communist Party and adoption of civil rights inside and outside the Party.

4. Abolition of all slave labor camps.

5. Abolition of the entire apparatus (colleges, training centers, publishing

houses, organizing and communication centers, subsidies, etc.) aimed at demoralization, subversion, and disruption of foreign countries.

6. Withdrawal of Soviet control from the satellite countries.

7. Relaxation of the foreign trade monopoly.

"Coexistence" Defined

The precise indicator of Soviet foreign policy has always been, not the speeches of its leaders, but domestic policy and practice.

When, in the mid-thirties, the war against the peasants and the blood purges had debilitated Russia, Stalin tried to secure an alliance with the democratic West against Hitler, and advocated the so-called popular front. With the West "on the hook" and its diplomats waiting in 1939 in Stalin's antechambers, the "popular front" went out the window and Stalin made his deal with Hitler.

Hitler knew Stalin's weakness and attacked after France's defeat in 1941, with his armies knifing through Russia as if it were soft butter. The help of America saved Stalin, and the popular front was reborn as a "patriotic front."

Now, we have an entirely different situation. During the last decade the Kremlin has raced to build militarily fast enough to take over the wrecked capitalisms of Europe and Asia, but has had to move forward deceptively in face of atom-powered America.

The death of Stalin and the problems of succession have aggravated the perennially-bad internal situation in Russia. Except for militarized manpower and some conventional arms, the West has the edge on the Soviet bloc, technologically and economically. Moreover, the West's momentum appears to be on the upswing.

From a Soviet point of view a "pause" of some years is necessary to catch up and consolidate internally, and to give the China sector time to build up power in at least conventional arms and other needed facilities. The "pause" is to be utilized for "operation infiltration" on a scale never before attempted. This idea was put forward in one of the "Stalin Resolutions" at the Nineteenth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1952, but has gained cruising speed only recently. Their purpose is to use for propaganda the "contradictions of capitalism" not primarily in the

(Continued on page 38)

Announcing . . . **FACTS FORUM NEWS** **ESSAY CONTEST**

October 15 to December 15, 1956

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"IF ONLY HE HAD KNOWN ABOUT COMMUNISM" — parents, teachers, and pastors used this phrase over and over in their concern for the twenty-one young Americans who renounced their country and remained with the Communists following the Korean war. Perhaps more significant were the thousands who succumbed to the treacherous brainwashing techniques employed by the Communists in their battle "for the minds of men!"

It is the right and the obligation of the American people to learn the **FACTS** on important current issues and events. **FACTS FORUM NEWS** acquaints the public with both sides of controversial issues. In the matter of communism — **THERE IS NO ROOM FOR DEBATE!**

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Some 900 million people are under Communist domination. The United States stands ready to block their play for world control. A whole generation of our youth is giving a prime slice of its best years for defense. Taxes — past, present, and future gnaw holes in our economic larder as costs of self-defense and free-world help require more and more to sustain them. If we are to defend our own conception of a free society we must clarify our ideals and achievements by an informed comparison with the theories and practice of communism.

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1. Anyone having attained their birthday by December 15, 1956.
2. Entry must be made in the current issue of **FACTS FORUM NEWS**.
3. More than one essay may be submitted, but must be accompanied by an official statement.

RULES

1. The essay must be on the subject of **BEST FIGHT COMMUNISM**.
2. The essay may be handwritten or typed on one side of the paper. Enter prize money on the back of each page and the title of the essay.
3. It is suggested that the essay be written on "magic" paper.
4. Essays will be judged on their merits.
5. Essays should be submitted to **FACTS FORUM NEWS, INC., Dept. E.C., 1717 S. Washington St., Chicago, Ill. 60604**. All entries must be accompanied by a statement of the entrant's age and address.

AWARDS

1. 104 total awards will be given.
 - A. The Grand Award of \$1,000 will be made to the writer of the best essay submitted, regardless of age.

NEWS CONTEST

1956

"Communism"

Ages 14 through 18

g attended their fourteenth, but not their nineteenth, December 15, 1956, may enter this contest.

made by completing an official entry blank from a copy of FACTS FORUM NEWS. (See page 62.)

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must be on the subject "HOW AMERICA CAN COMBAT COMMUNISM."

may be handwritten or typed on standard size white theme paper. Enter your printed name and address on the top of the first and last pages.

and that more than 1500 words be used in the essay.

the judge "logic" and "presentation."

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B. Five (5) First Place Awards will be made of a \$500.00 Savings Bond* — one for the best essay received from each of the five regions (see U.S. map designating regions).

Each First Place winner may choose an expense-paid trip to Washington, D.C., in lieu of the Savings Bond.

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*United States Series "E" Savings Bonds.

Soviet Espionage in the U. S. A.

"Soviet espionage in the United States today is more extensive than I believe anyone realizes," warns Judge Robert Morris, Chief Counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. A recognized authority on the subject, Judge Morris stresses in this interview the value of our congressional committees in exposing to public view information which is vital to continued freedom.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

"What success has the Committee had in wresting information on subversive activities from recent witnesses?"

"How does America guard against subversion?"

"Should the Communist Party be outlawed in this country?"

MR. MORRIS, a recent guest of Reporters' Roundup Radio program, was barraged with these and other challenging questions by veteran newsmen Jack Doherty, of the *New York Daily News*, and Douglas Larsen, of the Newspaper Enterprise Association. Moderator Robert F. Hurleigh, Mutual commentator and director of Washington Operations for Mutual Broadcasting System skillfully guided the discussion, requesting further clarification when necessary.

As pointed out by Mr. Hurleigh, congressional committees have been studying the problems and dangers from subversion of communism for some twenty years. Yet each new investigation reveals skillful communistic infiltration and naive opposition by many in this country to the dangers from subversion.

Mr. Hurleigh paid tribute to Mr. Morris's recognized position as one of the foremost anti-Communist investigators in the United States. A naval

counter-intelligence officer during World War II, Mr. Morris later, during 1953 and 1954, served as Chief Counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and was Judge of the Municipal Court in New York until his return in January, 1956, to the position of Chief Counsel of the Washington subcommittee. In this capacity he heads the current Senate investigations into the scope of Soviet activity in the United States, and the dangers from subversion.

Opening the questioning, Mr. Larsen asked, "Mr. Morris, are U. S. laws governing espionage in this country strong enough? Do they do the trick?"

Convictions Set Aside

"That is precisely what the Subcommittee is looking into now," replied Mr. Morris. "As you know, we have walking the streets today many people who quite obviously have been established to be Communist agents — and even Soviet agents. Without mentioning too many particular cases, there have been some very important ones in New York City wherein the jury found the particular witness guilty. Convictions, however, have often been set aside on legal grounds of some kind. I have one case in mind in which the appellate court judge declared that there was no doubt that the defendant was guilty; however, because of a

technicality it was necessary to declare her to be free. We are examining such cases as this to find out whether there can be any tightening up of the internal security laws."

Asked by Mr. Larsen if there was hope of getting immediate corrective legislation as a result of the Subcommittee's hearings, Mr. Morris indicated that there was a definite hope that this might be accomplished.

"For instance," he explained, "we brought to the surface just recently a condition that exists in the country today which is being exploited by the Soviet Union as well as by Soviet intelligence."

"As a result of the unfortunate decisions made at Yalta," he pointed out, "there are refugees here in the United States, variously estimated as between twenty and forty thousand people, living under false papers. The Communists are finding out who these people are and threatening them with exposure to the immigration authorities unless they do their particular bidding."

Legislation Will Abolish Threat

"That poses a definite threat to the security of the country," he continued, "and the Internal Security Subcommittee will launch a thorough investigation into the situation. Legislation is also being prepared which will remedy the dangers involved."

Mr. Larsen probed for details on plans for remedial legislation.

"That will be left up to the senator who is going to introduce the bill," replied Mr. Morris, "but the idea will be to regularize the entry into the country of these unfortunate people. Mind you, they *had* to put down on their papers that they were born in places other than the Soviet Union, in order to avoid being forcibly sent back to the Soviet Union where they would either have been executed or sent to concentration camps. It is understandable that they have falsified their papers, and that most of them gave false names. Legislation would be required to regularize their entry into this country — even allowing them to use the false names they have. After all, they are now known in particular

"brought about a situation whereby the efforts on the part of forty-two of the forty-eight states were completely nullified. That means that all of the Communists who have been prosecuted by individual states, the convictions that have been obtained, the cases that were pending in the various states against the Communists, have now been nullified, and all these Communists are going free.

"And Massachusetts, in particular," he inserted parenthetically, "had a very effective anti-Communist organization operating.

"It's even more far-reaching than that," he went on, "because the continuing investigations are being defied by the Communists in these states. In other words, the Massachusetts Commission has been holding hearings on

of assassination — to pressure put on him by Soviet agents," said Mr. Doherty, outlining that Black had started out as a Communist, but came to hate communism. "After he gave his testimony he was fired from his present position."

Taking note of the fact that Black's job had been restored to him since that time through the efforts of Mr. Morris's subcommittee, Mr. Doherty asked, "That raises a larger question. How far can we trust former Soviet agents — former Communists who say they have recanted? How many of them have actually recanted?"

Ex-Communists Most Reliable Source

"Well, it's a surprising thing," replied Mr. Morris. "In the first place, Black's immediate employer, Percy Heeley, said at all times that he was going to stand by Black. The difficulty came when the Atlas Refining Company of Newark, New Jersey, said that they did not want him in the plant. The Subcommittee feels, however, that an adequate solution has been reached through a decision whereby Black, if he gets security clearance from the Army, Navy, and Air Force — who have government contracts with the Atlas Refining Company —



Viktor Solovyev, 20-year-old Soviet seaman, one of four who have avoided return to Russia, tells an interpreter before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that he is certain at least two of five Soviet seamen did not want to return home. Solovyev says that although he got away, all he wants right now is a gun for self-protection.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

communities as new personalities. A security threat will have been abolished by the enactment of such legislation."

"As far as general laws go on tightening regulations — on being able to prosecute members of the Communist Party, such as prosecution under the Smith Act," inquired Mr. Larsen, "has that tended to force the Communist apparatus underground as so many persons have feared? What is the result of this moving in on the Communist Party with all the legal weapons we do have?"

States' Efforts Nullified By Supreme Court

It was pointed out that this was a situation which had been brought out by recent Internal Security hearings. "The Supreme Court decision in the Nelson case," pointed out Mr. Morris,

these things preliminary to convictions and indictments. Now the witnesses whom they call defy the Commission and say that it is unconstitutional. That particular Supreme Court decision has produced ominous consequences. As a result we had two senators introduce bills — Senator Bridges and Senator McCarthy — which would amend the Smith Act to make it apparent that Congress did not mean to pre-empt the field when it comes to sedition."

Mr. Morris indicated that, particularly since the Attorney General has supported the Subcommittee's view, legislation would remedy this defective situation in the very near future.

Mr. Doherty called attention to a witness who had recently appeared before the Subcommittee, a Newark chemist, Thomas Black. "He testified that he had been a Soviet agent for a good many years largely due to a fear



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Wasilii Kowalew and his wife Nina display a torn shirt after testifying April 25 that they believe five Soviet seamen who suddenly gave up U. S. asylum and returned to Russia were kidnaped by Soviet agents. The Kowalews, Russian emigres, said the shirt, which was found with blood around the tear, was worn by one of the men the day before he disappeared.

will be allowed into the plant.

"The Subcommittee has expressed its appreciation to all parties for their cooperation in reaching this solution," he continued. "You see, we, the Subcommittee, could not allow it to appear that the man had lost his job just because he had come forward to testify. As you know, the only evidence that a committee such as ours can obtain about the secrets of the Communist underground is from the witnesses themselves — from the people who have been in the Communist conspiracy."

"From the people who come forward to tell their story," inserted Doherty.

"Yes," acknowledged Mr. Morris. "That is our only source. And if we begin to seal up that source, we'll no longer have any information. All these great secrets will have been lost."

Former Affiliations A Starting Point

"Now, to answer your question," he continued, "the testimony of ex-Communists can be evaluated and gauged probably more accurately than can the testimony of another witness because as a starting point you have that person's association with the Communist Party. You know what it is, and you are able to evaluate it. Operating from there, you have at least some evidence from which to proceed. Of course, you have to look particularly at the terminal dates and the circumstances surrounding the person's departure from the Communist Party. And you have to notice what his relationships with Communists have been since that time. All these facts provide information which isn't available in evaluating the testimony of someone who has never, from all outward evidence, been in the Communist Party. There, you would have no starting point."

Mr. Morris cited as an example the testimony of Whittaker Chambers. "We were able to assess his testimony," he pointed out, "because he specifically said that he was in a certain unit of the Communist Party — that he worked with a man named Beekoff, and he did certain things. By going out and following up on all these particular leads, we were able to assess their value. You really had no starting point in connection with Alger Hiss, who denied these things. So therefore, answering your question in a long-winded way, I say that very often it is easier to assess the testi-

mony of a person who says he has been a Communist and has broken away, than a person who denies having been a Communist."

Soviets Sensitive to Publicity

Mr. Doherty brought up the point that a person in a position similar to that of Thomas Black could come forward and testify, and still fear possible retribution at the hands of Red agents. "Suppose that a man gets clearance," he theorized, "what is to prevent those agents from threatening him again unless he continues acting as a spy?"

"The mere fact that he had publicly taken the stand and is now a name in the news is a wonderful guarantee against such an occurrence," stated Mr. Morris. "If he is again approached by a Soviet agent, he has only to tell the FBI or the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee about that particular overture, and immediately it would come right into the public eye."

Mr. Morris stressed that the Soviets have an extremely acute sense of public relations, and would do nothing

Soviet Union and the Soviet satellites. They are doing it, not because they want people back there (because as some witnesses have recently pointed out, the individual countries are trying to get their war prisoners out of the Soviet Union), but so that they can hold them up before world public opinion. Let's take the case of the five Soviet seamen who went back — they can say 'Look, these five people spent eight months in the United States. They were able to see what that country stood for, and yet they elected to return here to the Soviet Union.'"

Mr. Doherty mentioned that the Soviet had bungled that job by leaving a bloody shirt behind, proving that these sailors had been shanghaied and kidnapped.

"Well, they bungled in many ways," acknowledged Mr. Morris, "but the fact remains that they were able to get five of them back."

"The Internal Security Subcommittee was able to bring out some of the information that was reposing in the files of our intelligence organizations," Mr. Morris continued, "and by so

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



CHAMBERS

BENTLEY

BUDENZ

CROUCH

DODD

"The only evidence that a committee such as ours can obtain about the secrets of the Communist underground is from the witnesses themselves — from the people who have been in the Communist conspiracy."

that would cause them diplomatic or political embarrassment.

"An overture now to Thomas Black with respect to giving him another assignment, or making an approach to him," he said, "if reported and publicized would be a terrific setback which in my opinion they would not risk in any circumstances."

"Well, that brings us to what I consider the \$64,000 question," said Mr. Doherty. "Mr. Morris, how extensive is Soviet espionage in this country today?"

"It is more extensive than I believe anyone realizes," Mr. Morris disclosed. "Now, in connection with this series of hearings dealing with just the redefection campaign — Soviets, as you know, all over the world are trying to draw people back into, the

doing were able to offset that original redefection to a great extent.

"Now I submit to you," he declared, "that if you did not have an institution such as a congressional committee that could bring out these facts, then they must gather dust in the files of our intelligence organizations, and an important element in your democratic society would be lost. I think, really, it shows in a rather dramatic way the need for an institution such as a congressional committee to dramatize all these things that otherwise would be lost to public knowledge."

Mr. Hurleigh emphasized that even though the committee did show that the return of the Soviet seamen was a shanghai job, and proved in this country that this was a forced return, through such evidence as the bloody

shirt, that the Soviet Union would still propagandize the return to the rest of the world. "They do not tell the true story—certainly not in countries where they control the propaganda means," he said. "They do not tell of the evidence that it was a forced return."

Mr. Doherty, too, commented on the fact that proving this in the United States would not provide proof to the Russian and satellite peoples. "When the sailors returned to Moscow, they made exactly the sort of statement that was dreamed up for them," he said.

Remaining Seamen Defy Ambassador Zaroubin

"As Mr. Hurleigh points out," Mr. Morris explained, "by doing this, we only repaired *some* of the damage. But we did give heart to the others, for subsequently, when the four seamen who are still here were called in, and it was demanded of them by no less a personality than Ambassador Zaroubin himself that they return to the Soviet Union, they told him, in effect, to go to (SIC) — that they were going to stay in the United States."

Mr. Hurleigh asked if Mr. Morris had any information regarding whether the Voice of America and other means at our disposal got as much of that story out to the world as possible.

"The VOA is broadcasting this story all over the world, I presume, with a great deal of effect," replied Mr. Morris.

Mr. Larsen asked if the new attitude of smiles and international friendship being assumed by the Russians could be related to the high level of espionage in this country. "Do you feel," he asked, "that this pose of friendship is a mask for continued high espionage in this country and among the anti-Communist forces?"

"Oh, most certainly it is," Mr. Morris stated emphatically, "because, for instance, you will notice that the intelligence activity operations are proceeding with greater force than ever. And we see evidence here of bolder action on the part of intelligence agents."

"Is that having its effect on American public opinion by allaying fears of espionage perhaps?" asked Mr. Larsen. "Do you see that happening in this country?"

"Very, very definitely. I think that we are being lulled to sleep," replied Mr. Morris. "On the one hand, I am

able to perceive a growing sense of alarm among extremely well-informed persons in Washington who have access to the real underlying facts of our position regarding the Soviet Union. They seem to feel, and in some cases have expressed the opinion in a confidential way, that our situation is very, very perilous indeed, and that they view with great alarm the growing ascendancy of Soviet power, both air power and political power, all over the world."

"Does this mean a growing tendency to go underground in this country?" inquired Mr. Larsen. "Is one of the results less emphasis on the overt acts of communism as a political, theoretical political party in this country, and more underground activities?"

"Well, no," Mr. Morris corrected. "I believe you have a conflict there. The intelligence organizations are very sensitive to actions and reactions. For instance, after the decision on the Nelson case by the Supreme Court, and the subsequent nullification of various states' activities, the attorneys general of the various states involved said that individual Communist agents became bolder and bolder. On the other hand, no generalization is possible, for in connection with some particular investigation that we are conducting of activities of the Soviet Delegation in the United States, I presume that after the spotlight has been turned on them — even while the Communists in Massachusetts are getting bolder — they themselves are becoming more quiescent."

Red Reservoir

Mr. Larsen asked if there was any difference between a Soviet espionage agent and an average member of the Communist Party in the United States.

"There is a difference," explained Mr. Morris. "You always have, among the Communist Party membership, a reservoir for intelligence and espionage activities. You have to be awfully careful not to jump from that to the conclusion that every Communist Party member is an actual, knowing espionage agent."

"Judge Morris, as a matter of fact, aren't the Soviet agents a far worse danger to us than a bunch of American Communists?" asked Mr. Doherty.

To this, Mr. Morris again replied that no generalization was possible, since a Communist in a well-placed position, carrying out his Communist Party assignment, might serve as a

conduit for passing along information to Soviet intelligence. The information which he obtained, for instance, in the public relations field, or perhaps in connection with government work, Mr. Morris pointed out, might be much more valuable than any which could be obtained by a particular Soviet spy operating on an individual basis, some of whom have appeared before the Subcommittee.

"Ordinarily, however," Mr. Morris said, "a full-fledged Soviet agent would be more valuable, because he is dealing directly with the Soviet apparatus."

Referring to J. Edgar Hoover's statement that there were more than twenty thousand hard-core Communists among the 165 million people in this country, Mr. Doherty asked how many Communists in Mr. Morris's estimation were here.

Soviet Agents Not Counted In Hoover's Estimate

"Well, that is an almost impossible question," replied Mr. Morris, "but apart from those twenty-two thousand, Mr. Hoover mentioned that there were probably ten times that number of Communist sympathizers and fellow-travelers. Also operating independently you have a large number of Soviet agents. I suppose only the head of the Secret Police in Moscow could give the exact number — but we do know, from all the evidence that is available to us, that the number is rather extensive."

Mr. Hurleigh wanted to know if it had been made clear that sometimes the Soviet agent was not a member of the Communist Party, and therefore had not been included in counting the so-called hard-core Communist Party membership, to which Mr. Morris replied that current hearings are bringing this out.

In clarification, Mr. Morris explained, "Very often, once a person begins to get into some sort of important Soviet assignment, the first action is that he is taken out of the Communist Party and given instructions not to read the *Daily Worker* and not to associate with his former Communist friends."

Mr. Larsen asked to what extent the Subcommittee or the FBI had tapped the big reservoir of former Communists who know all about the apparatus and the workings, but who may

(Continued on page 55)

MOSCOW'S ANTI-STALIN PURGE

(Continued from page 31)

external or international arena (such as "Axis versus Allies"), but by so-called *internal contradictions* within each country and/or geo-political area.*

In short, they mean to concentrate in each country on one bourgeois political faction or party and use it to create disharmony. The objective is to infiltrate, neutralize, demoralize, and generally envenom the relations between political parties in any given country. Hitherto, independent or overt activity of the Communist Party (in its own name or behind Party-created "fronts") came first, and creeping infiltration second. Now it is to be the other way round. Now the Trojan Horse is to be put through his paces. As former President Herbert Hoover has said, "Like crabs they aim to crawl into our own shells" and fatten on our party differences. That, my friends, is coexistence.

Red and Ready

The moral destruction, purging, and liquidation of opponents is an organic part of Communist government policy. But never before has the top hierarch himself been purged or morally destroyed. The posthumous purging and moral destruction of Stalin may not help to solve the crisis of succession, but rather aggravate it.

The tendency toward "relaxation" must be strong indeed, when even Malenkov, Stalin's prize pupil, in his brief reign proposed a reorientation from heavy industry to light, and other policy changes consonant with "relaxation." In fact, the force behind the Stalin purge comes from those among the new ruling class who within the general Soviet pattern want a "new deal" all around. They aim to purge not only Stalin, but Stalinism.

Bulganin and Khrushchev on the other hand aim only to ride out the storm and make use of the general hatred for Stalin to further their own ends. They would sacrifice Stalin, not Stalinism. In good Stalinist fashion they would paralyze opposition by riding into the enemy's camp with loud

anti-Stalin war cries. Stalin buried Leninism in the name of Lenin. B and K hope to outdo their master and retain Stalinism, also in the name of Lenin — something that even their "repudiated" master would admire if it works.

Meanwhile, if B and K have their way, the moral defamation of the United States will go on apace. Soviet infiltration of the West will continue, while life behind the Iron Curtain remains militarized: a condition which keeps the Russians ready to jump at our throats the moment those Soviet hierarchs consider it expedient to do so.

Perspectives

Normally we would be justified in expecting the new ruling class in the Soviet to do as privileged classes generally do: secure their privileges and enjoy them peacefully, not plunge into new wars or prolong old ones. We should not exclude the possibility of such a development, but should make sure that it is happening before courting any new pro-Tito adventures.

Communism is not merely an ideology based on materialism, but is spiritually and ethically a Sahara. Versus the enemy, whoever that may be, it has neither morals nor a conscience. If there are any rules, whether in physical fighting or in propaganda, they are along the lines of what we call "dirty fighting." Stalin is not being condemned for using those methods against the enemy, but just for using them against his own comrades. In short, the claim is that morals may be rationed. One may be a complete nihilist versus the bourgeois enemy, versus religion, versus even non-Leninist-Marxists — but not against dissidents inside the Party.

Stalin did not recognize such rationing. He was a complete nihilist, a genius in the art of destruction. Everything he built was meant to be used as a destructive agency, against enemies inside the Party, or outside.

Stalin is dead, but a whole generation has been brought up on his man-of-steel methods. The new ruling class imbibed this philosophy in high schools, in colleges, in Party organizations. Assuming even that they return to the Leninist concept of "rationing" the villainy and directing it exclusively

toward us, it will at best merely lengthen the "pause," not change communism's goals.

Too, Stalin's methods were almost uniformly successful. Success as a rule is imitated, not repudiated. Under Stalin, seven hundred million people were added to the Soviet empire. By 1947, the Soviet Political Bureau concluded that capitalism in Europe and Asia was on the ropes; only America's industrial might and the atom bomb held Stalin back. Even so, by internal methods, they dared take China and Czechoslovakia, and probe America's will to fight by a very slightly-camouflaged military invasion of Korea. All these successes boosted the appetite for easy loot, and lowered the prestige of the free world's leaders in the eyes of Soviet leaders.

Repercussions

The civil war in Russia, waged against the bourgeoisie of the cities and the countryside, had been virtually completed before Stalin's reign. Stalin's war was almost entirely against the peasants, the workers, and his own Party comrades who resisted his climb to power. Communist thought sets up materialist idols: the Communist Party and its State. All Stalin had to do was to get control of that idol, transfer the idolatry unto himself, and thus become the anointed emperor and reigning deity of communism.

The impact of Stalin's repudiation upon Communists and Communist sympathizers is as if a pope who during his reign had been glorified for twenty-five years as the greatest of all infallible popes, is upon his death declared by the College of Cardinals to have been in reality Satan incarnate, no less. Repercussions from such action would be tremendous, and the effect of the present anti-Stalin denouncement is in like manner incalculable.

Now, right now, at this confused moment, is the time to get rid of communism, by keeping up the pressure ideologically and physically. We may thus hasten the self-cure inside the Soviet empire itself; we may free the West of its penetration and, in a relentless, cumulative effort, we may achieve freedom for society as a whole.

END

*ED.'s NOTE: "Contradictions" in the sense here used are explained on p. 50 of *Facts Forum News*, July, 1956, in book condensation of *The Language of Communism*, by Harry Hodgkinson.

A Facts Forum News Condensation of the book:

America

Faces

WORLD COMMUNISM

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INTRODUCTION

In this condensation, it has been necessary for *Facts Forum News* to depart from its established custom of presenting the text as a whole, albeit in shortened form. Mr. Bouscaren's writing is so compact that complete coverage proved impossible in the allotted space. Hence much masterly discussion of the world situation had to be omitted. The complete book contains 191 pages, plus bibliography and index. The price is \$3.00.

America Faces World Communism

A CONDENSATION

BASIC FACTS OF COMMUNISM

COMMUNISM is a movement based on economic determinism which is trying to conquer the world through force and violence. The leaders are the Russian Communist Party, the Soviet Government, and their friends in other countries.

The theory of communism is that the "proletariat" (led by the "vanguard" or Communist Party) will conquer the "capitalists" through force and violence, and then establish a dictatorial state which will "wither away" after all become Communists.

Dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean dictatorship by the workers. It means dictatorship by the Communist Party. When the "world dictatorship of the proletariat" is established, the government of people will be replaced by "the administration of things." Socialism prevails until all non-Soviet states are destroyed through revolution. Then, and only then, does "communism" appear, according to Soviet theory.

Communism as a theory is based on the incorrect supposition that economic factors determine the course of history; it assumes that harmony among classes is impossible; it assumes that man is all matter and no spirit. Communism in practice is characterized by internal tyranny and external aggression. It is incompatible with personal freedom, national independence, and world peace.

The *idea* of communism is not the real danger; it has never in itself gained control of any state. Communism does not just spread or grow; it wins control of states through the military and political intervention of the Soviet Government. Communism gained control in Russia because its leaders were transported there by the German Imperial Government, in 1917, in an attempt to overthrow the existing Russian régime. This régime, made up of naïve and trusting liberals (who had overthrown the Czar), tried to create democracy in Russia overnight and still continue war against Germany. It extended political freedom to the Communists who, taking advantage of Russia's unstable condition, created a military force which

destroyed through violence the whole system of political freedom which the liberals had just established.

Lenin's party was first known as the Bolsheviks, the impatient Marxists who wished to gain a monopoly of political power through force. In January, 1918, the Bolsheviks changed their name to the Communist Party of Russia. About six million people in a Soviet population of 200 million belong to the Communist Party of the USSR. Party members, especially the important ones, control the police, the armed forces, the forced-labor system, and all branches of government. Modern means of repression have become so effective that a small number can control a much greater number of people.

Party members, once admitted, can continue in the good graces of the Party only if they obey the dictator and his lieutenants without hesitation. The Communist Party is the government. There are no free elections in Russia. Soviet Russia has plebiscites, in which almost everybody is herded to the polls and votes as he is told; failure to comply is inadvisable.

The only part of the Soviet Constitution which has any meaning is that which states that the Communist Party shall be the only party in Russia.

As for freedom in religion — Catholics, Jews, and Protestants have none whatever. Some few Russian Orthodox churchmen have limited freedom as long as they support the dictatorship and assist it to extend its power.

The Russian economy is state-owned and state-operated; this applies to both industry and agriculture. Many important projects are built by slave labor. Escaped inmates and Soviet officials who have fled Russia have written documented studies of these slave-labor camps.

The Soviet Government directly controls all orthodox Communist parties throughout the world. These parties never criticize the Soviet Government or Soviet leaders. They are in effect nothing more than advance elements of the Soviet Army abroad. Their first allegiance is to the Soviet Union; their purpose, to assist the Soviet Government to establish a world Soviet Empire, and to weaken through subversion all non-Soviet governments.

For a long time Earl Browder ran the American Communist Party. In 1945 he was purged by order of the Soviet Government, and replaced by William Z. Foster. In 1949 Foster was replaced by Eugene Dennis, who was followed by Gus Hall.* Communist leadership in America has been weakened by the Smith Act, which makes it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force.**

The American Communist Party is a real threat to America. Party leaders are on record as stating that they will not fight for their own country in case of a war with Russia. The Party has shown itself strong and influential. The Communist spy ring in the government, involving Alger Hiss, Lee Pressman, Gregory Silvermaster, Harry Dexter White, Lauchlin Currie, and others, has been exposed in courts of law and congressional committees. The William Remington, Coplon, Marzani, Coe, and Amerasia cases are still other examples of Communist infiltration in American government. The Klaus-Fuchs-Harry Gold-Rosenberg-Sobell-Greenglass atom spy ring hastened Soviet atom development by at least a year.

Communists are influential also in labor, management, radio, television, the book trade, education, religion, and among certain racial and minority groups. They direct about 450,000 Americans through the so-called front organizations.

Communism can only be stopped militarily. There are many factors other than the economic. In the final analysis, you cannot throw a food package at an advancing armed Soviet.

THE SOVIET FIFTH COLUMN IN AMERICA

The Soviet Union considers the United States its greatest enemy. To the forces of international communism, the United States is the citadel of decadent capitalistic imperialism, which Stalin said must be destroyed before there can be any real peace (see his speech and that of Malenkov before the Nineteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, *The New York Times*, October 4, 1952).

Following the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, two Marxist groups came into being in the United States: the Communist Labor party and the Communist Party, both created in 1919. Almost immediately both groups were forced underground by the vigorous prosecution of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer; these and similar groups were declared illegal until December 16, 1921. Meantime Moscow forced a merger of the two Marxist elements.

An early leader of the Communists was William Z. Foster. Born in 1881, Foster had a long record of union activity and world travel back of him. He went to Moscow in 1921 where he attended a conference of the newly-founded Red Labor International. After returning to the

*ED.'s NOTE: For a run-down on Gus Hall, see *The Communist Party of the U.S.A.*, a Handbook for Americans, third installment, *Facts Forum News*, May, 1956: p. 47.

**ED.'s NOTE: In the *Daily Worker* of July 17, 1956, Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, was reported to have called on President Eisenhower to veto the bill raising Smith Act penalties to twenty years. Dennis charged that the new measure "introduces a new quality of savagery against dissenting opinion." The same newspaper, under date of July 10, 1956, quotes William Z. Foster: "The Smith Act, this disreputable pro-Fascist law. . . . To wipe out the Smith Act would constitute one of the big victories for civil liberties in the history of this country. . . . The big task now is to mobilize . . . resistance to the Smith Act."

United States, Foster attended the famous secret Communist meeting in the woods near Bridgman, Michigan, where he outlined plans for Communist infiltration into the trade-union movement.

In May, 1929, American Communist delegates to the Comintern received the following instructions personally from Stalin: "I consider the Communist Party of the United States one of the Communist parties to which history has given decisive tasks from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement."

The radical Comintern-directed strategy for the Communists of this period was frankly stated by Foster in his book, *Toward a Soviet America*, published in 1932: "The American Soviet Government will join with other Soviet governments in a world Soviet Union. The American Soviet Government will be the dictatorship of the proletariat." Foster explicitly called for the formation of Communist "Red Guards," and the abolition of political parties except for the Communist Party.

Soviet policy-makers decided at the end of 1934 to embark on the united-front tactic and infiltrate unions and governments. In line with this, the American Communists offered their talents to "liberals" and labor groups. One of the new efforts was to create a national "labor party" dominated by the Communists. This effort was successful only in New York State, where the Party received the collaboration of Congressman Vito Marcantonio, and there the American Labor Party was born.

The Hitler-Stalin pact and Soviet aggression in Poland hurt the promising united-front tactic, which had succeeded in bringing many Communists and pro-Communists to government jobs in Washington. Communist strikes against defense industries awakened Americans into a realization that the American Communists were mere tools for Soviet foreign policy.

The German attack on Russia, on June 22, 1941, changed Communist tactics again. Now Communists entered into a no-strike pledge, and became most patriotic, while demanding an early "second front." The Communist Party went through the formalities of severing ties with the Comintern so that it would not have to register its members as agents of a foreign power. The united-front tactic was back in the saddle. Browder went overboard in enthusiasm for the anti-Nazi coalition. In March, 1943, he proclaimed: "If J. P. Morgan supports this coalition I, as a Communist, am prepared to clasp his hands and join with him." Morgan had died several days prior to Browder's speech.

Near the end of World War II, Soviet policy again made a change. With German power eliminated as a threat to the Soviet Government, Communist guns could now be turned on the only remaining bulwark of non-communism — the United States. In the May, 1945, issue of the French Communist publication *Cahiers du Communisme*, an article by Jacques Duclos, recently returned from Moscow, sharply criticized Browder for changing the name of the American Stalinites to the Communist Political Association. He tore into Browder's thesis of a "long-term class peace in the United States." Shortly thereafter Foster replaced Browder as American Communist chieftain. The new Communist line in America declared Browder guilty for his "gross violation of Party discipline and decisions, for active opposition to the political line and leadership of our Party, for developing factional activity, and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to

the side of the class enemy — American monopoly capital.”*

The break with the united front saw the beginning of the end of the honeymoon in union circles. Communists had been influential in the CIO, but in 1946 Philip Murray charged that a “well-organized and financed conspiracy” was trying “to undermine and even destroy the labor movement.” Slowly but surely Communists and Communist-dominated unions began to be expelled from the CIO.

Communist-front groups continued to operate in the traditionally fertile “intellectual” fields, with considerable success. In 1948, Foster led the Communists and their allies into a coalition with the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace, which polled over a million votes, most of them in New York City, secondarily in California.

Evidence of Soviet espionage in the United States mounted steadily after World War II. Americans were shocked. Although the story of Soviet espionage in Canada had forewarned the United States, it was clear from the cases of Gerhart Eisler, Alger Hiss, the atomic spies, and others, that the United States was unprepared, even after having had the benefit of Canada’s experience.

In 1933, the Soviet Government replaced George Williams, alias Mikhailov, with Gerhart Eisler, alias Edwards, as coordinator of Comintern policies. According to the FBI, Eisler “was responsible for and instrumental in the determination of American Communist policy, and the control and direction of American Communist operations.” Eisler arrived in the United States in 1941 ostensibly as a refugee. He wrote under the name of Hans Berger in the *Daily Worker* and *Political Affairs*. Sentenced to a year in jail, in June, 1947, for contempt of Congress, Eisler was found guilty on August 15, 1947, of passport fraud. Released on bail, Eisler slipped aboard the Polish liner *Batory* and escaped to East Germany, where he became a propagandist for the Communist régime.

THE ARROGANT ALGER HISS

The Alger Hiss case shook the complacency of many Americans for the first time. On July 31, 1948, Elizabeth Bentley told the House Committee on Un-American Activities an amazing story of Soviet espionage, listing many prominent persons. Whittaker Chambers, called as a witness on August 3, said he had been a Communist between 1934 and 1937, with the assigned task of working with a Communist spy ring in American government. He named, as members of the ring, Alger and Donald Hiss of the State Department; Lee Pressman, former CIO general counsel; Nathan Witt, former secretary of the National Labor Relations Board; John Abt, former Labor Department attorney; Henry Collins of the State Department; Harry Dexter White, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. By this time Alger Hiss was president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Hiss told the Committee on August 5 that, in effect, he had never been a Communist, and had never known a man named Whittaker Chambers, even when shown his picture. Public opinion and most of the Committee were so impressed by his testimony that the case would probably have been dropped had it not been for certain doubts entertained by Committee Counsel Robert Stripling and

*ED.’s NOTE: The reader may find it interesting to compare this account of Browder’s dethronement with the report given by Bella V. Dodd in her book, *School of Darkness*, which appeared in condensed form in *Facts Forum News*, September, 1956.

Senator Richard Nixon.** The Committee decided to press Chambers for details of the spy ring and of Hiss, details he had previously given to Adolph Berle of the State Department, in 1939.

The Committee then asked Hiss the same questions they had asked Chambers, and received the same answers. When the Committee told Hiss he must have known Chambers, Hiss said he once knew a man named George Crosley who answered to the description of Chambers. When confronted by Chambers, Hiss finally admitted he knew him, but under the name of Crosley, and not as a Communist. He also steadfastly denied all Chambers’ charges. Others in the story — Pressman, Witt, Abt, and Collins — refused to answer questions of the Committee on grounds of self-incrimination.

Goaded by the pro-Hiss forces to call Hiss a Communist or former Communist in public for which he might be sued, Chambers did so on a radio program, on August 27. Hiss was slow to sue, but when pressed by the *Washington Post* and other pro-Hiss elements, Hiss’ lawyers asked Chambers to produce any documents he might have which would establish that he and Hiss were Communists in the same spy ring (November 17, 1948). Chambers immediately produced a thick envelope containing four pages in Hiss’ handwriting and a great number of typewritten documents which he said had been typed on Hiss’ typewriter. These documents contained excerpts and summaries of scores of confidential and secret State Department messages.

The Justice Department, after two weeks of inaction, was reputedly planning to drop the whole case for lack of evidence. This spurred Senator Nixon and Counsel Stripling to go to Chambers, advise him of the turn of events, and ask if he had any other information. Chambers then turned over to the Committee the famous “pumpkin papers” — five rolls of microfilm containing photostat copies of scores of confidential and secret documents from the State Department and the Bureau of Standards. The Committee told the Justice Department that unless it proceeded with its investigation the Committee would conduct its own.

Hiss was indicted on December 15, 1948. The first trial ended in a hung jury. The second trial resulted in the conviction of Alger Hiss as guilty of perjury in denying that he had turned over confidential government documents to Whittaker Chambers.

ESPIONAGE ON A GRAND SCALE

What was important was not so much the fact that Hiss had been convicted on the technical ground of perjury, as the fact that wide-scale assaults on American security were uncovered. The Hiss-Chambers spy ring had been able to infiltrate into vital positions in government and industry: four in the State Department; two in the Treasury Department; two in the Bureau of Standards; one in the Aberdeen arsenal; one as general counsel of the ICO; two in the Electric Boat Company; and so on. Hiss was the most important, due to his key State Department post, his participation in the Yalta Conference, and his leadership at the UN Conference in San Francisco.

The story of atomic spies is yet another in the annals of Soviet operations in the United States. The Klaus Fuchs

**ED.’s NOTE: For a parallel and fuller account of the Hiss Case, see chapter 6 in the book, *Nixon*, by Ralph de Toledano, published by Henry Holt and Co., 1956.

case was more important than all other atomic espionage efforts by the Soviet Government. The key contact in this spy ring was Harry Gold, Philadelphia research chemist. He served as courier between Dr. Klaus Fuchs, British physicist, and Soviet officials in the transmission of atomic-energy data, and to him Fuchs entrusted the priceless information he gathered in his three years of participation in the most closely-guarded of all American military projects. Fuchs, who had been on hand when the first test explosion of the atomic bomb took place, returned to Britain, continued to spy for Russia until 1947, and subsequently was convicted of espionage. Gold, Sobell, and the Rosenbergs were convicted of treason in 1951, and the Rosenbergs were sentenced to death.

The Soviet Government's espionage, sabotage, and infiltration system in the United States was greatly facilitated by the fact that there were, in mid-1952, 407 Soviet officials in the United States with complete freedom of movement. These included 87 Soviet Embassy personnel, 58 Soviet UN representatives, eight Tass news-agency personnel, five members of the Amtorg trade agency, 134 wives of Soviet officials, and 113 children of Soviet officials. Reporters for Russia's news organizations enjoyed all of the privileges granted American newsmen [in the United States, not in Russia]. Russia had complete access to the flood of official information that poured into Washington.

COMMUNISTS IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Evidence came to light in the fall of 1952 indicating that Communists in the UN were using that organization as a ready-made means of funneling a massive amount of information about the United States back to Russia — especially after the beginning of the Korean war. Agents from Russia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, as employees of the world organization, face no surveillance of the type Americans face in Communist countries. They are free to travel anywhere in the United States. They can talk to anyone. They can communicate with Moscow by secret code, with no questions asked. They can travel back and forth between New York and their home capitals freely, carrying secret documents or equipment with impunity. If one is caught red-handed with American documents, as was Valentin Gubitchev, he can count on merely being sent home, his passage paid by the UN.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee investigating communism in the UN turned up many Americans with pro-Communist backgrounds, or who were described as Communists by witnesses in sworn testimony, or who refused to answer questions put to them as to whether or not they were Communists. Frank Coe, who had played a role in the Communist-influenced Institute of Pacific Relations, held a \$15,500 tax-free job as secretary of the International Monetary Fund. Coe, described by witnesses as a Communist, not only refused to say whether or not he was a Communist, but refused to say whether or not he was spying on the United States Government. The Fund dismissed Coe from his job.

Other Americans who refused to answer whether or not they were Communists were Alfred Van Tassel, operations director for the Technical Assistance Administration; Joel Gordon, an officer of the Division of Economic Stability and Development; Frank C. Bancroft, editor of the documents-control section; Stanley Graze, a member of the Far East technical assistance program (who came to the UN

from the State Department); and Eugene Wallach, a reporter at the UN, who refused to testify concerning evidence linking him with the New York State Communist Party.

"ACADEMIC FREEDOM"

In Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*, which he wrote in 1924, he described "cultural and educational organizations" as valuable allies in the Soviet advance toward world dictatorship. The tactical period of the united front in America, which began near the end of 1934, also saw the beginning of the most intense Soviet efforts to bore into America's colleges, universities, high schools, and grammar schools. This effort was considerably facilitated by curious American conceptions of "academic freedom," which indignantly opposed having Fascist or Ku Klux Klan ideas taught, while simultaneously insisting that communism be presented without taking sides, and that Communists could teach without harm to the community and the country. The American Communist in charge of penetrating education, the motion pictures, and mass media generally, was V. J. Jerome.

Some American professors have not only influenced thousands of their students with uncritical comments on the Soviet "experiment" and attacks upon American "toughness" toward the "peaceful" Soviet Union, but actually aided Communist sedition schools, such as the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York, and the California Labor School of San Francisco. Professor Dirk Struik of Massachusetts Institute of Technology taught in secret Party schools in the Boston area; Professor Joseph Cohen, alias Clark, of Brooklyn College, became a writer for the *Daily Worker*; Professor Samuel Sillen of New York University served on the Communist cultural commission, which directed infiltration of schools, colleges, the press, radio, and television; Professor Albert Blumberg left Johns Hopkins University to become district leader of the Communist Party in Maryland.*

The tendency was to ridicule anti-Communist professors as bitten with "hysteria," while simultaneously defending pro-Communist professors in the name of "academic freedom." Some professors were more zealous fighting "McCarthyism" than they were speaking out against Soviet tyranny. One of these appeared on a television program in early 1953. At a moment when the cameras brought him so close that one could almost look down his throat, he was shouting: "It's getting to be that a man can't open his mouth in this country!"

[Every] Communist teacher has taken the following pledge: "I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States." (*Daily Worker*, April 2, 1936.)

U. S. EFFORTS AT SELF-PROTECTION

In view of the mass of evidence of Communist infiltration into government, education, unions, radio, motion pictures, and elsewhere, several efforts have been made by the United States Government and the states to meet the

*ED.'s NOTE: Albert Blumberg is mentioned as "the shrewdest Communist agent in the Teachers Federation," by Bella V. Dodd. See her book, *School of Darkness*, in condensed form, *Facts Forum News*, September, 1956.

problem effectively. Among these efforts have been the Alien Registration Act of 1940 (the Smith Act), the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act), the Federal Loyalty Program; and such state actions as the Feinberg Law in New York and the Levering Law in California, both of which attempt to deal with Communists in education.

On July 20, 1948, twelve men were indicted for conspiracy to organize the Communist Party of the United States, an association of people "who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the United States Government by force and violence." The twelve were the Politburo of the American Communist Party: William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, John B. Williamson, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Jacob Stachel, Robert G. Thompson, Henry Winston, Joseph Gates, Irving Potash, Gilbert Green, Carl Winter, and Gus Hall. Foster was shortly thereafter separated from the trial because of illness.

The starting point of the conspiracy was placed at April 1, 1945, when the American Communist Party, on instructions from Moscow, abandoned its wartime policy of supporting the Roosevelt Administration and reverted to its long-term revolutionary doctrine of class war and violent overthrow of American "imperialism." The trial was one of the longest in American criminal history.*

The government presented evidence for forty days. The defense used up ninety-eight days. Evidence against the Communists came from their own actions and their own publications. The documentary evidence of insurrectionary intent was abundant; the writings of Lenin, Stalin, and Foster, and the programs of the Comintern were replete with calls for mass action, culminating in armed uprisings to destroy "capitalism" and "imperialism." FBI agents within the party testified to many instances of Communist preparation for armed conflict.

The Communist leaders, testifying in their own self-defense, were trapped, under cross-examination, in myriad inconsistencies and lies and forced to admit their advocacy of armed uprisings — the very crime with which they were charged. The jury convicted the eleven defendants, and the Supreme Court ultimately upheld the Smith Act.

The Internal Security Act of 1950, popularly known as the McCarran Act, forces Communist and Communist-controlled organizations to register with the Attorney General of the United States; it prohibits Communists from holding any nonelective office or employment in the United States [Government] and from holding jobs in defense plants. It seeks to prevent any officer or employee of the United States from aiding or contributing to the Communist Party, and would have all Communist and Communist-controlled literature properly labeled and identified. In time of war, the Act would intern Communist Party members. A Subversive Activities Control Board was established to determine which organizations were Communist-controlled.

The cases of Klaus Fuchs, Alger Hiss, and the Smith Act trials indicated the seriousness of the Soviet conspiracy and the necessity of intelligent and effective counter-measures by the United States Government and its citizenry.

The Institute of Pacific Relations was established in

*ED.'s NOTE: *Facts Forum News*, October, 1955, contains Judge Medina's inside story of the trial of the eleven Communists, beginning on page 38; also a picture of the eleven top-ranking Communist leaders in the United States during their conspiracy trial in New York City.

1925 apparently to study and discuss impartially the problems of the Pacific, its islands, and the countries bordering its shores, especially in Asia. Branches of the Institute were founded in the United States, Britain, France, Japan, China, the Soviet Union, and several other countries. Most of the financial support came from the American branch — largely from the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations, a number of leading American corporations, and several wealthy patrons, notably Frederick V. Field.**

A CASE HISTORY OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE ON FAR EASTERN POLICY

For many years the IPR practically monopolized the study of the Far East and Pacific problems. The United States Government, researchers, and the mass media [i.e., radio, television, motion pictures, the press] sought and obtained advice and information from the Institute.

On July 2, 1952, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee reported its findings on the IPR and its relation to subversion and internal security. This followed an eighteen-month study of IPR files and publications, and testimony from sixty-six witnesses.

Among the conclusions of the Subcommittee were the following:

The IPR, its officials and staff members, were either Communists or pro-Communists, and instruments of Communist policy, propaganda, and military intelligence. Owen Lattimore was, from some time in the 1930's, a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy. Leadership of the IPR worked with persons in government involved in the determination of foreign policy, and exerted substantial influence on United States Far Eastern policies, and to orient them toward Communist objectives.

According to the Senate Committee, Edward C. Carter, the first secretary-general of the IPR, tried as early as 1927 to effect a relationship between the IPR and the Communist International. Carter enjoyed the closest personal relationship with important Soviet officials. He described Earl Browder, former secretary of the American Communist Party, as "100 per cent American." Not only did IPR officials who testified avoid mentioning the names of their Soviet friends who asked for and received data on American security in the Pacific, but they also carefully avoided mentioning the role played in IPR affairs by their Japanese colleagues, Hotsumi Ozaki and Kinkazu Daionji. These men were participants in the spy ring of Richard Sorge† — a spy ring which helped deflect Japanese aggression away from Russia toward the United States.

In the summer of 1941, Edward C. Carter was secretary-general of the Institute, and Fred Field was picketing the White House as executive secretary of the Communist-front American Peace Mobilization. Lattimore was leaving his post as editor of the IPR publication, *Pacific Affairs*, to become, on President Roosevelt's nomination, adviser to

**ED.'s NOTE: Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Harvard graduate, 1927; later studied in England under Harold Laski; inherited fortune of approximately \$2 million; is descended from Samuel Osgood, first U. S. postmaster general; Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt; Cyrus Field, who laid the transatlantic cable; William H. Vanderbilt, railroad magnate; and William B. Osgood Field, his father, a U. S. army officer in World War I. This scion of a renowned family is an avowed and active Communist.

†ED.'s NOTE: For story of the Sorge spy ring, see condensation of Major Charles A. Willoughby's book, *Shanghai Conspiracy*, in the March, 1956 issue of *Facts Forum News*.

Chiang Kai-shek. On June 18, 1941, while the Hitler-Stalin pact and the Japanese-Soviet alliance were still in force, Carter and Lattimore had a two-hour luncheon with the Soviet Ambassador, Oumansky. When questioned, neither Lattimore nor Carter could give the Subcommittee a satisfactory explanation as to why they should confer with the ambassador of a country that was in alliance with both Germany and Japan — the latter China's immediate enemy — both countries also being aligned against America's allies.

Lauchlin Currie, a presidential foreign-affairs adviser and IPR intimate, was responsible for Lattimore's getting the appointment to Chungking. In November, 1941, war and peace hung in the balance in the Pacific. Lattimore, Currie, and Richard Sorge (the Soviet agent) made every effort to deflect Japanese aggression away from Russia and toward other targets. Sorge was attached to the German Embassy in Tokyo. His Communist assistants in the Soviet spy ring included Hotsumi Ozaki, an advisor to the Japanese premier, and Kinkazu Saionji. Saionji had been the Japanese IPR chief, and Ozaki had been active in IPR work. Also in the Soviet espionage group were Guenther Stein and Agnes Smedley.

Lattimore arrived in Chungking during these fateful days of 1941 as personal representative of President Roosevelt. On November 25, Lattimore wired Currie, at the White House, urging that no deal be made with Japan regarding China. He specifically demanded that America not let Japan "escape military defeat through diplomatic victory." At the same time, Currie and Harry Dexter White, then Under Secretary of the Treasury, urged Currie to apply pressure to prevent any agreement with Japan. Elizabeth Bentley later testified that both Currie and White aided her in her work for Soviet Military Intelligence. Whittaker Chambers corroborated her testimony as it related to White.

After Pearl Harbor, Lauchlin Currie remained as executive assistant to the President and special adviser on Far Eastern affairs. Lattimore returned from China in February, 1942, and used a desk in Currie's office in the State Department Building; thereafter, for four months or so, Lattimore had a White House telephone extension, took care of Currie's highly sensitive and important mail, and used White House stationery for correspondence. Lattimore, incidentally, made extensive efforts to conceal this relationship throughout his testimony to the Subcommittee, as he had successfully done earlier, before the Tydings Subcommittee. Currie, from his vantage post next to the President, helped the IPR to influence American policy in support of Communist aims in China. He arranged a conference in October, 1942, between Sumner Welles, then Under Secretary of State, and Earl Browder, American Communist leader. The result was a communiqué implying equality between the Chinese Government and the Chinese Communists. This communiqué was printed in full in the *Daily Worker* (Oct. 16, 1942), and gave considerable prestige to the Chinese Communists for the first time.

Meanwhile Frederick V. Field temporarily left the IPR to become an officer of the Comintern-led American Peace Mobilization. This was during the Hitler-Stalin pact. In February, 1942, Carter and Currie almost succeeded in obtaining for Field a commission in Army Intelligence [as a Far East expert].*

*ED.'s NOTE: Field was rejected for this post (according to *Life* Magazine, July 23, 1951) because he flunked his security test. Thereafter, the Communist Party was his career.

During 1942, two other IPR stalwarts found their way into key government posts: Michael Greenberg, who had succeeded Lattimore as editor of the IPR publication *Public Affairs*, was appointed to a position with the Board of Economic Warfare, and moved into Currie's White House office; and Professor John K. Fairbank of Harvard, who became head of the China Division of the OWI, working under Lattimore; Fairbank also used Lauchlin Currie's White House mailing address. [Both Greenberg and Fairbank were proved Soviet sympathizers.]

"Many persons in and around the IPR, in particular Edward C. Carter, Frederick V. Field, T. A. Bisson, Lawrence K. Rosinger, and Maxwell S. Stewart, knowingly and deliberately used the language of books and articles they wrote or edited in an attempt to influence the American public by means of the pro-Communist or pro-Soviet content of such writings," was one of the conclusions of the Senate Committee. Bisson, an editor of *Amerasia*, also edited its predecessor, *China Today*, together with Field. Bisson later taught political science at the University of California at Berkeley.

John S. Service and John P. Davies, both connected with the IPR, influenced American policy decisively from their China posts. In June, 1944, Service advised sending arms direct to the Communists. On November 15, Davies recommended "a coalition Chinese Government in which the Communists find a satisfactory place."

The mission of Vice President Henry Wallace to China, in 1944, resulted in a further net gain for the Communists. With Wallace, on the mission, were Professor Hazard of Columbia, John Carter Vincent, and Owen Lattimore. The result was a Wallace report to President Roosevelt decrying Chiang Kai-shek, attacking Chiang's opposition to the Communists, and demanding that Chiang come to terms with the Soviet Union. After Wallace's return from China he published a book entitled *Soviet Asia Mission*, mostly written by Andrew Steiger, identified as a Communist, and writer for the *Daily Worker*. The IPR also published a Wallace pamphlet called *Our Job in the Pacific*, which was energetically propagated by American Communists, and sold in their bookstores as a guide to correct thinking on the Far East.

NO HALF-MEASURES FOR IPR

During the years 1944 and 1945, Lattimore was alternately adviser to Chiang Kai-shek, associate of Lauchlin Currie, companion to Wallace, official of the OWI, and finally member of the Pauley Reparations Mission to Japan. Lattimore's book, *Solution in Asia*, published in February, 1945, paid glowing tribute to the Chinese Communists as progressive, democratic, and desirable. He also stated that the Soviet Union stands for democracy "because it stands for strategic security, economic prosperity, technological progress, miraculous medicine, free education, equality of opportunity, and democracy: a powerful combination." Advance copies of the Lattimore book were sent to Gromyko and a host of other Soviet officials.

In January, 1945, the IPR held a high-level conference at Hot Springs, Virginia, to which top-government policymakers were invited. Raymond Dennett, a leading IPR official at the time, described the conference as a trial balloon for the UN conference at San Francisco. Delegates to the conference were recommended by Philip Jessup and Lauchlin Currie. Of thirty recommendations made by Jessup, ten were later described by witnesses before the

Subcommittee as being associated with the Communist apparatus. The State Department gave official recognition to the conference. Two months after the conference ended, Alger Hiss recommended that copies of the conference report be made available to each of the delegates at the UN conference.

The influence of the IPR on American policy by no means ended with the conclusion of World War II. Publications of the IPR were almost the only ones on the Far East coming into the State Department. Alger Hiss became head of postwar planning for the State Department, and had access to every document, paper, and secret of the United States Government. Hiss' connection with the IPR was not a casual one. He left the State Department in February, 1947, to become president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The following IPR personnel were active in postwar planning: Esther Brunauer, Frank Coe, Lauchlin Currie, Harold Glasser, Alger Hiss, Philip Jessup, William T. Stone, and Harry Dexter White. The IPR not only influenced government policy directly, but also through the intermediary of Soviet agents.

Beginning in the summer of 1945, Owen Lattimore and John Carter Vincent helped steer American policy from support of the Chinese Nationalist Government, to a policy of treating the government and the Communist rebels equally. This policy led, of course, to ultimate military victory for the Communists. As late as the summer of 1945, such anti-Communists as Joseph Grew, Eugene Dooman, and Joseph Ballantine wielded considerable influence in the State Department's Far Eastern policy. By the fall of 1945, these men were replaced by Acheson and Vincent. The departure of the anti-Communists came after months of steady pressure against them by the IPR personnel and the pro-Soviet and Communist press.

From November, 1945, through 1946 and 1947, John Carter Vincent, as head of the Far Eastern Division, threw his weight against the Nationalists and in behalf of the Communists. A Vincent memorandum dated August 10, 1946, demanded that Chiang come to terms with the Communists. During this period, Philip Jessup opposed American aid to the Chinese Government against the rebels.

In 1947 Israel Epstein (identified as a Communist agent) wrote a book called *The Unfinished Revolution*. Published by Little, Brown, and Company, it brazenly supported the Communist stand on China without reservations.

On December 23, 1949, the State Department sent out a memorandum to all Far Eastern personnel emphasizing that Formosa was unimportant, and that its fall to the Communists would be no serious matter. This came within three days after a military report declared Formosa was of key importance to the defense of non-Communist Far Eastern areas.

On January 5, 1950, President Truman announced the end of all aid to the Chinese Government on Formosa, and declared that Formosa should be returned to what he called "China." Shortly before this, Senator H. Alexander Smith noted in his diary: "Lunch with Philip Jessup and Ray Fosdick. They are leaning toward the British who want to recognize Communist China."

Of all the persons who led the IPR into a position of influencing the United States Government toward a favorable view of the Chinese Communists, Owen Lattimore stands out as the most important. The fact that Lattimore

knew Outer Mongolia to be Soviet-controlled at precisely the same time he described it as independent, and urged American recognition, was one of the facts which led the Subcommittee to conclude that Lattimore's several contradictions and memory lapses did not proceed from ignorance or confused thinking. Lattimore was unable to explain his meeting with Soviet Ambassador Oumansky on June 18, 1941, or his meeting with Soviet agent Rogoff in January, 1944, or his associations with G. C. Dolbin of the Soviet Foreign Office, and with General Feng Yushiang, a paid Soviet agent. On July 17, 1949, Lattimore gave his famous recommendation for American policy in Korea: "The thing to do is to let South Korea fall but not let it look as though we pushed it."

For 1952, the Rockefeller Foundation allotted \$50,000 to the IPR. As late as October, 1949, Lattimore and Rosinger were invited by the State Department to give their advice on China. In the winter of 1949-1950, the Rockefeller Foundation paid Lawrence Rosinger \$2,000 to enable him to attend an IPR conference at New Delhi, India, where the sessions were primarily devoted to vicious attacks upon the United States. The same Rockefeller Foundation granted him \$6,000 to write the book, *State of Asia*, published by Knopf under the auspices of the IPR, in 1951. On January 29, 1952, Lawrence Rosinger refused to say whether or not he was a Communist, when questioned by the McCarran committee. This refusal came after he was positively identified as a Communist by three witnesses under sworn testimony.

The story of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and the disastrous influence it has had on the United States and freedom in Asia, is one of the most unhappy in our history.

THAT OLD DEVIL: PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The most important question which we must answer, in order to come to some conclusion as to what our policy should be against Soviet Communism, is this: Is peaceful coexistence between the free world and the Soviet Union possible? Stalin repeatedly asserted that true peace cannot be achieved until a world USSR is established. The essence of the Soviet "peace policy" is that wars — both cold and hot — must be incessantly waged until all non-Soviet states are destroyed.

Soviet tactics have alternated between the frontal assault and the united front, but Soviet strategy remains constant: the doctrine of permanent wars and revolutions until all non-Soviet states are eliminated. No serious or open-minded student of Soviet behavior can deny this Soviet intention.

No matter what our views may be — the Kremlin wants war; no matter how much we wanted peace in 1939 and 1941, Hitler and Tojo wanted war. It takes two to make peace, and only one to make war. If our opponent has decided that he is at war with us, then there is war, no matter how much we may want peace, beat our breast, and sign peace petitions. Stalin wanted war; we wanted peace. The result? Korea.

Some Americans, who do not wish to be bothered, comfortingly assert: "Time is on our side." Has, in fact, time been on our side? In 1945, we had an atomic monopoly. Today, we no longer have that monopoly. We have given the Soviet Union time to build up a stockpile of decisive weapons.

Another problem: Which is more important in over-all strategy, Europe or Asia? The answer most frequently

heard is that Europe is the first line of defense. But the war theater is Asia. Obviously the Kremlin is not going to let us choose the field of battle. It sees us sending aid to Europe, it hears us proclaim our comparative disdain for Formosa, Korea, the Far East. Is it any wonder that the Soviet chose to strike in Asia? Asia is more populous, comprises a greater territory, possesses raw materials of more importance to us than Europe's, notably the rubber, tin, and manganese of southeast Asia. Asia is at least as important as Europe, if not more so.

Our European policy has primarily sought to benefit Britain and France. Yet those two countries have done relatively little in the over-all collective security effort. Britain has recognized Red China and given Red China war material. There is no question of abandoning Britain and France, but the suggestion is made that we re-evaluate our aid program to benefit primarily those nations which want help and are in a position to help. The strategic location, raw materials, industrial productivity, and manpower of Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Greece, and Turkey make them important. Adenauer is our best friend in Europe.

The fact to be remembered above all others is that "D" day of World War III is an event not of the future, but of the past. World War III began in 1944, when the Communists attacked the Greek Government. Since that time we have lost 600 million persons to the Soviet Empire, as well as seven million square miles of territory. Clearly, we are losing this war. The trend must soon be reversed, for there remains little that we can give away.

We are confronted with a power, the Soviet Empire, which has staked its existence on the strength of propaganda backed by force. It seems safe to say that Stalin and his associates followed Hitler and Goebbels in their conviction that you can condition human beings into believing anything you tell them.

Communist propaganda, to be effective, must have behind it military and coercive power. Nazi propaganda was effective when Hitler was strong and successful; today it is ludicrous. "The Soviet régime is nailed in place by bayonets and held together by an omnipresent demonstration of force as well as by the psychological trickery of propaganda," said William Bedell Smith, former chief of our Central Intelligence Agency, and onetime American ambassador to Moscow.

SOVIET STRATEGY ANALYZED

Propaganda is most effective when it confirms people in what they want to believe. Thus the Kremlin's "peace offensive" is much more effective than its propaganda for communism. Similarly, Soviet propaganda efforts directed at nationalistic feelings in Iran and Asia are effective because they appeal to an elemental desire.

Ideological weapons are crucially important to the Communist apparatus in waging war for world domination. Propaganda is the long-range siege gun of Soviet power. Communist propaganda seeks to destroy all ideas and ideologies inimical to communism; it attempts to destroy the very language by which an opposing ideology expresses itself.

The two most important characteristics of Soviet propaganda are: (1) that it invariably accuses other states of doing those things which the Soviet Empire itself is doing, or intends to do; and (2) that the Soviet Empire has, in its

international relations, carried over into peacetime the propaganda tactics of deception, falsification, and evasion, which we have hitherto associated only with a state of war.

Soviet tactics change as circumstances change, but Soviet strategy remains fixed. Lenin said: "We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time remains unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful clashes between the Soviet Republic and bourgeois states will be inevitable." Later, Stalin declared: "The war with the capitalist countries, which is inevitable, may be delayed either until proletarian revolution ripens in Europe, or until colonial revolutions come fully to a head, or, finally, until the capitalists fight among themselves over the division of colonies." This was a resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International: "Revolutionary war of the proletarian dictatorship is but a continuation of revolutionary peace by other means." Here is laid bare the much-vaunted Soviet peace policy: that the Soviets want incessant war, or permanent revolution, until all non-Soviet states are destroyed and a world USSR is established.

The Kremlin therefore wants peace just as Hitler wanted peace — it wants us to be peaceful while it does us in. It wants a piece of Poland, a piece of Czechoslovakia, etc. For tactical reasons, Soviet leaders have said and probably will say again that they believe in peaceful coexistence, but this is a tactical maneuver. An appreciation of the Soviet doctrine of the impossibility of peaceful coexistence is the key to all Soviet propaganda. Tactical changes in Soviet propaganda are subordinated to the furthering of the Soviet goal of world conquest through military and revolutionary methods. Their peace campaign means that the free world shall remain peaceful and unarmed while the Soviets run rampant.

The peace-at-any-prices are having a field day in the free world today, and Soviet psychological warfare finds many eager and unpaid assistants to help it in its work.

It is difficult for us to appreciate the immensity of the Soviet propaganda effort. In the Soviet Empire, all the mass media are part of the state apparatus. Approximately 75 per cent of all speeches and memoranda in the UN emanate from Soviet sources. In the United States alone there exist 210 Communist-directed newspapers and magazines whose primary job it is to spread Soviet psychological warfare. This does not count numerous anti-anti-Communist publications.

One of the greatest weaknesses in American policy is that it has been continuously subservient to Soviet policy. We say we cannot act decisively against American communism because it might play into the hands of Soviet propaganda. The Soviets damn us if we do, and damn us if we don't. The only logical course is to do what we think is correct, regardless of what we think the Soviet reaction may be.

The United States, as leader of the free world, must make the decision which alone can lead us to victory — the decision to build up the non-Soviet world (and pre-eminently those states that have their hearts in the anti-Soviet crusade), with a view not of appeasement or containment-coexistence, but of an offensive leading to the ultimate cutting of the Soviet cancer from the world body politic.

Nothing short of this will bring world peace.

END

Freedom's Fortress

(Continued from page 6)

properly used and in the right dosage, can change the whole picture in Asia, and can create an organized and articulate anti-communism in the Chinese communities that would spill over and infect the Malays, the Thais, and the Indonesians. But it will not be possible to stir up anti-Communist feeling merely by damning Red China. Most overseas Chinese are pro-Communist because there seems to be no alternative.

Free China Has Only Antidote

The reason there has been no alternative is that either through decisions of controlling governments in Southeast Asia, or because the Communists have captured the press, it has not been possible for the Chinese in Singapore, Indonesia, or Borneo to know anything about the other China — Free China on Formosa. And Free China has a magnificent story to tell; it has the only antidote for creeping communism in Southeast Asia.

It is a difficult story to tell, because Free China has no official representatives in the vast, Chinese city of Singapore. Even Hong Kong, with two million refugees from Communist China, has no Nationalist representative. Free China has no relations with Indonesia, British Borneo, the Federated Malay States, or Burma. It is extremely difficult for Nationalist Chinese to visit most of these areas, and impossible for a holder of a Nationalist passport to visit Indonesia or Burma. During the summer of 1956 a high Nationalist official visited all the nations of Southeast Asia except Burma and Indonesia, but he traveled incognito and with American assistance.

Typical of the general problem faced is the story of a group of anti-Communist students in Singapore who attempted to organize to fight Red control of the high schools. For months the British held up the necessary registration certificate. The organization was finally allowed to register, but under this innocuous name, "The Singapore Youth Arts Society." All this in an area where the British have spent millions of dollars in actually fighting the Reds! (It should be observed in passing that officially the British have not been fighting Communists in the jungles of Malaya; the enemy are called "bandits" or terrorists. The Brit-

ish have developed neutrality in Singapore to a fine point where there can be no organized anti-Communists because there are officially no Communists.)

When we add the difficulties caused by the Free Chinese themselves, we have a situation where it is difficult to apply the needed antidote. I have mentioned the manner in which the Nationalist government has responded to problems now faced. It is ironic that this government which supposedly finances a vast "China Lobby" in the United States will not allow an American citizen to visit Formosa until permission has been obtained from Taipei, by cable, and at a cost of \$10 and three to six weeks waiting. It is also hard to understand why Free China, while officially inviting American tourists to visit Formosa, makes it almost impossible to visit some of the most scenic areas. A tourist cannot officially take a picture of the government building in downtown Taipei, even though picture post cards of the building can be purchased a block away; also, a power development that is widely pictured in United States and Chinese government publications cannot be snapped. An American taking a picture of the Silo Highway bridge in Central Formosa, even if a mile away, would be mobbed by guards. Yet this same bridge is pictured on postage stamps currently in use.

Problems Must First Be Solved

So it is clear that there are problems to be solved before Rodney Gilbert's "organized expression of hostility and contempt" for the Chinese Reds can be developed. The simple truth is that there is a considerable degree of hostility and contempt for the Nationalist government that must first be overcome.

But before undertaking to show how the problems can be solved, we need to know just what Free China has to tell the people of Asia. It has been on its refugee island for seven years. What are Free China's accomplishments that might impress the people of Southeast Asia?

Under the Nationalist government, the standard of living on Formosa has become, barring the possible exception of Japan, the highest in all Asia.

While Nehru of India has talked

loudly of improving the lot of the peasant, Free China has put into effect a sweeping land reform program that has virtually eliminated farm tenancy and has increased agricultural productions to heights never achieved even during the days when Formosa was ruled by the efficient Japanese.

While Red China has boasted of its campaign against flies, *Free China has completely eliminated cholera, plague, smallpox, typhus — all the dread scourge diseases of Asia.*

While Communist China's industrial, social and agricultural "revolution" have taken the lives of 15,600,000 citizens executed and placed 25 million people in slave labor camps, Free China has had a peaceful industrial revolution that has paralleled the improvement in agriculture to make of Formosa what one American writer recently called "The Switzerland of Asia."

Over 90 per cent of the children of Free China are in school, and the literacy rate is among the highest in Asia.

Magnificent Progress on Offshore Islands

The accomplishments of the Nationalist government on the offshore islands, Matsu and Quemoy, make a thrilling story. Quemoy has been under constant artillery fire for seven years. It was a barren island, devoid of trees, populated by some 40,000 farmers and fishermen who barely eked out a living. Today Quemoy is the paradise island of the China coast, exporting hogs and vegetables. Its once barren hills are now green. Where there were three schools before, there are fifty schools today. A magnificent 500-bed hospital, a network of fine highways, and a daily newspaper complete the picture of what has been done here; and, to a lesser degree, on Matsu Island.

The story of the offshore islands alone could have tremendous influence on the overseas Chinese. There are 100,000 Chinese in the British Colony of Sarawak, whose ancestral home is within 75 miles of Matsu. In Singapore alone there are 50,000 Chinese who call Quemoy their home — more than the present civilian population of the island.

Here certainly are developments that will impress the people of Asia, both Chinese and non-Chinese. The Free Chinese on Formosa have actually accomplished all the things the

Chinese Reds claim to have done but have failed in doing. And the progress of Free China has been made without mass arrests, without use of slave labor. Not one "landlord" has been executed during Formosa's land reform program. Yet this one program is of tremendous significance. As one Chinese official put it, "Land reform was like negotiating with a tiger for his fur!" But it was accomplished, legally, effectively, and without a taint of corruption.

The Nationalists came to Formosa in 1949 beaten, disillusioned, written off by the whole world. They have risen from the bitter ashes of defeat to create an honest, efficient, and stable government. All over Formosa the visitor, who wishes to see, can find examples of this rebirth, and can find thrilling accomplishments.

Free Enterprise Sires New Formosa

Near the city of Tainan in South Formosa, there is a new oil-cracking and refining plant, of the most advanced design and of a type that one might expect to find in Oklahoma or Texas. It is the only plant of its kind in Asia, built completely without American supervision, operating completely without American supervision.

In the mountains of Formosa there is a vast new power development, being built with the help and time-to-time supervision of five American experts. In South Korea 250 Americans are supervising and actually building a similar installation.

A vast mountain chain, with 77 peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, runs the length of Formosa. One of the main transportation problems has been that there is no east-west highway through the mountains. There will soon be such a highway, built by the Free Chinese. And the building of this highway brings out another significant development. Construction work will be done by over-age Nationalist soldiers as a part of a Veterans' Retirement Program that is taking every over-age soldier out of Chiang's armies.

There are 77,000 over-age men being retired from service. In old China the soldier who had lost his usefulness was simply dumped, without help or pension, and perhaps hundreds of miles from his native village. But Free China's veterans' project not only is efficient, it has a heart. Soldiers who are ill are being cared for in domiciliary homes. Those who are in good

health and can still work are being used in projects such as the east-west highway.

As the soldiers work their new road into the mountains of Central Formosa, vast new valleys will be opened to farming. Virgin forests will be accessible for development. And it will be the retired soldier who gets first chance to stake out a claim and become a self-supporting farmer, to work in the new sawmills that will dot the mountains, and to open a shop in the new villages that are abuilding.

It is no longer true that the Nationalist army is made up of over-age men, unable to fight. It is equally untrue that the Nationalist government is made up of doddering old men. That

average age of the cabinet is a doddering 54!

What a contrast between these men and the ex-murderers sent abroad by the Reds, men who are illiterate except in Marxian literature. Who can argue that the overseas Chinese who value education so much that they began to provide their own schools decades ago, would not be attracted to men like Doctor Yu, "The Fish," who believes that as Minister of National Defense it is his duty to share all the dangers of Free China's fighting men, who flies deep over the China mainland on leaflet raids, and who goes on Nationalist destroyer patrol?

Free China has a story to tell the rest of Asia, and could give Prime

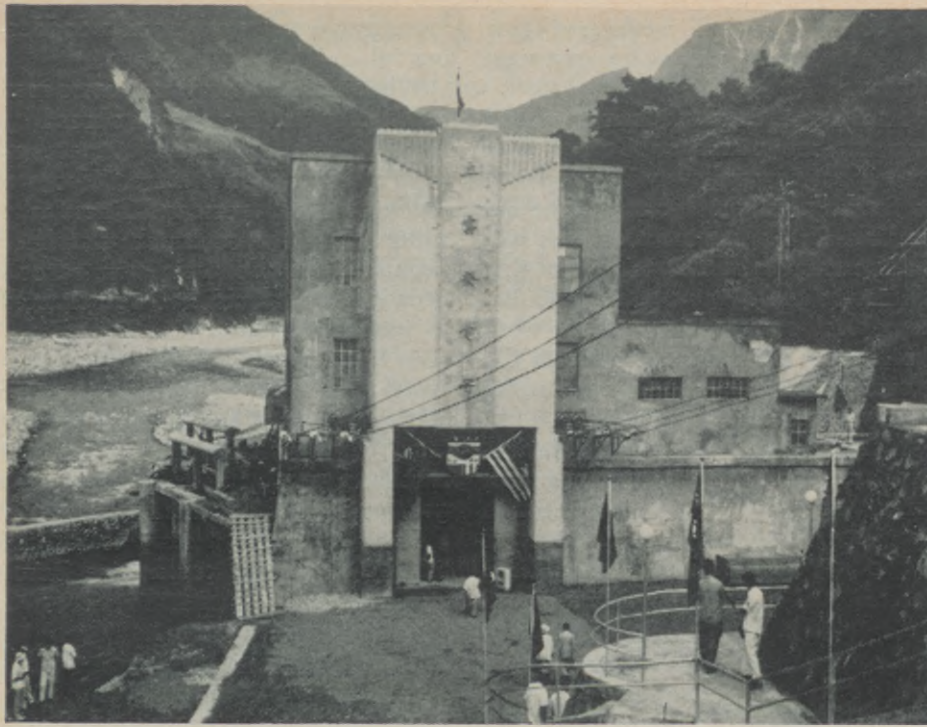


Formosa's East coast highway, cut into cliffs for sixty miles.

the key men of Free China are not old fogies or doddering is quickly evident to anyone familiar with Formosa.

Doctor Yu Ta-wei, age 56, has a Ph.D. degree. Affectionately known as "The Fish," he is Minister of National Defense. The average age of Nationalist China's eleven top generals and admirals is 50. Eight of the eleven have studied abroad and five have advanced degrees, including three M.A.'s and one Ph.D. Among China's top diplomatic officials there are 22 men who hold doctorates. The total of all advanced degrees in the diplomatic service is a staggering 47. There are seven holders of advanced degrees in Chiang Kai-shek's cabinet, and the

Minister Nehru some valuable lessons in good government. There are solid accomplishments which have to do with the facts of life: the amount of rice in the bowl, the kind of food available on the market, the clothes that can be bought, the houses that common people can afford. These are more important to suffering people than democratic elections and the growth of constitutional government. There has been progress in these areas, but the people of Viet-Nam and Laos and Indonesia have little interest in such developments. They will be impressed by the fact that a Formosan farmer owns his own land and house, that he has the use of modern insecticides, that



New power plant on Formosa

he can sell his rice on a relatively free market and receive a good price. The unpleasant truth is that most of Asia is not ready for nor interested in democracy as we know it. But Asia is interested in food, housing, clothing, and a chance to live a decent life.

There are two important questions to be answered. Will the people of Southeast Asia, isolated from the truth and already far along the neutral path to communism, listen? And how can the story get through?

Proof That Asia Will Listen

The answer to the first question is a resounding affirmative. A few months ago, while traveling in North Borneo, I visited Sareiki, in Sarawak. This area is heavily populated by Chinese from Foochow, on the China coast directly east of Formosa. The Sarawak Chinese still speak the Foochow dialect, which also happens to be the language I learned as a child, for I, too, was born near Foochow.

When it was known that I was in Sareiki, a large group of Chinese asked for an opportunity to meet and greet me. We met in the home of a missionary, and soon I found myself reporting on my travels and observations in the Far East. I spoke of Japan, Korea, Formosa, and Red China. Then began the questions, hesitant at first, then eager. There were questions about Formosa, about the Nationalist government, about Quemoy Island. For five hours I answered questions from a people

pathetically eager to learn, to talk, to discuss. And this from a population that is considered 80 per cent pro-Communist!

In January I was engaged by Donald Moore, the intensely anti-Communist Englishman who operates a publishing business and lecture bureau in Singapore, to speak in that city. I selected as my topic the story of Formosa and the offshore islands. I had been warned there was a small element of danger in my appearance, that there had never been a public lecture critical of Red China, and that at the least I could expect violent heckling. Those who were known Reds were pointed out beforehand; I was warned that in the question period I could expect trouble.

In preparation I had spent hours gathering facts and figures, and I had these at my fingertips. And in seven years of lecturing I have never had a more rapt audience. There was not one attempt at heckling — only one very feeble attempt to trap me in a question — and when I finished there was an ovation.

Strongly Favorable Response

All the next day Chinese telephoned me at my hotel, expressing pathetic thanks for what I had said, asking if I could not stay longer in order to meet with other groups. And Singapore, it must be remembered, is a city which has been virtually under Communist control for two years, a city where

brutal murders and blackmail have been a frequent weapon of the Reds.

In the past year I have traveled around the periphery of Communist Asia from the borders of North Korea to Kalimpong, trade city on the Indo-Tibetan frontier. In all places where there are Chinese I found people eager to listen, and full of questions. Even in India, which suffers from national mental claustrophobia, I found those who will listen. And while they may not go away convinced, they at least leave with a troubled mind and conscience.

There can be no doubt that the overseas Chinese are eager to know the truth. For them, Formosa and Free China can be made into a vital and important symbol, a constant reminder that there is a China that is not enslaved. And through these vast overseas Chinese communities it will be possible to generate Rodney Gilbert's "organized expression" of hostility and contempt for Red China and all that it stands for.

But how can this antidote be applied to people surrounded by hostile authority and a captive press? Again Rodney Gilbert gives a clue when he suggests that a small amount of money can finance the effective anti-Communist campaign needed. In fact the organization, even the money, is already available.

USIS Could Tell Free China Story

The United States Information Service maintains a dozen offices in Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, the reputation of USIS has fallen to such a low point in some places that anything coming from it immediately loses value. But there are ways USIS, working with anti-Communist groups, can tell the story.

USIS has produced hundreds of documentary motion pictures, most of which are worthless. But on the island of Formosa there are stories for a dozen top-flight documentaries, films that can do wonders in Southeast Asia. One title, merely showing what Formosa is like, placing emphasis on the lush crops, the markets filled with healthy people, buying from great piles of vegetables and fruits, from meat stalls filled with pork, would be worth all the millions USIS is currently spending on more glamorous projects. Another film, merely showing the life of a typical Formosan farmer, who owns his land and his home, could be equally effective.

The film need not and should not be shown with an American government credit line. They need only be made available, to the scattering of staunch and still active anti-Communist Chinese, to the scores of American mission schools, to the trade guilds, and to the chambers of commerce.

There is such a film now available. It could be made in three Chinese dialect versions, *in color*, with copies for every country in Southeast Asia, for a total of \$10,000. But when I discussed this idea with a USIS official in the Far East, he said wearily, "Yes, it is an excellent idea. But they won't see it in Washington."

The United States Information Agency has some excellent men in the Far East (and also several whose qualifications are distinctly limited). It is doing a fair to excellent job in Hong Kong, Saigon and Taipei. In Singapore and Thailand it might just as well go out of business. But much of USIS's troubles stem from the Washington preconception of what makes good propaganda.

USIS Presently Mis-Firing

A few weeks ago a typical USIS project was announced: a 5,000 volume collection of American books (in English) is being sent to Indonesia, where most people cannot read anything, much less English. After the people of Indonesia are properly impressed by books they cannot read, USIS plans to ship this magnificent collection to India.

Another current project is a twenty-ton exhibit called "The Peoples' Capitalism," designed to show all the wonders of life in America. The people of Asia have but to follow the path of capitalism and they, too, can have flush toilets and electricity.

That the people of Southeast Asia have needs more transcending than electricity will come as a grave shock to Washington propagandists. And it is of course heretical and even subversive to imply that 5,000 beautifully-bound American books will not make friends for America.

Books and the printed word in general have a place in the fight. But not books in English, nor expensive books. Over and over again, from Tokyo to Singapore, I was told of the need of simple books, translated into local languages, sold at rock-bottom prices, or even given to high schools. Every Chinese high school in Southeast Asia needs to have library copies of a book

on Free China, and an equally simple book on communism. If the right books are not available, they can be written.

And if the Communists are able to bribe their way into control of newspapers, why cannot the Free World subsidize newspapers and publishers? Why cannot the United States, under cover of a private organization, subsidize the one faltering, poorly-edited and starving anti-Communist newspaper in Singapore? Why cannot the same thing be done in Bangkok and Hong Kong before the press of these cities is lost?

There are 370 privately-operated schools in Singapore, 400 in Malaya, over 100 in Indonesia, 210 in Burma, 600 in Hong Kong, others in Thailand, North Borneo. Why is it not possible for these schools, used to date as rallying grounds for Communists, to become instead rallying points for anti-Communists? It will require a little money for organization; books, newspapers, and motion pictures will be needed. But as Rodney Gilbert has pointed out, a fraction of the money we are now giving to some of the neutrals will do the job.

Several agencies of the United States government send visiting scholars and lecturers abroad. I have met them in a dozen countries. And in general it appears that these men are selected primarily on the basis of a lukewarm attitude about communism. I have been told, "We can't send a vigorously anti-Communist lecturer to

India or Singapore. It would cause all kinds of trouble."

But if we are to save Asia, we must understand it is time to cause trouble, that there is a need for outstanding Americans with unequivocal views on communism instead of visiting professors of education. Some of the men might not last long in a few places, but before they receive their passports, they will have planted seeds, will have made *young people think*.

The United States government currently has contracts with fifty-one American universities and colleges to carry on special educational projects abroad. American professors are showing the South Koreans how to educate their children. In India, American teachers are teaching home economics. Elsewhere Americans are setting up engineering schools, teachers' colleges, and libraries.

Granted that it is important to train engineers and mechanics, teachers and librarians, all this alone is not enough unless we can also help make people think, can open eyes to the evil that threatens to engulf nations. There are many American professors of political science, men of personality and deep convictions, who could go into the fog-ridden schools and colleges of Southeast Asia and *make young people think*.

And before the growth of neutralism can be stopped, it will be necessary to remove the spirit of defeatism

(Continued on page 55)



Formosa's abundant food will impress Southeast Asians.

Interview of Gaganvihari L. Mehta

(Continued from page 11)

four years, and have traveled to nearly thirty states. I have visited a number of universities and educational institutions, Chambers of Commerce — a cross-section of the people. I know from India also what the feelings are. And I think we should all recognize that free countries can disagree with one another and yet cooperate for common purposes.

"So far as your specific question is concerned," he summarized, "my own impression is that there has been less misunderstanding in recent months than before."

India's Neutralism Questioned

"Mr. Ambassador, a few moments ago you very briefly and very effectively outlined your form of government with respect to its democratic institutions and the freedom of the press," reminded Mr. Wilson. "What you said about your government is true of ours. They are almost identical in those respects. Both would appear to be at complete cross-purposes with the form of government in the Soviet Union."

"Now, with the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States on the other, heading up two powerful forces, each attempting to persuade the world that each is correct," he asked, "how can the Indian government be neutral?"

"Well, first of all," replied Ambassador Mehta, "let me say that we believe as you believe — that each country should have its own social system and its own economic order. What we object to (just as you do), is the imposition of this by force, or by subversion. This country has been assisting Yugoslavia, which has a Communist system, both economically and militarily because it feels it is up to the Yugoslavian people to decide what form of government they will have, what society they will have."

"Now you might think that the particular economic system which has developed in *this* country is most suited," he stressed. "Undoubtedly it is most suited to *this* country — but that doesn't mean it is most suited for *other* countries."

Mr. Wilson explained that he was referring not to the economic system, but to the political system.

"Yes, all right," agreed Ambassador Mehta, "political system also. Because certain countries believe in a democratic system that doesn't mean that this same system is suitable to all countries. There are several countries in South America, for example, which don't have a democratic system of government. I think you recognize them and have friendly relations with them."

Ambassador Mehta went on to point out that since the summit conference last year it is recognized on all sides that a nuclear war for all practical purposes has to be ruled out, and for that reason a "cold war" has been replaced by a cold peace.

"I don't know in a 'cold peace' what neutralism means," he concluded.

[Mr. Wilson's question had clearly outlined India's contradictory position in refusing to ally herself with the United States, while at the same time claiming a belief in freedom and the fundamental principles of democracy. In stressing that we were in a period of "cold peace," where affiliation with one camp or the other should be unnecessary, Ambassador Mehta chose to ignore the obvious fact that two ideologies are warring for control of the minds of all mankind.]

Is Communist Aggression Recognized?

Mr. Lindley asked, "Mr. Ambassador, isn't the real question here the foreign policy that a country pursues? What bothers us, I think, is that India doesn't seem to have recognized that the Communist states have been aggressive — both the Soviet Communist state and the Chinese Communist state. In fact, the Chinese Communist state still stands under the conviction of aggression before the United Nations, doesn't it?"

"Umm," demurred Ambassador Mehta.

"Well, I notice in his speech of March 29th on foreign policy," pursued Mr. Lindley, "Prime Minister Nehru spoke of the situation in Indochina (and I take this as an example of the sort of thing that puzzles us when we read these speeches in this country). He was very critical of South Viet-Nam because it had not agreed to the elections throughout Viet-Nam prescribed by the Geneva

Convention, although, as he said, South Viet-Nam did not sign that convention. He went on and discussed Cambodia. He made no mention whatsoever of Laos, where the Communists have failed to comply with the Geneva agreement by failing to put their forces under the command of the government. He ignored that completely, although he criticized South Viet-Nam. That is the sort of thing that puzzles us."

Ambassador Mehta replied that India is represented on the commission and that the Indian representative has made some proposals for a settlement between the central Laos government and the two provinces which refuse to integrate. "In fact," he said, "these proposals have been accepted by the royal government of Laos, but not accepted, so far as I know, by the other two provinces."

Mr. Lucas put into words a question basic to United States relations with India by asking, "Mr. Ambassador, do the Indian people feel that this country has ever sought to impose our form of government on others by force and subversion?"

India's Attitude Toward West

Mr. Mehta replied in the negative. "There is no question about that," he stated. "No sensible Indian says that there has been any attempt by this country to impose a form of government on any other country. However, as relates to the question Mr. Lindley asked earlier about the attitude towards the West, I should like to differentiate quite frankly between some of the countries which are known as having had colonies, or which even now have colonies and an empire in the East. Naturally that is a question which is still in the Indian mind."

"Changing the subject for just a moment," inserted Mr. Lucas, "why has your government so consistently refused to arbitrate its dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir?"

"We have not refused to arbitrate," Ambassador Mehta stated decisively. "The point there is — and I can tell you quite frankly — that I don't know why the United Nations has never condemned aggression of Pakistan. This has been held to be aggression by Sir Owen Dixon, a man appointed by the United Nations to the Commission on Kashmir. You see, if aggression is to be condemned in Korea, aggression could also have been condemned in Kashmir. Also, it was India

that took that matter to the Security Council when aggression was committed by Pakistan, and this has been admitted by the United Nations Commission — that aggression was committed."

"Mr. Ambassador, I have no hope of getting the Kashmir question solved on this program," stated Mr. Lindley. "I would like to go to the question of aid to India. The United States is providing some technical assistance and some economic assistance to India at the present time, isn't it?"

"It is 'some' in relation to the total magnitude of our plan," replied Mr. Mehta, "but it has been most useful." He added that this constituted economic as well as technical assistance.

"There have been no strings attached to that which were embarrassing to India?" asked Mr. Lindley.

Mr. Mehta agreed that there had not been.

Nehru Speaks of "Strings" Attached

"Why is it that your Prime Minister, when he discusses these matters, so often intimates that there is a problem of strings attached?" inquired Mr. Lindley. "He doesn't say that our aid has strings attached, but I see in his speech on March 29th he said that, 'there is nothing wrong about the richer countries from their own viewpoint or any other giving aid to the development of these countries (meaning the underdeveloped countries).' That is a direct quote. Then he goes on to say, 'However, what we have to watch about — they may sometimes want something in exchange.' He doesn't seem to realize that we have an interest in the survival of India which we've demonstrated by putting this money in without any strings attached. Why does he keep on talking about strings?"

"Is there any reference there that the United States has given aid to India with strings?" queried Mr. Mehta.

"No, he doesn't mention the United States at all," replied Mr. Lindley. "But he does say 'they' — and the use of 'they' would logically refer to the great powers. . . ."

Mr. Mehta indicated disagreement on this score, stating that Mr. Nehru would not accept aid of that nature.

"I think you will admit, Mr. Lindley," he continued, "that there is a certain amount of irritation in this country among at least certain sections of the people when aid is given to a

country that does not follow the same foreign policy as you do. And similarly there is a feeling in other countries that they have an obligation to a single individual country. While this is not a question of any kind of 'owner's condition' laid down for the aid, there is a psychological feeling, certainly, which could be averted if it were possible to channel this aid through the United Nations, where the country itself could give some assistance."

Mr. Mehta made reference to India's participation in the Colombo Plan, pointing out that under that plan India also gives some technical assistance with what little resources it has.

"But, Mr. Ambassador, why should India object to taking aid directly from the United States?" Mr. Lindley asked.

"Well, it does not object, or else it wouldn't have taken it," Mr. Mehta replied flatly, refusing to classify the "psychological feeling" he had referred to as "objection."

"I am sure they wouldn't," pursued Mr. Lindley, "but here is Mr. Nehru (as you have just said) favoring giving aid through the United Nations. What's wrong with the way it's being done now?"

Collective Source Preferred

Ambassador Mehta's reply indicated that in the eyes of India, at least, there would be less feeling that strings of foreign control accompanied foreign aid if this were channeled through the United Nations and reached recipient nations from a collective source. "It is not myself alone who say this," he pointed out. "Mr. Stevenson has said this. Mr. Cabot Lodge has more or less supported this. Mr. Lester Pearson has said something similar. Monsieur Pin-eau has said this."

Mr. Mehta was most emphatic, and using his preceding remarks as a springboard, launched into the subject uppermost in American minds as one upon which India and the United States disagree.

"Now you think," he continued, "that every proposition that is made that is not liked by you is made by an Indian. That is not so. China's admission to the United Nations is not urged by India only. I can mention a dozen countries, including Sweden and many European countries which have embassies in Peiping! You know that."

Mr. Lindley indicated that he was aware of that fact.

Changing the subject at an oppor-

tune moment, Mr. Lucas reopened the question of Kashmir, asking Ambassador Mehta if India would agree to a plebiscite there, which drew the reply that Prime Minister Nehru had made it clear that conditions for plebiscite do not exist at present.

"What are those conditions?" inquired Mr. Lucas.

"Well, the first condition is that there is no agreement about the number of troops that are to be retained in Kashmir," replied Mr. Mehta. "We don't think it would be a fair plebiscite just now. Secondly, you also will realize that if the plebiscite had been held in the beginning, it would have been another thing. It is so difficult now, you see. You must realize India today has 45 million Moslems. It is not true to say that because there are a majority of Moslems in one place, certain areas should go to the Moslems. What should we do? Supposing the Kashmir question is settled on the religious issue. What then do we do with our 42 or 45 million Moslems? In other words, we are trying to build a secular state, and in that secular state we do not admit the principle that man's religion has anything to do with his nationality."

"Mr. Ambassador, I wonder if you could specifically indicate the things that this country ought to do to improve its standing with India," inquired Mr. Lindley. "What definitely should we do?"

Would Prevent Competition in Aid

"Well before that may I revert one minute to the previous question?" asked Mr. Mehta. "What I was saying about this channeling of United Nations aid. I realize that this may not be a completely practical proposition at the moment. But you must realize that you can also obviate certain amounts of competition by this method. What happens today? Your feeling is that some country says, 'You give us aid — otherwise we will go to the other side'; or they will say to the other side, 'You give us aid, or otherwise we will go to the United States.' Now that could be avoided. Your feeling is, for example, that Soviet Russia wants to give aid in order to spread communism. If it is done through the United Nations there is some control and some supervision. Secondly, those countries which say they are prepared to help if it is through the United Nations will be put to a test."

Mr. Wilson pointed out that we had

had a rather unfortunate experience with aid of that kind in UNRRA. "UNRRA aid accomplished a great many ends which made us very unhappy," he said. "There would be a great reluctance. . . ."

Mr. Mehta quickly maneuvered for a position in which he would not seem to state that India wanted no aid unless it were channeled through the United Nations.

"I'm not insisting, Mr. Wilson," he qualified, "that this proposition can be put into operation tomorrow. Monsieur Pineau, for example, suggested that while not cutting off all aid and not channeling all aid through the United Nations, certain proportions could be channeled through the United Nations, and gradually that amount could be increased."

"May I ask you this, which has no political implication at all," said Mr. Wilson. "There is discussion in this country about the type of aid which we render, specifically in India, as well as in other countries. What would be the best form of aid? Would the kind of aid in which a technician goes to a village, and with a relatively small sum of money devoted to the precise area attempt to accomplish something be best? Or should it be on a grander scale? What should we do for India — assuming we are going to do anything?"

"You see, you have given aid, both technical and economic," replied Ambassador Mehta. "And economic aid has been given in the form of loans as well as grants. My personal view is

that it should be in the form of loans." Mr. Mehta was asked why India places 100 per cent duty on gift food parcels when the Indian people suffer from a food shortage.

"I don't know whether there is 100 per cent duty on the food parcels," replied Ambassador Mehta. "There have been, it is true, some complaints from the people who send these, and in every case we have taken up such complaints. It may be that some customs regulation is in the way."

"Incidentally," he corrected, "I wouldn't agree that there is any food shortage in India at the moment, but that doesn't prevent our accepting any gifts. However, I have heard such complaints, and I am prepared to look into the matter."

"Do you feel, after the visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin to India, that Russia has really vied away from doctrines of communism under Stalin?" inquired Moderator Hurleigh.

Mr. Mehta indicated that he did not think Khrushchev could have made a stronger condemnation of Stalinism than he has made.

Asked if, when Prime Minister Nehru visits America, he intends to ask for financial aid, Ambassador Mehta replied, "No, he won't ask for financial aid in the sense . . . if he is asked he will explain what our plan of economic development is. But I don't think he is coming at all to ask for aid. He is coming to meet informally with the President to discuss questions which India and the United States have in common." END

The New Veterans' Pension Law

(Continued from page 23)

50 per cent disabled, receives \$91.00 a month. This means that a veteran could have had frozen feet, lose some of his toes, and have severe recurring symptoms and only get \$91.00 a month. A veteran can suffer the permanent collapse of a lung, a war injury, and only get \$91.00 a month. A veteran who has three fingers on his right hand blown off is rated 60 per cent disabled and receives only \$109 a month. A widow who lost her husband in the war receives only \$87.00 a month.

The point I am making is that the American Legion leaders are saying to

us that a veteran with no service injury whatever and only 90 days of service should be placed on a par with these seriously disabled veterans who suffer a war disability. To me, this is fundamentally wrong.

Now, the American Legion has taken exception to the cost estimates on this legislation from the very beginning. They do not deny that we are now spending 7 per cent of our nation's budget on the veterans' program and that we are spending nearly a billion dollars a year on pensions at the present time. But they do take exception to the Veterans Administra-

tion cost estimates on their bill. The fact of the matter is that the American Legion leaders sent an expert of their own to the Veterans Administration, and he checked the Veterans Administration computations and said that he finds nothing wrong with them.

Now, I do not oppose the American Legion Pension Bill completely on the basis of cost, although I do believe that with our national debt standing at \$275 billion, the cost is important. My fundamental opposition is based on the fact that under the American Legion leaders' bill, the veterans' program emphasizes benefits for those veterans with short periods of service, no combat service, and no actual disabilities, at the expense of the service-connected disabled. It is unthinkable to me that a veteran who spent a few months in a training camp, never left this country, and never saw combat, should be treated even better than a veteran with strenuous overseas combat service and a severe service-connected disability. Today we only pay a veteran with a 50 per cent disability \$91.00 a month, yet the Legion proposes to give a man — nothing wrong with him — \$90.00 a month. If we have money to spend, first consideration should go to service-connected disabled, widows, and orphans. Second consideration should go to the nation's general welfare, our national debt, and our defense needs.

Now, since this bill came before our committee, the Veteran Affairs Committee has asked the service officers of the different veteran groups to furnish to the committee the names of any veterans in this country that they thought should be receiving a pension and who are not receiving one. To date, we've received from the entire country approximately two hundred names. END

ADVICE FROM A LEADING FRENCH EDITOR

The *Indianapolis Times* of July 8 based its lead editorial upon the following quotation from Raymond Cartier, a leading French editor:

"There would be less anti-Americanism in the world if America abandoned its philanthropic aspirations, its vocation of Santa Claus, its transcendental morality, all its missionary trappings, all its Boy Scout gear, and if, at last, it followed openly the policy of its own interest."

Soviet Espionage

(Continued from page 37)

not have come forward to volunteer information.

"We haven't begun to tap that," replied Mr. Morris. "That is why we reacted so vigorously in connection with what seemed to be reprisals taken against Mr. Black, one of our witnesses. You must realize that it is very difficult for an ex-Communist to come forward. After all, he has to present a whole lifetime of unfortunate experiences for public inspection, to turn himself inside out, as it were, and openly acknowledge things that are repulsive to him. That is a big decision for anyone to make."

Asked if the anti-Stalin movement in Moscow had softened the Communist movement here, Mr. Morris expressed the opinion that it had not done so in the slightest degree. "The anti-Stalinist tendency in Moscow," he said, "simply means that you have a collective dictatorship rather than an individual dictatorship. The intelligence operations and the international operations of the various Communist Parties have not changed one whit, except, possibly, to become more sophisticated."

"Mr. Morris," asked Mr. Hurleigh,

"has the Immunity Act passed by Congress to compel witnesses to testify proved effective in helping to handle subversives or others that come before your committee?"

"It has not," Mr. Morris emphatically stated, "because up until six weeks ago, that Act was before the Supreme Court for judicial approval. Even when judicial approval came, the Supreme Court said specifically that it was held constitutional only with respect to witnesses before the Attorney General. Because of the contended doubtful constitutionality with respect to congressional committees, we are still having a difficult time using it."

"Is the FBI in your opinion having more difficulty keeping track of subversives since they have gone underground?" asked Mr. Hurleigh.

Mr. Morris replied that they naturally would have greater difficulty keeping track of them under such circumstances. "At the same time," he said, "I presume that the FBI is becoming more and more efficient and is tuning its counter-operations in line with the sharpening of the activities on the part of the Communists." END

Freedom's Fortress

(Continued from page 51)

that permeates the ranks of United States officialdom in the Far East. It is true that the United States propaganda program has largely lost its effectiveness in Asia. It is true that the Reds have the trumps in their hands. But they *can* be defeated.

In 1953, seven thousand overseas Chinese youths went to Communist China for their college educations. On his tour through the Far East that year, Vice President Richard Nixon became interested in the problem of providing a democratic education for the young people of Southeast Asia. He prodded the State Department and our economic aid people into action.

American funds were provided to increase classroom facilities on Formosa. American officials in Southeast Asia began cautiously to make it known that students would be wel-

comed in Free China. The government of Free China was also prodded into relaxing its stringent security regulations so that overseas Chinese could get into Formosa.

Since 1954 the tide has turned. In that year, for instance, 1,200 Chinese youths in Hong Kong went to Red China, while 800 applied for entrance to Formosan institutions. In 1955 the proportion was reversed, only 800 going to Communist China and 1,200 to Formosa. In 1956 there were 5,400 overseas students in Formosan colleges and universities, a growth of nearly 400 per cent in three years!

It is clear that given an alternative, the overseas Chinese will not go along with the Reds. The problem then is to provide that alternative. The alternative is to keep Free China on Formosa alive, a vital reminder that there are Chinese that still live in freedom.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN FREE CHINA

Using 1941 (height of Japanese development on Formosa) as a base..... 100

Power.....	177
Transportation.....	263
Chemicals.....	306
Fertilizers.....	492
Textiles.....	1,274

AGRICULTURE ON FORMOSA

	1940-43 (under Japanese)	1955
Rice.....	100	147
Wheat.....	100	327
Soy Beans.....	100	668
Sugar.....	100	70

But first we must block the efforts to seat the Chinese Reds in the United Nations. If this can be blocked in 1956, the Free World can accomplish wonders before the Communist bloc will have another opportunity. And after this essentially negative aim is realized, there are other moves that must be taken.

The people of Asia must begin to hear the Free China story. Much of the responsibility must be ours. But Nationalist China has a responsibility also — to develop better public relations, to begin a "smile" campaign of its own to match that of the Chinese Reds.

The struggle for Asia is nearing a convulsive stage. It is presently being lost. But with imagination, knowledge of the facts, a willingness to depart from old ways, we may yet save the day. And perhaps the greatest problem of the Free World can be understood from an entry in the personal diary of President Chiang Kai-shek, which was made a year ago.

Wrote Free China's President, "Relations between democratic nations are extremely tenuous; their views are widely divergent; their efforts are never concerted; their plans are disconnected; and their actions lack promptitude. As friends and foes are not clearly marked out, they mistake one for the other."

Our basic problem in Asia is perhaps this: we still do not recognize our friends. END

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Facts Forum Radio-TV

ALABAMA

Alexander City	WRFS*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
Andalusia	WCTA*	920	Sat	5:30 p
Birmingham	WBRC-TV†	6	Sun	11:30 p
	WSGN*	610	Sun	7:30 p
Carrollton	WRAG*	590		
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
	WHOS*	800	Sun	3:00 p
	WMSL-TV†	23	Sun	2:30 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560		
Enterprise	WIRB*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WIRB*	1230	Sat	6:30 p
Eufaula	WULA*	1240	Mon	8:05 p
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWF*	990	Sun	1:00 p
Florence	WOWL*	1240	Sun	6:05 p
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:15 p
Gadsden	WGWD*	570		
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Jackson	WPBB*	1290	Mon	5:00 p
Jasper	WWWB*	1360	Sat	5:30 p
	WWWB*	1360		
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Monroeville	WMFC*	1220	Sun	3:45 p
	WMFC*	1220	Sat	10:30 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600		
	WCOV-TV†	20	Wed	6:00 p
Oneonta	WCRL*	1570	Sun	1:30 p
Opp	WAMI*	860	Sun	1:00 p
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	Sun	5:00 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1280	Sun	12:15 p
	WELR*	1360	Sun	4:00 p
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR*	920	Sun	3:30 p
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*	1230	Sun	9:00 p
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WTBC*	1230		

ALASKA

Fairbanks	KTVF-TV†	11	Sat	6:00 p
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ARIZONA

Bisbee	KSUN*	1230	Tues	9:30 p
Douglas	KAWT*	1450		
Holbrook	KDJI*	1270	Sat	2:00 p
Kingman	KGAN*			
Nogales	KNOC*	1340	Thurs	5:15 p
Phoenix	KOOL-TV†	10	Sat	10:45 a
Tucson	KVOA*	1290		
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	7:30 p

ARKANSAS

Arkadelphia	KVRC*	1240		
	KVRC*	1240		
Batesville	KBTA*	1340	Sat	9:15 a
	KBTA*	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Benton	KBBA*	690	Sun	12:15 p
Camden	KAMD*	1450	Sun	8:30 p

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Conway	KCON*	1230	Sun	3:00 p
	KCON*	1230	Sun	4:00 p
El Dorado	KRBB-TV†	10	Tues	9:00 p
	KDMS*	1290	Sat	4:45 p
Fayetteville	KGRH*	1450	Sun	6:45 p
Forrest City	KXJK*	950	Sun	2:00 p
Fort Smith	KWHN*	1320	Sun	4:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
	KFSA-TV†	22	Sun	1:00 p
Harrison	KHOZ*	1240	Sat	6:45 p
Hope	KXAR*	1490		
Hot Springs	KWFC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri	10:15 p
McGehee	KVSA*	1220		
	KVSA*	1220	Thurs	2:00 p
Monticello	KHBM*	1430	Sun	1:30 p
	KHBM*	1430	Sun	8:00 a
Mountain Home	KTLO*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
	KTLO*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Newport	KNBY*	1280	Sun	10:00 a
	KNBY*	1280	Sun	11:30 p
Paragould	KDRS*	1490	Tues	7:15 p
	KDRS*	1490	Thurs	7:00 p
Pine Bluff	KATV-TV†	6		
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
Rogers	KAMO*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
Russellville	KXRJ*	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
	KXRJ*	1490		
Siloam Springs	KUOA*	1290	Sat	12:45 p
	KUOA*	1290		
Springdale	KBRB*	1340	Mon	7:00 p
Stuttgart	KWAK*	1240		
	KWAK*	1240	Sun	7:30 p
Warren	KWRF*	860	Sun	1:15 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

FACTS FORUM is doing an outstanding job of keeping the public informed on timely and paramount issues. Your publication should serve as a paradigm for other less thorough magazines on the current market. I "hop-scotch" through several other publications dealing with vital national and international issues, but I find myself reading (even studying) every article in each issue of *Facts Forum News*.

JOHN A. MCCOY
1315 2nd Avenue N,
Bessemer, Alabama

FFN is in a class by itself. The only thing FFN is partial to is the American way of life.

ALEX BARRIOS
6344 Regent Street
Huntington Park, California

In the July issue of *Facts Forum [News]* I was greatly impressed by the extremely thought-provoking article, "Will Income Taxes Destroy Capitalism?"

It is articles such as this that may help loosen the strangling grip of outrageous personal income taxes, that kill ambition and initiative, and pave the way toward a socialistic society.

DAN EMMETT, JR.
Route 3, Box 1346
Oakdale, California

I believe you are doing a great job to inform the people of the vital issues of the day.

(MRS.) LUCILE S. WENDHAM
1759 Christian Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Permit me to express a wish for the continuing and increasing success of your outstanding publication, and be assured that I will do all in my power to make *Facts Forum News* known wherever and whenever I can.

FRANK J. FORD
8022 S. Honore Street
Chicago 20, Illinois

Your magazine is very much enjoyed in my family and I sincerely hope you will continue to do your fine job of bringing the unbiased facts to all interested persons.

MANUEL GRECO
14 W. Garfield Avenue
Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey

*Facts Forum **Topic of the Week
†Reporters' Roundup TV

CALIFORNIA

Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	12:30 p
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Hollywood	KCOP-TV†	13	Sun	11:00 p
Los Angeles	KPOP*	1020	Wed	12:00 a
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KSFE*	1340	Sun	6:15 p
Ontario	KOCB*	1510	Sun	4:45 p
Oroville	KMOR*	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV†	10	Sun	12:00 p
San Francisco	KGO-TV†	7	Sat	10:30 p
San Luis				
Obispo	KVEC-TV†	6	Sun	6:30 p
Santa Cruz	KSCO*	1080	Thurs	8:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE*	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	Thurs	8:45 p
	KTUR*	1390	Fri	8:00 p

COLORADO

Cortez	KVFC*	740	Wed	9:45 a
Delta	KDTA*	1400	Sun	3:30 p
	KDTA*	1400	Sat	2:00 p
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:45 p
	KTVR-TV†	2		
Grand Junction	KREX-TV†	5	Sun	10:30 p
La Junta	KBZ*	1400	Sun	10:00 p
Sterling	KGEK*	1230	Sun	12:45 p

CONNECTICUT

Hartford	WGTH-TV†	18		
Waterbury	WATR-TV†	53	Thurs	6:00 p
West Hartford	WKBN*	840		

DELAWARE

Wilmington	WPFH-TV†	12	Sun	10:30 p
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WEAM*	1390	Wed	10:00 p
	WFAN*	100.3		
	WOOK*	1340		
	WTTG-TV†	5	Sun	4:30 p

FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	Sat	6:00 p
	WKKO*	860	Sun	4:30 p
Daytona Beach	WESH-TV†	12		
Jacksonville	WJHP-TV†	36		
Kissimmee	WRWB*	1220	Sun	12:30 p
Live Oak	WNER*	1390	Mon	5:45 p
	WNER*	1390		
Miami	WITV-TV†	17	Fri	9:30 p

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Naples	WNOG*	1270	Sat	5:30 p
	WNOG*	1270	Sun	5:30 p
Orlando	WDBO-TV†	6		
Panama City	WDLP*	590	Sun	2:00 p
St. Augustine	WSTN*	1420	Tues	11:45 a
Tallahassee	WTRR*	1400	Sat	9:15 p
Tampa	WCTV-TV†	6	Sun	1:30 p
West Palm Beach	WTVT-TV†	13	Sun	2:00 p
	WJNO-TV†	5		

GEORGIA

Atlanta	WERD*	860	Sun	
	WAGA-TV†	5	Sun	3:00 p
Augusta	WGAC*	580		
	WJBF-TV†	11	Sun	3:00 p
Columbus	WDAK-TV†	28	Sat	5:30 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
Dalton	WBLJ*	1230	Sat	6:45 p
Jesup	WBGR*	1370	Sun	1:00 p
Macon	WIBB*	1240	Sun	11:00 a
Monroe	WMRE*	1490	Sun	9:00 p
Savannah	WTOG-TV†	11	Sun	3:00 p

HAWAII

Hilo	KILA*	850	Sat	8:45 p
Honolulu	KONA-TV†	2	Sun	10:15 p
Wailuku, Mau	KMVI*	550	Sun	12:15 p

IDAHO

Boise	KIDO-TV†	7	Sun	11:15 p
Moscow	KRPL*	1400	Tues	6:30 p
Weiser	KWEI*	1240	Sun	3:00 p

ILLINOIS

Belleville	WIBV*	1260	Sun	5:00 p
Bloomington	WBLN-TV†	15	Sun	2:00 p
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	3:45 p
	WBYS*	1560	Sat	4:00 p
Carmi	WROY*	1460	Sun	1:45 p
Chicago	WMAQ*	670		
	WMAQ*	670		
Cicero	WHFC*	1450	Mon	10:00 p

ILLINOIS — (Continued)

Danville	WDAN-TV†	24	Thurs	6:30 p
Decatur	WDZ*	1050	Sun	12:30 p
	WDZ*	1050	Sun	12:30 p
	WTVF-TV†	17		
De Kalb	WLBK*	1360	Sun	1:00 p
Dixon	WSDR*	1240		
East Peoria	WEEK*	1350		
East St. Louis	WEMV*	1490		
	WEMV*	1490		
Fairfield	WFIW*	1390	Sun	12:00 n
Freeport	WFRL*	1570	Sun	1:00 p
	WFRL*	1570	Sat	11:45 a
Galesburg	WGIL*	1400	Sun	6:30 p
Harrisburg	WBO*	1240	Thurs	2:00 p
	WBO*	1240	Sat	2:30 p
	WSIL-TV†	22	Sat	10:30 a
Jacksonville	WLDS*	1180	Sun	12:45 p
Joliet	WJOL*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Kankakee	WKAN*	1320		
	WKAN*	1450	Thurs	6:00 p
Kewanee	WKEI*	1320	Wed	9:45 p
	WKEI*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC*	1370	Sun	4:30 p
Litchfield	WSMT*	1540	Sun	1:30 p
Marion	WCGH*	1150	Sun	6:45 p
Mt. Carmel	WVMC*	1360		
	WVMC*	1360		
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Olney	WVLN*	740	Sun	12:45 p
	WVLN*	740	Sun	12:00 n
Quincy	WGEM-TV†	10		
Rockford	WREX-TV†	13	Sun	1:00 p
Sparta	WHCO*	1230	Fri	2:45 p
	WHCO*	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Sterling	WSDR*	1240	Sun	8:00 p
	WSDR*	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Waukegan	WKRS*	1220		

INDIANA

Bloomington	WTTS*	1370	Sun	1:15 p
Connersville	WCNB*	1580	Sun	9:30 p
Elkhart	WSIV-TV†	52	Sat	6:00 p
Evansville	WEHT-TV†	50	Sun	10:30 p
	WEOA*	1400		
	WEOA*	1400	Sun	9:30 p
	WANE*	1450		
	WOWO*	1190		
Ft. Wayne	WLO*	1570	Sun	1:45 p
Frankfort	WISH-TV†	6	Sun	12:00 n
Indianapolis	WIBC*	1070	Sun	8:45 p
	WIBC*	1070		
Jasper	WITZ*	990	Sun	4:45 p
	WITZ*	990	Sun	11:00 a
Kokomo	WIOU*	1350		
Lafayette	WFAM-TV†	59	Fri	8:00 p

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Logansport	WSAL*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WSAL*	1230	Sat	6:30 p
Michigan City	WIMS*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	WIMS*	1420	Sun	7:30 p
Mt. Vernon	WPCO*	1590	Sun	4:30 p
Muncie	WMUN*	104.1		
	WLBC-TV†	49	Sat	5:00 p
	WLBC*	1340	Fri	10:05 p
New Castle	WCTW*	102.5	Sun	12:15 p
Portland	WPGW*	1440		
	WPGW*	1440	Sun	3:00 p
Salem	WSLM*	1220	Wed	11:00 a
	WSLM*	1220	Fri	11:00 a
Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:00 n
	WJCD*	1390	Sun	5:00 p
Terre Haute	WBOW*	1230		
	WTHL-TV†	10	Tues	9:30 p
Washington	WAMW*	1580	Sun	6:15 p
	WAMW*	1580	Sun	11:30 a

IOWA

Davenport	WOC-TV†	6	Mon	8:30 p
Decorah	KDEC*	1240	Sat	5:00 p
Des Moines	WHO*	1040	Mon	9:30 p
	WHO-TV†	13	Tues	6:30 p
Fort Dodge	KVFD*	1400	Thurs	8:00 p
	KOTV-TV†	21	Tues	6:30 p
	KGLO-TV†	3	Sun	5:30 p
Mason City	KWPC*	860	Sun	11:45 a
Muscatine	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
Oelwein	KTVO-TV†	3	Sun	2:00 p
Ottumwa	KWWL-TV†	7	Sun	11:00 a
Waterloo				

KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	Sun	9:15 p
	KCRB*	1460	Sun	9:45 p
Great Bend	KCKT-TV†	2	Thurs	5:00 p
McPherson	KNEK*	1540	Sun	8:30 a
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sun	5:30 p
	KSEK*	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Wichita	KAKE-TV†	10		

KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL*	1290	Mon	5:45 a
Lexington	WLEX*	1300	Sun	5:30 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I enjoy very much your magazine for its revealing articles, polls, and features. It is undoubtedly one of the best magazines in the U. S., and I am determined to tell everyone I meet about it. Congratulations on your feature, "The Communist Party of the U.S.A." [March, April, May, and June, 1956].

J. ALFRED RENICK
202 Moore Street
Newark, New York

Thank you for bringing to the attention of your readers the immeasurably important article in support of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act,* and for contrasting it so boldly with the ephemeral arguments against the Act.

ROBERTA M. DURBIN
Emerson, Iowa

*August, 1956, issue, "Should the U. S. Immigration Policy Be Changed?"

I have listened to your splendid radio forum [TOPIC OF THE WEEK program] at the shore on weekends. Your organization and The Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge are doing a great job in maintaining the American way of life.

DR. WILLIAM B. RICHTER
105 North 13th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

I'd be lost without *Facts Forum News*. The July issue is fine, but aren't they all? Keep the facts flying — we need to be waked up.

MRS. VIRGINIA B. ALMORE
356 N. Craig Street
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

Facts Forum News has always been a honey for needed information for Americans . . . never cease to marvel that each issue, a masterpiece itself, seems to excel the last.

MRS. CHARLES E. HOOKS
202 Lake Street
Ithaca, New York

I like your program, TOPIC OF THE WEEK, very much and hope it continues. I like all the *Facts Forum* broadcasts and try not to miss any of them.

MRS. HELEN L. SHOUP
521 Nottingham Terrace
Toledo 10, Ohio

*Facts Forum **Topic of the Week
†Reporters' Roundup TV

KENTUCKY — (Continued)

Madisonville	WFMW*	730	Sun	5:30 p
	WFMW*	730	Wed	6:45 p
Mayfield	WKTM*	1050		
	WKTM*	1050		
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Tues	8:30 a
	WFLW*	1570	Thurs	8:30 a
Murray	WNBS*	1340	Tues	8:00 p
	WNBS*	1340		
Owensboro	WVJ*	1420	Tues	7:30 p
Paducah	WPAD*	1450	Mon	9:00 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	Sun	10:30 p
Princeton	WPKY*	1580		
	WPKY*	1580		
Vancleve	WMTG*	730		

LOUISIANA

Alexandria	KALB-TV†	5		
Lafayette	KLFY-TV†	10	Fri	1:30 p
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV†	25	Wed	9:30 p
Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun	12:00 p
Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat	6:05 p
	KNOE-TV†	8	Mon	1:00 p
Natchitoches	KNO*	1450	Sun	10:15 p
New Orleans	WJMR-TV†	20	Sun	7:30 p
	WJMR*	990	Sun	12:15 p
	WJMR*	990	Sun	1:00 p
Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	9:00 p
	KSLO*	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Ruston	KRUS*	1490	Sun	6:15 p
	KRUS*	1490	Sun	12:45 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KTBS-TV†	3	Sun	1:00 p

MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV†	2	Mon	10:30 p
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MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810	Sun	7:00 p
	WASL*	810	Sun	2:30 p

MASSACHUSETTS

New Bedford	WBSM*	1230	Sat	1:45 p
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MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV†	20	Mon	8:30 p
Cadillac	WWTV-TV†	13	Sun	6:00 p
Coldwater	WTVB*	1500	Sun	2:00 p
Detroit	WJBK*	1500	Sun	8:30 p
	WJBK-TV†	2	Sun	8:30 p

Reporters' Roundup radio program is broadcast weekly by the Mutual Broadcasting System. Consult your local newspaper for station and time.

Grand Rapids	WFUR*	1570	Sat	12:30 p
	WFUR*	1570	Mon	5:30 p
Hillsdale	WBSE*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Lansing	WTOM-TV†	54	Thurs	6:30 p
Midland	WMDN*	1490	Thurs	6:45 p
Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150	Sun	11:00 a
	WCEN*	1150	Sat	1:00 p
Saginaw	WKNX-TV†	57	Wed	2:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR*	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	WSTR*	1230	Sat	5:15 p

MINNESOTA

Austin	KMMT-TV†	6	Sun	3:30 p
Breckenridge	KBMW*	1450	Sun	10:15 a
Duluth	KDAL-TV†	8	Sun	2:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	9:45 p
	KEYD-TV†	9	Sun	2:00 p
Rochester	KROC-TV†	10	Wed	6:30 p

MISSISSIPPI

Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMI*	570	Sun	12:00 n
Canton	WDOB*	1370	Sat	11:30 a
	WDOB*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
Cleveland	WCLD*	1490		
Columbus	WCBI*	550	Sun	6:00 p
	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	8:30 p
Greenwood	WGRM*	1240		
Gulfport	WGCM*	1240	Sun	10:15 a
Jackson	WJTV-TV†	12		
McComb	WAPF*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPF*	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	6:30 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO*	1230	Fri	6:30 p
West Point	WROB*	1450	Tues	7:15 p

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	KFVS-TV†	12	Sun	11:00 a
Caruthersville	KCRV*	1570	Sun	4:15 p
Charleston	KCHR*	1350	Sun	12:45 a
	KCHR*	1350	Sun	1:30 p
Clinton	KDKD*	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Dexter	KDEX*	1590	Tues	10:15 p
	KDEX*	1590	Sun	2:30 p
Flat River	KFMO*	1240		
	KFMO*	1240		
Jefferson City	KLIK*	950	Sun	2:30 p

MISSOURI — (Continued)

Joplin	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH*	1450	Sun	8:00 p
	KSWM-TV†	1450	Sun	10:30 a
Kansas City	KMBC-TV†	9	Sun	11:00 a
Malden	KTCB*	1470	Sun	12:00 n
Moberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun	2:00 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Sun	6:30 p
	KWOC*	930	Wed	5:45 p
Rolla	KTTR*	1490	Mon	6:30 p
	KTTR*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV	2	Sun	1:00 p
St. Louis	KTVI-TV†	36	Mon	7:00 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:30 p
	KSGM*	980	Sun	4:00 p
Sedalia	KSIS*	1050	Sun	12:30 p
Sikeston	KSIM*	1400	Mon	6:45 p
	KSIM*	1400	Sun	2:30 p
Springfield	KICK*	1290	Sat	6:30 p

MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	Wed	8:15 p
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:00 p
Bozeman	KXLQ*	1450	Sat	9:00 i
	KXLQ*	1450	Sat	9:15 p
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat	10:00 p
	KXLF-TV†	6	Sun	7:30 p
Glasgow	KLIT*	1240	Wed	7:15 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Great Falls	KXKL*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
	KXKL*	1400	To be announced	
Helena	KXLL*	1240	Sat	9:15 p
	KXLL*	1240	To be announced	
Lewistown	KXLO*	1230		
Miles City	KATL*	1340	Sun	8:00 p
	KATL*	1340	Sat	7:00 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:15 p
	KGVO-TV†	13	Mon	9:00 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR*	1450	Sun	4:00 p
	KCSR*	1450	Wed	7:15 p
Columbus	KJSK*	900	Tues	1:45 p
Hays Center	KHPL-TV†	6	Sat	6:00 p
Kerney	KHOL-TV†	13	Sat	6:00 p
Norfolk	WJAC*	780	Sat	10:15 a
North Platte	KJLT*		Sat	4:30 p

NEVADA

Ely	KELY*	1230	Sun	2:30 p
	KELY*	1230	Sun	11:30 a
Las Vegas	KLRJ-TV†	2		
Reno	KZTV-TV†	8		

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB*	1490		
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Pleasantville	WOND*	1400	Sun	5:00 p
South Orange	WSOU*		Mon	2:15 p
	WSOU*		Thurs	3:00 p

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque	KGGM-TV†	13		
Carlsbad	KAVE*	1240	Wed	8:30 p
	KAVE*	1240	Sun	1:30 p
Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
	KLMX*	1450	Sun	2:00 p
Clovis	KCLV*	1240	Sun	1:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN*	1230	Sun	1:45 p

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Portales	KENM*	1450	Fri	6:30 p
	KENM*	1450	Wed	7:15 p
Roswell	KSWS-TV†	8	Mon	4:15 p
Truth or Consequences	KCHS*	1400	Sun	12:15 p
Tucumcari	KTNM*	1400	Sun	8:30 p

NEW YORK

Albany-Troy	WCDA-TV†	41	Fri	9:00 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490	Sun	10:30 p
	WCSS*	1490	Sun	10:00 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Fri	7:45 p
	WFUV-TV*	90.7		
Dunkirk	WFCB*	1410	Mon	7:15 p
	WFCB*	1410	Wed	7:15 p
Hornell	WWHG*	1320		
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Wed	7:15 p
	WHUC*	1230	Sun	3:00 p
Jamestown	WJTN*		Sat	8:30 p
Minerva	WKBS*	1520		
New York	WOR*	710		
	WOR-TV†	9		
Niagara Falls	WJLJ*	1440	Sun	7:00 p
Port Jervis	WDLG*	1490	Sun	7:00 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Brevard	WPNF*	1240	Mon	7:15 p
	WPNF*	1240	Sun	8:00 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410	Thurs	10:15 a
	WEGO*	1410	Sun	9:30 a

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Recently a friend and I were discussing some of the ways that our nation's Constitution has been abused and misused. In the course of our conversation, he gave me the July, 1956, issue of *Facts Forum News* and pointed out an article entitled, "Good Fences."

This article seemed to hit the nail on the head and it was written in such a way that even a school boy could understand the things that were being said.

It is encouraging to know that there are magazines such as yours that are working to preserve our rights as guaranteed by our Constitution.

HAROLD MELVILLE
Box 5219
Portland 16, Oregon

Attached is my check . . . to cover renewal of my subscription to your valued publication. *Facts Forum [News]* should be in every mail box in America. I am turning my copies over to the local library near my home and they are well received.

You are to be congratulated on the continued excellence of the material and factual data carried in your publication.

COL. L. E. LIMBERT
RR 10, Box 81-A
San Antonio, Texas

I do think you have one of the most educational and informative magazines on the market today — on government and politics.

MRS. H. E. KESSLER
Box 316
Petaluma, California

Facts Forum [News] is a valuable magazine and I wish to continue to receive it. You are deserving of the moral support of every man in the country who can still think straight, and has not been brainwashed by much of the poison-pen literature disseminated in this country today.

EDWARD F. WEBB
303 32nd Avenue, South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

. . . I find your magazine very informative and my circle of friends also are quite impressed with its coverage of matters vital to our present needs.

With best wishes for your continued success.

ROBERT BLUMENTHAL
21-40 35th Avenue
Ravenswood 6, New York

*Facts Forum **Topic of the Week
†Reporters' Roundup TV

NORTH CAROLINA — (Continued)

Forrest City	WBBO*	780	Mon	7:00 p
	WBBO*	780	Sun	5:30 p
Hickory	WIRC*	630	Sun	10:00 a
Kings Mountain	WKMT*	1220		
Lexington	WBUY*	1440	Sun	7:30 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV†	28	Sat	5:00 p
Roxboro	WRXO*	1430		
Washington	WHED*	1340	Sun	8:00 p
	WHED*	1340	Sat	6:30 p
Wilmington	WMFD-TV†	6	Tues	10:30 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV†	26	Sun	5:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA

Bismarck	KFYR-TV†	5	Tues	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
	KDIX*	1230	Thurs	8:15 p
Fargo	WDAY-TV†	6	Sat	3:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
	KNDC*	1490	Sun	3:00 p

OHIO

Canton	WCMW*	1060	Sun	5:30 p
Cincinnati	WCPO-TV†	9	Sun	5:30 p
Cleveland	WDOK*	1260	Sun	5:00 p
	KYW-TV†	3	Sun	11:30 a
Dayton	WHIO*	1290		
Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	11:45 p
	WEOL*	930	Sun	9:00 p
Gallipolis	WJEH*	990	Sun	10:00 a
Hamilton	WMOH*	1450	Sun	1:00 p
Lima	WIMA-TV†	35	Sat	6:00 p
Middletown	WFPB*	910	Mon	7:45 p
Newark	WCLT*	1430	Sun	12:30 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
	WSPD*	1370	Thurs	9:30 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV†	18	Sun	1:00 p

OKLAHOMA

Ada	KTEN-TV†	10	Sun	6:00 p
Blackwell	KBWL*	1580	Thurs	10:15 a
Cushing	KUSH*	1600	Sun	5:15 p
Enid	KCRC*	1390	Sun	9:30 p
Lawton	KSWO-TV†	7		
Miami	KGLC*	910	Sun	6:00 p
Oklahoma City	KGEO-TV†	5		
Poteau	KLCO*	1280		
Pryor	KOLS*	1570	Sun	9:30 a
	KOLS*	1570	Fri	10:15 a
Tulsa	KVOO*	1170	Thurs	9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW*	1450	Wed	7:45 p

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OREGON

Hillsboro	KRTV*	1360	Sun	1:00 p
McMinnville	KMCM*	1260	Sun	7:45 p
	KMCM*	1260	Sun	6:00 p
Oceanlake	KBCH*	1400	Thurs	4:30 p
Pendleton	KUMA*	1370		
Portland	KXL*	750		
	KLOR-TV†	12		

PENNSYLVANIA

Barnesboro	WNCC*	950	Fri	9:15 p
Beaver Falls	WBUP*	1230	Sun	9:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960	Sat	8:15 a
Easton	WGLV-TV†	57	Sun	9:00 p
	WEST*	1400		
Gettysburg	WGCT*	1450	Sun	8:00 p
Harrisburg	WCMB-TV†	27	Wed	7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV†	56	Fri	10:00 p
Philadelphia	WJMJ*		Sun	12:00 a
	WPFH-TV†	12	Sun	10:30 p
Pittsburgh	WENS-TV†	16	Thurs	10:30 p
Reading	WHUM-TV†	61		
St. Marys	WKBI*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
Tyrone	WTRN*	1290	Sun	1:00 p
	WTRN*	1290	Sun	1:30 p
Wellsville	WNBT*	1490	Sat	9:00 p
	WNBT*	1490	Sun	9:00 p
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	7:00 p
	WLYC*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
York	WNOW*	1250	Sun	6:30 p
	WNOW*	1250	Sun	2:00 p
	WNOW-TV†	49	Sun	8:00 p

PHILIPPINES

Manila	DZAQ-TV†	3	Mon	9:00 p
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PUERTO RICO

Mayaguez	WTIL*	1300		
San Juan	WHOA*	1400	Tues	7:00 p

RHODE ISLAND

Providence	WICE*	1290	Sun	5:30 p
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SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson	WAIM-TV†	40		
Beaufort	WBEU*	960	Sun	2:00 p
Bishopville	WAGS*	1380	Sat	9:00 a
Charleston	WCSC-TV†	5	Sun	4:00 p
Chester	WGCD*	1490	Sat	7:45 p
	WGCD*	1490	Sat	6:30 p
	WOLS*	1230	Mon	9:15 p
Florence	WFBC-TV†	4		
Greenville	WJAY*	1280	Sat	11:15 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280	Sun	5:30 p
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	1:30 p
	WTND*	920	Sat	7:00 p
Seneca	WSNW*	1150	Sun	5:15 p

SOUTH DAKOTA

Rapid City	KRSD*	1340	Sun	5:45 p
Sioux Falls	KOTA-TV†	3		
	KELO-TV†	11		

TENNESSEE

Clarksville	WDXN*	540	Sun	6:15 p
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	5:45 p
Elizabethton	WCPH*	1220	Sun	2:15 p
Harriman	WHBT*	1230		
	WHBT*	1230		
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Sat	5:45 p
	WTJS*	1390	Mon	9:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL-TV†	11	Sun	2:00 p
Knoxville	WKXV*	900		
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	5:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*	900	Sun	2:00 p
Lexington	WDXL*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
Maryville	WGP*	1400	Sun	9:00 p
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGNS*	1450	Sun	1:00 p
	WGNS*	1450	Sat	12:00 n
Newport	WLK*	1270		
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	2:30 p
Sevierville	WSEV*	930	Sun	4:15 p
South Pittsburgh	WEPG*	910	To be announced	
	WEPG*	910	To be announced	
Springfield	WDBL*	1430	Sun	2:00 p
	WDBL*	1430	Sun	12:00 n

TEXAS

Ahile	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Fri	7:00 p
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
	KRUN*	1400	Wed	9:00 p
Beeville	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL*	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Big Spring	KBST-TV†	4	Wed	6:30 p
Bonham	KFYN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFYN*	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Breckenridge	KSTB*	1430	Sun	5:10 p
	KSTB*	1430		
Brenham	KWHI*	1280	Sun	1:30 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	6:15 p
Carrizo Springs	KBEN*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
Colorado City	KVMC*	1320	Sun	12:30 p
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Fri	7:00 p
	KVDO-TV†	22	Tues	6:00 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290		
	KIVY*	1290	Sun	3:30 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV†	4	Sat	3:30 p
	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA*	570	Mon	10:30 p
Eastland	KERC*	1590	Sun	3:30 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	9:45 a
Galveston	KLUF*	1400	Sat	6:15 p
	KLUF*	1400	Sun	7:00 p

Reporters' Roundup radio program is broadcast weekly by the Mutual Broadcasting System. Consult your local newspaper for station and time.

Greenville	KGV*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Hillsboro	KHBR*	1500		
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
	KPRC*	950		
Jacksonville	KEBE*	1400	Sun	7:00 p
Junction	KMBL*	1450	Mon	6:30 p
Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	12:00 n
	KINE*	1330	Sat	5:30 p
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:00 p
Laredo	KHAD-TV†	8	Wed	8:30 p
Levelland	KLVT*	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Longview	KFRO*	1370	Sun	12:15 p
	KFRO*	1370		
Lubbock	KDUB-TV†	11	Sun	1:00 p
Lufkin	KTRF-TV†	9	Tues	10:30 p
	KTRF*	1420	Sun	5:00 p
Midland	KMID-TV†	2	Sun	
	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960	Sun	12:30 p
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
Pampa	KPAT*	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Sat	8:00 a
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Sun	6:45 p
	KRWS*	1370	Sun	3:30 p
	KRWS*	1370	Sat	1:00 p
San Angelo	KTXL-TV†	8	Sun	3:30 p
	KTXL*	1340	Sun	1:00 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Since receiving my first copy of *Facts Forum News*, I am already utilizing it in my history classes. I like the manner in which unbiased arguments are presented on both sides of an issue, for this has been a policy in all my social science classes. With this type of presentation my students are expected to make a critical analysis of the situation or problem and then reach their own conclusions, only after hearing and reading about both sides of the arguments.

(Miss) KEITHA BOHLANDER
Social Science Instructor
Cherryvale Public Schools
Cherryvale, Kansas

I am enclosing herewith the answers to your *Facts Forum* Poll for August. I was recently introduced to your magazine and already I am convinced it is one of the finest magazines to be had. The impartiality and complete coverage of pertinent subjects are to be commended.

DAVID P. HINNES
150 Third Avenue
Hawthorne, New Jersey

Facts Forum News puts patriotism on America's bookshelf. Perhaps we southerners have no monopoly on patriotism, but we are very proud to congratulate Texas for giving our great nation a great magazine voicing freedom.

JOHN G. WHITE
9235 Peach Street
Oakland 5, California

. . . I find the substance in *Facts Forum [News]* to be dramatic, inspirational, some narratives humorous, and especially revelatory of human nature.

AL G. BOURASSA
Route 6, Box 230
Benton, Kentucky

I discovered *Facts Forum News* . . . this year and I am certainly happy that I did. It's wonderful to be able to read both sides of a question in one place, instead of wading through miles of newspaper to get at the facts.

My vote of thanks here and now for your unique publication.

DOROTHY L. WHITLEY
439-C W. Maple
Glendale 4, California

*Facts Forum **Topic of the Week
†Reporters' Roundup TV

San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
	KENS-TV†	5		
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
	KRRV*	910	Sun	4:30 p
Sulphur Springs	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Sweetwater	KPAR-TV†	12		
Texarkana	KTF*	1400	Sun	4:45 p
	KTF*	1400		
	KCMC-TV†	6	Sun	11:00 a
Texas City	KTLW*	920	Sun	6:00 p
Tyler	KLTV-TV†	7	Mon	9:00 p
Waxahachie	KBEC*	1390		
Weslaco	KRGV*	1290	Wed	9:45 p
	KRGV-TV†	5	Mon	10:15 p
Wichita Falls	KSYD-TV†	10	Sun	5:00 p

UTAH

Brigham City	KBUH*	800	Sun	12:30 p
Vernal	KUEL*	1340	Mon	5:15 p
	KUEL*	1340	Sun	3:00 p

VERMONT

Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Sun	5:30 p
	WTWN*	1340	Sun	6:30 p

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christiansted, St. Croix	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Thomas	WSTA*	1340	Sat	1:00 p

VIRGINIA

Alexandria	WPIK*	730	Sun	2:30 p
Arlington	WEAM*	1390	Thurs	10:00 p
Clifton Forge	WCFV*	1230	Sun	6:45 p
	WCFV*	1230		
Crewe	WSVS*	800	Sun	4:30 p
Hopewell	WHAP*	1340	Tues	7:15 p
	WHAP*	1340	Thurs	7:00 p
Newport News	WACH*	1270	To be announced	
	WACH*	1270		
Norfolk-Hampton	WVEC-TV†	15	Sat	5:00 p
Richmond	WMBG*	1380	Fri	7:30 p
	WTVR-TV†	6	Sun	7:00 p
Roanoke	WLVA-TV†	13	Sun	2:00 p
Staunton	WAFB*	900	Sun	7:00 p
Suffolk	WLFM*	1450	Sun	7:45 p
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	Sun	5:15 p
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p
	WRFL*	1400		

Reporters' Roundup radio program is broadcast weekly by the Mutual Broadcasting System. Consult your local newspaper for station and time.

WASHINGTON

Chehalis	KITI*	1420	Sun	1:15 p
	KITI*	1420	Sun	5:00 p
Colfax	KCLX*	1450	Sun	2:00 p
	KCLX*	1450	Sun	4:00 p
Colville	KCVL*	1480	Sun	9:15 a
	KCVL*	1480	Sun	5:00 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
	KSEM*	1450	Sun	5:00 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE*	1150	Sun	1:30 p
Seattle	KTVW-TV†	13	Mon	9:30 p
Spokane	KXLY-TV†	4	Sun	11:00 p
Sunnyside	KREW*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p
	KMO*	1360		
Walla Walla	KUJ*	1490		

WEST VIRGINIA

Clarksburg	KPD*	750		
Martinsburg	WEPM*	1340	Sun	10:00 p
Morgantown	WCLG*	1300	Sun	4:45 p
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV†	4		
Ronceverte	WRON*	1400		
	WRON*	1400		
Wheeling	WKWK*	1400	Sun	7:45 p

WISCONSIN

Green Bay	WMBV-TV†	11	Sun	4:30 p
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	12:15 a
	WMTV-TV†	33		
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	Sun	3:15 p
Portage	WPDR*	1350	Sun	4:00 p
Reedsburg	WRDB*	1400	Sun	6:30 p
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	Sat	7:30 p
Sturgeon Bay	WDOR*	910	Sun	5:00 p
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
Wausau	WSAU-TV†	7		

WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Sun	7:15 p
Torrington	KGOS*	1490	Sun	9:30 a
	KGOS*	1490	Sun	9:30 a

Contest Rules

To enter the Facts Forum contests it is necessary that contestants (1) vote the Facts Forum Poll and (2) send a list of names and addresses of five friends who would be interested in receiving *Facts Forum News*.

Only one list of names is necessary for contestants to enter any one or all of the monthly contests. Use the handy entry sheet on page 63.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS: Write letters of 150 words or less to your favorite newspaper 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 a newspaper or magazine, and a clipping sent for entry.

An award of \$10 will be paid for each letter selected by our contest judges.

SLOGAN: An award of \$10 will be paid to the person who, in the opinions of the contest judges, submits a slogan superior to the one currently appearing in the magazine. Until such a slogan is received, the present slogan will be continued each month.

POLL QUESTIONS: Do you have questions on subjects of national interest which would be suitable for use in our monthly poll? Facts Forum offers a prize of \$5 for each question selected by our judges. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces. 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."

QUESTIONS FOR TV PROGRAM: Mail questions for use on Reporters' Roundup-TV to: P. O. Box 26, Washington, D. C. The three persons submitting questions used will receive Longines wrist watches.

QUESTIONS FOR RADIO PROGRAMS: Questions suggested for Reporters' Roundup-Radio should be mailed to Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The three persons submitting questions used will receive Wittnauer wrist watches.

Communist-Owned G.I. Schools

(Continued from page 21)

that arrangements were made to establish a committee for the defense of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and \$100 was raised. (The Rosenbergs were convicted and executed for giving away our atomic secrets to the Russians.) Freedland also kept hidden in his closet Communist Party literature which was distributed at the local Party meetings.

Freedland appeared before the Subcommittee and, like his predecessors, invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked about prior membership in the Communist Party. He did admit at-

tending the trial of nine Communist Party leaders at Philadelphia in 1954. Thomas had stated in his testimony that two of these men were honored overnight guests at Freedland's house in the past.

The same response to questioning was given by Annette Rubenstein, former owner of the Robert Louis Stevenson School in New York City. She invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned as to whether she knew Earl Browder, whether she was ever a member of the Communist Party, and concerning alleged membership in

other Communist-front organizations on the subversive list of the Attorney General.

Mr. Leo D. Rhodes, present co-owner of the Robert Louis Stevenson School, testified under oath that when he and his partners bought the school from Annette Rubenstein, they immediately terminated the employment of 23 teachers whom they had concrete reasons to believe were sympathetic to the Communist cause. He also stated that neither he nor to the best of his knowledge, his partners are now or ever have been members of the Communist Party. During his six years of association with the school under the ownership of Miss Rubenstein, Rhodes said he had ample opportunity to observe and associate with the dismissed teachers and thus learn personally that several of them leaned towards the Communists' line and thus were undesirable.

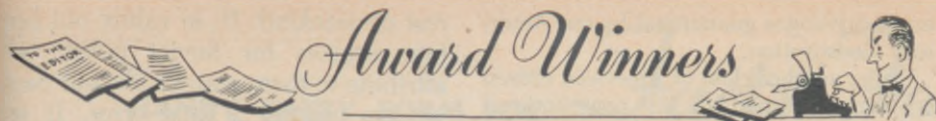
Before the new owners took over, approximately 4,000 veterans attended the institution and a total of over two million dollars was given by the federal government to the school to pay for veterans' tuition under the G. I. Bill.

Attorney General Brownell Charges

In regard to the California Labor School, San Francisco, California, Attorney General Brownell stated in 1955 that the school was formed by the American Communist Party thirteen years ago. He charged that the California Labor School "had never deviated from the Communist Party line." In her testimony, Dr. Dodd indicated that the California Labor School was one of a group of Marxist schools organized by the Communist Party following a policy established in 1943.

The Subcommittee's report states that these conditions concerning the latter schools cited were known over ten years ago, but that slow-moving government officials took no action until several years had gone by.

In conclusion, the Subcommittee went on record as strongly opposed to the waste of Federal funds on institutions owned or controlled by the Communists. The Subcommittee also urges that Congress consider favorably a bill proposed by their chairman, Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.). His proposed legislation would prohibit the use of federal funds for training veterans at schools that have definitely been proven to be Communist-owned. **END**



LETTERS to the EDITORS

VICTOR RIESEL

To the *Chicago American*:

One of God's most precious gifts, that of sight, has been snatched from Victor Riesel. Killing him would not have satisfied his enemies; they prefer to revel in his permanent torture.

I believe the wrong script was used by these beasts, because this man, dedicated to labor (as his father before him), is not planning to wither and die. He will continue his fight for the decency and dignity of the millions of labor men who deplore the strangle hold on them by goons and Communists.

We all could take a lesson from Riesel, those of us who fall back at the slightest setback, and who are heckled every time we have the courage to stand up and be counted.

Nothing is worth while unless it is worth fighting for. Riesel has been put to the "acid test," and has not been found wanting. We should emulate his courage.

BEA VON BOESELAGER
716 Merrill Avenue
Park Ridge, Illinois

WE HAVE LITTLE TO SAY

To the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*:

"That government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth" — thus spoke Abraham Lincoln. For the average citizen this has happened. We have little to say about who becomes a candidate for President. We do not vote directly for him; and, once he becomes President, we have nothing to say about whom the many hundreds of appointive officials will be. Their orders and directives are our daily fare.

Laws affecting us most are not enacted by the Congress but are presidential directives or rulings by his appointees which become the supreme law of the land, under decisions by life-time appointives whose main qualifications are their known political leanings.

The average citizen has little to do with government on the national scale; and, unless present trends are reversed, we will soon lose control of all local affairs, including public schools and roads.

PAUL GAFFORD
200 West Belknap
Jacksboro, Texas

MALCONTENTS OR HEROES?

To the *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph*:

On March 21 a local newspaper objected editorially to "malcontents" bringing lawsuits against the city. The editorial concludes with a plea for "majority rule."

Majority rule doesn't always bring justice. There is one school of thought that holds to the view that government is always right and individual citizens are always wrong; that if a thing is dead wrong to begin with, the fact that government does it makes it right both legally and morally.

The courts are the refuge of the oppressed. It is their function to establish fair play in order that government may not become too arbitrary for the good of its citizens. What we have to fear is not "malcontents" but apathy.

ARTHUR E. WALKER
2430 West Platte Avenue
Colorado Springs, Colorado

HIGH SUPPORTS AND PRICE DECLINES

To the *Des Moines Register*:

Many farmers, voters and congressmen seem obsessed with the idea that a stomach-ache caused by too many green apples may be cured by eating more of the same. This is paralleled in the ill-chosen demand for high support for farm products, as the record of facts will indicate.

The index level of farm prices from the end of 1952 to the end of November, 1955, dropped 15 points. This was during the administration of President Eisenhower. In this connection it should be noted that those prices declined 18 points in the last 21 months of Truman's reign, and that of the total decline of 33 points since 1952, 27 points were lost during the period of high-price support.

C. W. WAKEMAN
Friendship Haven
Fort Dodge, Iowa

THE USURPER

To the Editor:

The horse and buggy and the horse-drawn wagon gave way inevitably to the automobile and motor truck because they provided the people something better. All through the history of our nation are

countless examples of products and services being supplanted by others that offered better services or lower prices.

But today, unfortunately for the public as well as business, government with its regulations — too often unrealistic — seems to be usurping power. It does not and should not have power to the point where it can control prices, instead of permitting normal and natural competition.

Our country was built on competition, not on government regulation. With greater freedom in competition among the different types of transportation, the same as in any other field of business with each user free to choose that which best meets his needs, the real gainer in the end would be the consuming public.

ERNE WATERS
Route 2
Lawrenceburg, Tennessee

DOUBTS HISS IS "INSPIRATION"

To the *Miami News*:

The lecture circuit for our colleges must be scraping the bottom of the barrel when Alger Hiss finds himself on the platform at Princeton University. It goes to show how far afield the accepted doctrine of compromise can lead our intellectuals in their efforts to be "broad-minded."

If we were to read in our history books that Benedict Arnold lectured at an institution of learning after his defection, we would be justified in wondering if our Founding Fathers had a code of ethics. In our day when even treason can find apologists, it is not surprising to note the toleration for such a news item. College students can be reasonably considered as the future leaders of the nation.

What possible inspiration for patriotism and devotion to country can be gleaned by American youth sitting in an auditorium with Alger Hiss, No. 1 traitor to his country, on the rostrum?

MARY G. McELWEE
57 Campina Court
Coral Gables, Florida

GOVERNMENT LIKE A CAMEL

To the *Birmingham Post-Herald*:

The government reminds me of a camel. We read of a kindly Arab a long time ago. One cold night on the desert the Arab let the camel warm himself a little by sticking his nose inside the tent.

Then the camel put his head into the tent, then his neck and back, until finally the whole camel was inside and there was no room for the Arab. He had to crawl outside in the cold.

Increasing large-scale government competition in farm marketing is crowding out private businessmen, and threatening to destroy our free markets.

It seems that everyone connected with the agricultural industry from the farmer

to processor, is slowly but surely becoming an agent of the government.

If we are to keep the camel on the outside, all of us with a stake in the private enterprise system must realize we are under the same tent.

MRS. WAITS H. CAMERON, SR.
Route 1, Box 39
Blount Springs, Alabama

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IN PERIL?

To the *Palo Alto Times*:

Several state legislatures, including California's, have urged repeal of all treaties and agreements which make possible the trial and imprisonment of American servicemen overseas by foreign courts.

These legislatures stress that servicemen subjected to foreign trials do not

enjoy privileges guaranteed by our American Constitution.

Now, another class of American citizen is being stripped of its constitutional rights. The Supreme Court has extended military law to cover more than 250,000 civilian dependents stationed with armed forces in 63 foreign countries.

The Court ruled that civilian dependents overseas are not constitutionally guaranteed a jury trial and other legal safeguards enjoyed by civilians at home. Instead, they are subjected to military courts-martial.

Has the day arrived when an American can no longer say without fear of contradiction, "I demand my constitutional rights?"

ROBERT L. DAVIS
518 Governor's Lane
Stanford, California

rest of mankind. If, in ruling out certain courses for Soviet policy, we attribute to them reasons like our own, we are making a fatal error. If we assume that our own policies and statements convey the same meaning to them as to us, we are certain to be mistaken. Any policy aimed at an "understanding" between the Soviet Union and the United States is based on a total lack of knowledge of the ultimate Communist objectives. The Soviets may be able to "understand" us in a concrete contempt, but an "understanding" — even in a hostile sense — as the basis of a sustained reciprocity of policies is something we cannot expect.

Peace in the sense of international order based on a minimum of common values, and the ensuing restraint of national aspirations is not possible with an adversary who basically rejects the very right of other societies to exist.

The greatest danger threatening America today is the complacency of many of our citizens and people throughout the world in the midst of inexorably rising peril.

END

Let's Not Get Complacent

(Continued from page 27)

tactics but not in basic Communist doctrine.

Neither is the stated desire for friendly relations with capitalist nations a contradiction of Soviet doctrine. In the past, Soviet leaders have mouthed desires for peaceful coexistence and have promoted peace offensives whenever it suited their purposes and they needed time. It is logical to assume now that Khrushchev, as was true with his predecessors, hopes to divide, confuse, and weaken the opposition to communism throughout the world. Through such a policy Soviet Russia would gain time in which the vast Communist empire now developing could entrench itself and gain greater economic and political cohesion.

Khrushchev undoubtedly seeks, through this new tactical line, to develop the seductive, peaceful coexistence program throughout the world into a nonresistance movement as it relates to Communist aggression.

In conclusion, the recent developments appear to us to be changes in tactics and not in basic Communist doctrine and objectives. The latter remain the same — to establish a world Communist society to the exclusion of all others resulting in the destruction of human dignity, and the subjugation of man to the state and all states to the Kremlin. Were it otherwise, were Khrushchev sincere, long before now, he and the present so-called collective

dictatorship would have availed themselves of the opportunities provided at the "Summit Conference" and since to evidence their sincerity by deeds rather than the usual empty words.

The Communist mind has so defined its world that it shares neither truth nor logic nor morality with the

ENTRY BLANK

Facts Forum News Essay Contest

October 15 — December 15

"HOW AMERICA CAN BEST FIGHT COMMUNISM"

Name _____ Please Print
Street or RFD _____
Post Office _____ County _____ State _____
Parent or Guardian _____
Date of Birth _____ Age Last Birthday _____
This will certify that I personally composed the enclosed essay.

Date _____ Signature _____
Be sure to check region in which you live — ALL PRIZES AWARDED BY REGION EXCEPT GRAND AWARD



CHECK ONE

New England ☐

East Central ☐

Southern ☐

Central ☐

Western ☐

HANDY ENTRY FORM FOR

Facts Forum Contests

Vote the Facts Forum Poll. If no contest entries are included, simply clip poll questions below and mail.

EXPLANATION: If you wish to vote the Facts Forum Poll only, answer the questions, clip and mail to FACTS FORUM NEWS, 1710 Jackson Street, Dallas, Texas.

If, however, you wish to enter any of the Facts Forum contests, you must . . .

- Vote the Facts Forum Poll.
- Send it in with your contest entry.
- Submit the names and addresses of five persons who would be interested in receiving FACTS FORUM NEWS.

Read complete contest rules on page 60.

Your Name _____

Your Address _____

Names and addresses of friends who might wish to receive FACTS FORUM NEWS:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes October 1

Yes No

- ☐ ☐ Is unrestrained taxation America's number one menace?
- ☐ ☐ Is yearning for security tending to counterbalance vigorous thinking?
- ☐ ☐ Are our airways getting too crowded for safety?
- ☐ ☐ Is disarmament of all nations the key to a system of world peace?
- ☐ ☐ Should industry accept the invitation to exhibit at 1957 Moscow Fair?
- ☐ ☐ Should narcotic violators be given the death penalty?
- ☐ ☐ Should we have a national automobile license law?
- ☐ ☐ Should senile persons take tests each year to get drivers' licenses?
- ☐ ☐ Do American taxpayers owe a living to underprivileged nations?
- ☐ ☐ Is rock and roll music lowering the morals of teen-agers?
- ☐ ☐ Do we need a Hoover-type study of our whole tax set-up?
- ☐ ☐ Are Polish riots proof that Soviet grip on satellites has slipped?
- ☐ ☐ Should the age limit for Social Security benefits differ by sex?
- ☐ ☐ Should candidates state their stand on UN membership for Red China?

Name _____

STREET

CITY

ZONE

STATE

FACTS FORUM CONTESTS

Complete rules for all Facts Forum contests are given on page 60 of this magazine. The handy entry forms on this page are merely for the contestant's convenience.

To enter any or all of the contests you **must** vote the Facts Forum Poll and list above the names and addresses of five friends who might wish to receive FACTS FORUM NEWS.

Poll Questions

I wish to submit the following poll questions (questions must be worded so that they can be answered "yes" or "no," and must not exceed 72 characters, including spaces).

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Slogan

I wish to submit the following slogan _____

Letters to the Editors

Please enter the attached clipping of my "letter to the editor" in your contest. It does not exceed 150 words, and it has been published in a newspaper (or magazine).

My name _____ Name of publication from which my letter was clipped _____

AUGUST POLL RESULTS

% Yes

- 19 Do politicians respect the judgment of the American people?
- 4 Should NATO have a voice in disbursing our foreign aid?
- 96 Can the efforts of an enlightened citizen combat communism?
- 6 Should Bulganin and Khrushchev be invited to visit the U. S.?
- 83 Should all Communists be expelled from the United States?
- 86 Has television affected the nation's readers?
- 9 Do you have confidence in the present Supreme Court?
- 8 Should American servicemen be tried by foreign courts?
- 79 Do we publicize our new weapons of war too much?
- 73 Should federal control of railroad rates be terminated?
- 17 Should television be installed in public schools?
- 58 Would a southern walkout benefit the Democrats in the long run?
- 62 Should government businessmen disclose their financial holdings?
- 78 Should more consideration be given small businessmen?

"Big Ditch" vs. the H-Bomb

(Continued from page 8)

Ditch" in the early 1900's, urges improvement of the present Panama locks Canal rather than a sea-level Atlantic to Pacific waterway. Another official of the Panama Canal Society has called the sea-level canal proposal "an unmitigated raid on the U. S. Treasury." In addition, Thatcher further urges the immediate necessity of a general review of the economic, political, engineering, and international aspects and problems related to the canal situation.

Representative Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania, in an address to the society, declared, "Whatever may have been urged at the time of the decision as to the merits of the so-called sea-level design, it is a matter of history that the existing Panama Canal was constructed substantially according to the plan strongly recommended by Chief Engineer Stevens. (Stevens was appointed to originally build the canal by President Theodore Roosevelt. Later, he resigned and the canal was completed under the supervision of General George W. Goethals.)

"Moreover, it has proved an eminent success with the transit since 1914 of more than 249,980 vessels of various classes from all nations, commercial and military, with the toll rates measurably reflecting the costs of construction, maintenance, and operation."

The Third Locks Project was first

proposed back in 1939, and was supposed to go into construction during the time when the U. S. entered World War II. However, the shortage of construction materials during the war caused the project to be completely stopped in its tracks and suspended for the duration. In 1943, as a result of the critical traffic problems resulting from war-time traffic, Capt. Miles P. Duval, captain of the port then and in charge of marine operations in the Pacific sector of the canal, developed a more comprehensive plan known as the Terminal Lake Third Locks Plan. It has been published as a technical thesis in leading engineering journals. The Third Locks Project proposed now is identical to Capt. Duval's original recommendations. Because of its inherent logic and comparatively low cost, it has much wider support in Congress.

At present, the Third Locks Project proposal is still being reviewed. Consulting engineers have been assigned to begin immediate full scale loading tests to determine its practicability under modern conditions. The nature of the test work involved will take three or four months before the engineers reach a final conclusion. It has been recommended that no further steps be taken to obtain approval of any change in the existing canal before the investigations now in progress are finally completed.

END

Poll Question Winners For October, 1956

An award of \$5.00 has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

- 1st question: DARYL P. BAILEY
1112 South Howeth Street
Gainesville, Texas
- 2nd question: THOMAS L. BRITTON
Oneida, Kentucky
- 3rd question: ANN CUNNINGHAM
10855 South Maplewood
Chicago, Illinois
- 4th question: MRS. LUELLA DAHLSTROM
41 East Sixteenth Street
Hialeah, Florida
- 5th question: GEORGE DURST
P. O. Box 61
Jamaica, New York
- 6th question: DAN W. EMMETT
Route 3, Box 1346
Oakdale, California
- 7th question: LINDSEY C. FOSTER
77 Mountain Drive
Pennsboro, West Virginia
- 8th question: BESS GEBHART
1920 North Maplewood,
Tulsa 15, Oklahoma
- 9th question: MRS. ELLEN LA COURTE
Room 1508, P. A. Law
111 Eighth Avenue
New York 11, New York
- 10th question: MISS NANCY LEWIS
Glennville, Georgia
- 11th question: MRS. GEORGE SIMS
1752 West Sixty-first Street
Chicago 36, Illinois
- 12th question: NELLIE SPILEWSKI
260 River Road
Edgewater, New Jersey
- 13th question: GEORGIA C. VICTOR
Villesca, Iowa
- 14th question: MRS. E. T. WATTERS
1201 West North Avenue
Pittsburgh 33, Pennsylvania

Slogan for
October, 1956

**Think for Yourself—
Vote for Your Country**

Submitted by
PEGGY ANN LYNCH
434 Sixth Avenue
West Hyannisport, Mass.

*Presented
this month . . .*

is the "Grand Canyon State."
At the right is a view of the
south rim of the canyon, and
the well-known exploratory
mule trip that leads to the
bottom of the canyon.

This is the third in the *Facts
Forum News* pictorial series.
Arkansas and Alabama were
the two preceding states fea-
tured.



Arizona

MONTEZUMA CASTLE . . . National Monument

MAINTENANCE of this site was undertaken in 1906 to preserve a remarkable group of Indian cliff dwellings dating from pre-Columbian times.

Situated in the Verde Valley of central Arizona, the foundation of the inaccurately called Montezuma Castle is nearly fifty feet above the cliff base, and is almost forty feet high. The uncommon state of preservation of this natural formation is due chiefly to the great shelving overhang of rock which has protected it from the elements.

The castle could have accommodated twelve or fifteen cliff-dwelling families, possibly fifty people. The pottery made locally at Montezuma Castle and in the Verde Valley generally, consisted mainly of plain brown or red ware, and rough gray ware, with plain or rather crude decoration in black paint. The prehistoric people of the Verde, although apparently highly talented along certain other lines, seem never to have developed a really ornamental painted pottery of their own. Instead they acquired decorated pottery from the north by trade with the Flagstaff area and the Hopi country.

A disastrous fire caused abandonment by these dwellers, and it is likely that other troubles must have befallen them. While their cliff houses were safe from invasion, the people were not safe against occasional sieges, causing probable food shortage and epidemics.

A good many of the cliff dwellers must have gone into northern Arizona to join the friendly Hopis, with whom they had long established trade relations. Modern Hopi traditions still indicate some ancestral origins in the Verde Valley.



ANDERSON LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
3RD FLOOR

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
THE M. D. ANDERSON MEM.
LIBRARY, 4, CULLEN BLVD.
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77030
A 04460 G 2-57

MONTEZUMA CASTLE — ARIZONA
DESCRIPTION ON THE OTHER
SIDE OF COVER