

AUGUST-1955

PRICE 20c

FACTS FORUM

NEWS

Makes the Public Interest of Interest to the Public

Let's Put
America
First!

Says:
SENATOR WILLIAM E. JENNER

EXCLUSIVE:

Dan Smoot Interviews

Dr. Fred Schwarz

on

COEXISTENCE

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Provocative Prose

"I wonder if we shall have any liberties left by and by if we keep up our American habit of meekly submitting to every imposition that is put upon us."

—MARK TWAIN

"If you find within yourself any single thought of abandoning the welfare of your country, tear it out. Do not wait for others to lead or do what must be done."

—SYNGMAN RHEE

(on his eightieth birthday)

"First we will take eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

—VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN
(in 1923)

"It is a sad age when it is more difficult to break a prejudice than an atom."

—ALBERT EINSTEIN

"I appeal to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians, not with presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you is the question: Shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generation?"

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"Peace, indeed, can be obtained at least temporarily by any nation if it is prepared to yield its freedom principles. But peace at any price—peace with appeasement—peace which passes the dreadful finality to future generations—is a peace of sham and shame which can end only in war or slavery."

—GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

"We can no longer take our own way of life for granted—we know that it may be challenged. And we know this, too—and know it even more deeply—we know that freedom and democracy are not just big words mouthed by orators but the rain and the wind and the sun, the air and the light by which we breathe and live."

—STEPHEN VINCENT BENET

Persons submitting quotations which are used in this column will receive one-year subscriptions to *Facts Forum News*. If already a subscriber, the contributor may designate another person to whom the award subscription will be sent, or he may wish to extend his present subscription.

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

Readers Report

Pass Along to a Friend

From San Diego, Calif., Charles A. Taylor contributes two excellent suggestions:

"...Wonderful job you folks are doing to bring the truth before the American people. The importance of such work cannot be over-emphasized. I would suggest that you adopt the following practice, if it's not too much trouble. Why not stamp upon every piece of literature you send anywhere 'PLEASE PASS THIS ALONG TO A FRIEND.'

"This would remind everyone that there is a real need for spreading the truth. I feel sure that it would increase the all-too-small number of people who know just how serious our situation is. An appalling number are still sitting back saying 'What can I do?'

"Along this line I have another plan, one to bring about active participation in our government. Can you suggest to your readers and listeners that they keep a stack of postcards handy and begin NOW to correspond with their congressmen? We'll put off writing a letter, but it takes just a second to jot down a few ideas or a request for information. I have found my Senators and Representatives most appreciative of the interest I take in their work."

Tennessee Textbooks Tainted?

Mrs. Edythe Whitley of Nashville writes that on July 12 a group of women were scheduled to appear before the Tennessee Textbook Commission "protesting certain textbooks being used in Tennessee schools."

Mrs. Whitley says, "Propaganda designed to weaken our government itself, our homes, our churches, has sneaked in between the pages of the textbooks. Stories designed to warp the minds of youth find their way into our school textbooks as well as in circulation by our public libraries."

"Certainly this is no indictment of our great educational system, of the fine body of teachers to whom we entrust our children. We, the citizens, are indicted for the lack of vigilance and carelessness in letting agents of our enemies plant a seed in some sentence in a textbook to breed doubt or mistrust."

"Once our enemies succeed in breaking down the moral fiber of our youth, then they will really pour on the poison against our government and its institutions."

"To Secure the Blessings of Liberty"

Aroused by what they feel is a continuing loss of personal freedom, a group in Indianapolis has met to organize the Indiana Pro-Constitutional Forum and to ascertain what their constitutional rights as Americans are and how to protect them.

At the opening session, the forum heard Crawford Parker, Indiana Secretary of State, call for a rebirth of the basic principles which made America great. He emphasized that our forefathers never compromised principles or resorted to double talk to conceal their philosophies or objectives and that the salvation of liberty depends upon a well-informed nation with abiding faith in the principles laid down by the Constitution.

Newspaper Strives for Truth

A *Facts Forum News* reader in Colorado Springs, Colo., proudly points to his local newspaper's masthead which reads:

Of, by, and for Facts Forum News readers

"We believe that one truth is always consistent with another truth. We endeavor to be consistent with the truths expressed in such great moral guides as the Golden Rule, the Ten Commandments, and the Declaration of Independence."

"Should we, at any time, be inconsistent with these truths, we would appreciate anyone pointing out such inconsistency."

The *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph* also prints the addresses of congressmen to encourage readers to correspond with their elected representatives.

Granite Wall Against Subversion

New Hampshire, ninth of the original thirteen states, has proved it is indeed the "Granite State" insofar as Communist penetration is concerned. State legislators approved a \$42,500 appropriation to enable the attorney general to continue his investigation into subversive activities.

Against "Parrot" Teaching

From Anchorage, Alaska, comes word from Attorney John E. Manders:

"I have been a firm believer for many years that a full year, preferably the senior year in high school or freshman year in college, should be devoted to a study of the Constitution of the United States, together with the Bill of Rights. And by this I mean not that type of teaching which permits students to become parrots so that they can repeat the Constitution and the Bill of Rights word for word, but that there be instilled into them the 'meaning' of the Constitution, why it was brought about, what its purposes are, what it has accomplished, and why it is the greatest document of the present age and why it is a civil bible of a free people and next in importance to the Book itself. To me it would mean very little if anyone could repeat word for word the Constitution and Bill of Rights if they were without an understanding of what it means."

Get the Pro-American Show on the Road

Many *Facts Forum News* readers will be vacationing this month and perhaps would like to act upon the following plan submitted by Austin Mosher of Waukegan, Ill.:

"Some twenty-five million Americans will be 'on wheels' traveling in every direction throughout the nation on vacations. In two weeks the average vacationer will eat forty-two meals in that many different restaurants and roadside stands; he will buy gas and have his car serviced at a dozen stations; he will stay in motels or tourist camps a dozen nights; he will meet and talk to scores of fellow tourists."

"If readers of *Facts Forum News* and [the] radio audience will take with them on their vacations a hundred pieces of literature and hand [them] out to people in eating places, resorts, etc., they can serve as an army of couriers and blanket the nation from coast to coast with pro-American literature."

"...Get the show on the road!"

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

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Number 7

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FACTS FORUM is a nation-wide public educational venture dedicated to arousing public interest in important current events and stimulating individual participation in the shaping of public policy.

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

TO SUBSCRIBE, see Pages 39-40.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Send old address (exactly as imprinted on mailing label of your copy of FACTS FORUM NEWS) and new address to FACTS FORUM NEWS, Department CA, Dallas 1, Texas. Please allow three weeks for change-over.

Dr. Medford Evans, formerly editor of the *Facts Forum News*, has re-entered the academic field. Dr. Evans came to Facts Forum last year from McMurry College, Abilene, Texas, and is now in the division of social sciences at Northwestern State College at Natchitoches, Louisiana.

Dan Smoot, Facts Forum commentator, is leaving Facts Forum to establish his own newsletter and broadcasting service with headquarters in Dallas, Texas, P. O. Box 1305.

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What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Patriotism in ads will break down my sales resistance—that is my Achilles heel. . . Orchids to Virtue Bros. and Mid-Continent Supply Co. . . One way to save our country in the next fourteen months—build up *Facts Forum News* circulation to ten million.

M. F. FAHEY

2626 Seventh St., Santa Monica, Calif.

I feel . . . you are involved in a work of real value to humanity in recognizing the contributions of the ordinary citizen.

R. A. SHEARER

21 Meadow Park

Haddington, E. L., Scotland

Facts Forum News is one magazine that is getting close to the heart of things. It has force and effect that awaken and arouse the thinking people in an age of unrest, wantonness, and vacillation.

THOMAS L. BRITTON

Oneida, Ky.

...my enthusiastic appreciation for your television programs. I sincerely hope your audience runs into millions.

...I should like to have . . . two films . . . to show to our Breakfast Club and to a number of other civic organizations around Miami who most certainly should hear them.

MISS MARJORIE MACSMITH
The Miami Breakfast Club and
The Freedom Club of Miami
P. O. Box 245, Little River Sta.
Miami 38, Fla.

I listen to your radio program regularly and consider it to be an excellent presentation of both sides of current issues.

MISS GENEVIEVE M. LEFLER
83-84 Dongan Ave.
Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.

It is indeed gratifying to see a periodical on the newsstand dedicated to the principles which have made the United States the powerful and free nation it is today. More pleasing, however, is the firm stand *Facts Forum News* takes against the distorted philosophies of communism . . . which we should all know are the sworn foes of individual human freedom. Your magazine is a virile deterrent to public apathy. . .

GARY CANON
2709 Broadway, Houston 17, Texas

...My gratitude for your free circulation [library] knows no bounds. Every book shall be taken care of and passed around freely by the undersigned. . .

MRS. RUBY BEAL
Highland Springs, Va.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

This issue of *Facts Forum News* is published as the August instead of the July 1955 issue so as to correspond with the dates of other monthly magazines currently for sale at newsstands. Subscriptions will be extended accordingly.

IT is always a pleasure for me to leave Washington and travel, meeting with the people and discussing our national problems. I believe fervently the strength of our nation resides not in the capital but in the vast expanse of our country. Empires are represented by, as they are governed by, their capital cities. Free countries are not divided into a capital city and the provinces which are ruled by it.

In my state of Indiana we still believe the United States is a union of sovereigns, and our state is in every respect the sovereign equal of the federal government. There is no deference in Indiana to the glamour and show which are now so evident in Washington. We believe that we, the people, govern the country, and Washington is the front office, part of the administrative headquarters. I am sure that doctrine will sound right and proper in the state of Texas.

It is a favorite argument of the collectivists that foreign policy is something remote and abstract, which can be understood only by experts who have spent years in the precincts of the State Department or on the staffs of certain daily papers. Congressmen, who have not had the benefit of long indoctrination in the mysteries, and you, who do not even breathe the air of Washington, are supposed to sit patiently and wait until the great minds have handed down what you may know.

Americans never accepted such nonsense. Our greatest diplomatic achievements were the work of laymen, who had spent most of their years in private life. In the last few years we have been bewildered and bemused by foreign relations experts in Washington offices, but the moment has come when the American people need to decide what kind of foreign policy they wish to stand for, and then tell our government to follow it.

President Eisenhower's message on defense of the Nationalist stronghold on Formosa will certainly be a landmark in American foreign affairs, but what kind of a landmark it will be is not yet certain.

First let us look at the documents themselves—the message of the President, and the resolution of Congress supporting the President's position.

RESOLUTION REAFFIRMS TIE

In the words of the message and the resolution, the United States reaffirms its close ties with its loyal ally, the Nationalist government of China, and makes a commitment to defend the Nationalist stronghold with American military power if the Communists carry out their threat to attack it. This statement does not solve all the problems of our foreign policy in the Western Pacific.

Let's Put A

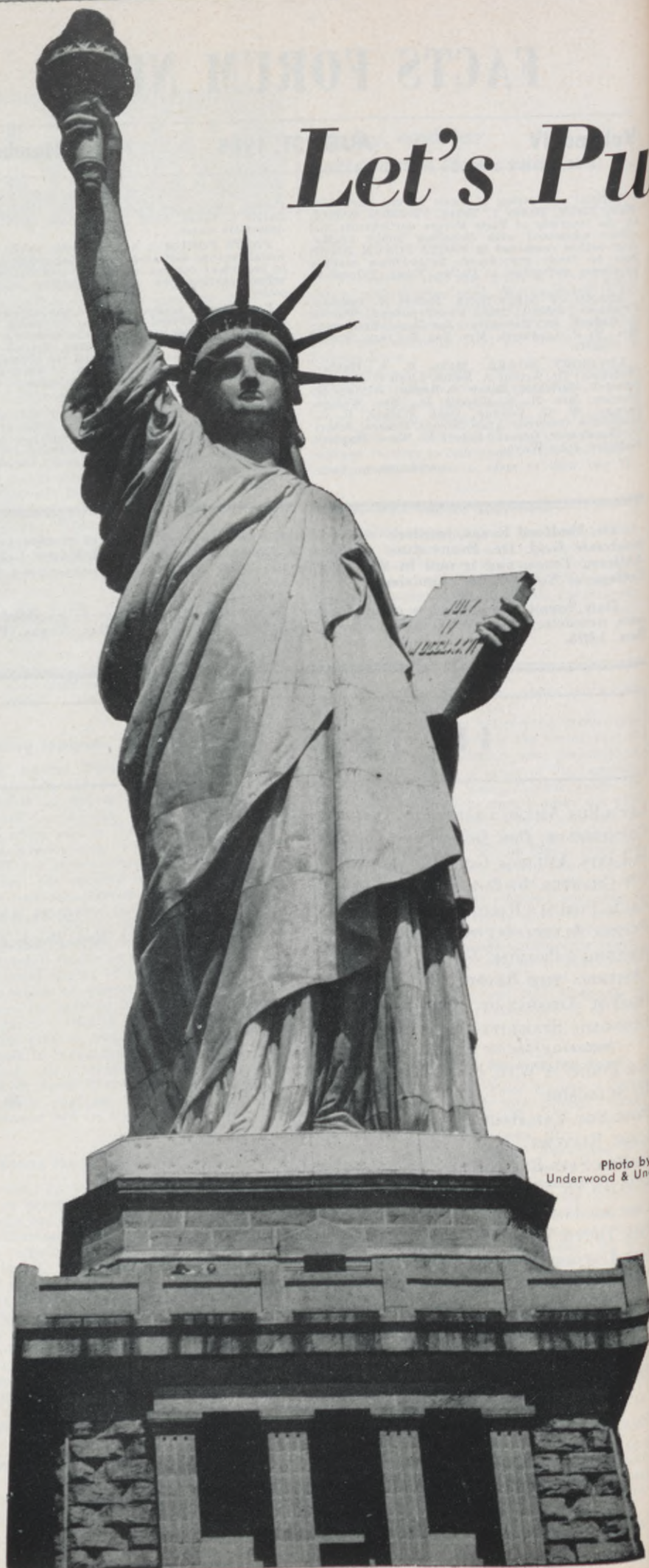


Photo by
Underwood & Underwood

u America First!

by Senator William E. Jenner

This address was given by Senator Jenner (R-Ind.) before the Dallas Public Affairs Club and The Committee of One Hundred.

There is no good reason why it should. We have had twenty years of mismanagement of our activities in Asia. It is not reasonable to ask that any single statement clear away all the confusion.

The message is significant because it deals with the most important question. We have announced that we shall tolerate no new retreat in Asia. The Red Chinese will not be permitted to breach the frontiers of the still-free world. We make it clear that we shall meet Communist military action with military action, the only argument the Communists understand. We will not start the shooting, but if the Communists choose to start a war, we will finish it.

A foreign policy carefully worked out in many conferences, publicly stated on the authority of the Chief Executive, and supported by Congress and both parties, should be firm as a rock.

But I say to you—what you know well—that the foreign policy established in the Formosa papers is not firm at all. The fact that it is clearly stated in a presidential message, and formally approved by the legislative branch, may mean nothing. It is wholly possible that we shall follow the opposite policy of appeasement of the Communists, surrender of our advantage, and a sellout of our loyal allies in Asia.

Why am I so certain that the wishes of the American President, the American Congress, and the American people may be flouted?

The reason is—briefly—that we have two lines of authority in foreign policy-making. One is the line of responsibility laid down in our Constitution and followed by all those who believe in our Constitution. The other is a network whose members deliberately disregard our Constitution, our President and our Congress, and act as a law unto themselves.

TWO-HEADED MONSTER DIRECTS

The sad fact is that no public document, no formal commitment, no legal mandate, can determine American for-

eign policy today. Our fluctuating foreign policy is a tug-of-war between these two forces. It is an unsettled question which group will be triumphant in the struggle to shape our nation's destiny. We have seen again and again in the last two decades that the foreign policy put forward in our public statements is not the foreign policy carried out by our government.

This is not because the American government has suddenly become untrustworthy. That would be a most inaccurate statement of what has happened. The reason is that the American government is a two-headed monster. It is led by two different organizing centers. The never-settled question of which center is to determine our foreign policies has kept us in constant turmoil and made us look futile and ineffectual before the world.

This conflict between two heads of our government will not end until one or the other is wholly defeated, uprooted and destroyed. For years now our government has been pulled in two opposite directions in making its decisions.

The hearings of the so-called Tydings Committee disclosed clear evidence, in spite of the whitewash, that a powerful and ruthless group was guiding our decisions to the advantage of the Soviet Union. This was not news. Committees of Congress had been making the same charge for years.

The Russell Committee, which investigated the dismissal of General MacArthur, and investigations by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee showed that a secret faction in our government had worked out its own foreign policy, to suit its own ends, and had by infinite skill, patience and ruthlessness, put it into effect, regardless of the legally established foreign policy set by Congress and by our President.

Throughout all of 1951 and 1952 the Congress, especially the Senate, was engaged in a great debate to turn the light on this secret foreign policy and destroy its influence.

You know the achievements of this secret group.

After the defeat of Japan in World War II, our official foreign policy was to defend and strengthen the Nationalist government of China. But the secret faction in our government was determined we should support the Chinese Reds. In the name of the United States government, they insisted on a "united front" government in China, with the Communist rebels retaining their own armed forces. Our representative gave the Reds a long cease-fire by which they could rest and re-equip their armies, and he set up an embargo on American bullets for the guns of the defenders.

MILITARY VICTORY IMPOSSIBLE

Since 1950, we have had two policies for the Nationalist government on Formosa. Our official policy was to support the legal government and help rearm the Nationalist forces. Congress voted the money again and again as proper for our own defense. But the hidden faction in our government intended that we should "disengage ourselves"—as the polite phrase goes—from the Nationalists. Their real policy for Formosa paralleled the famous advice of Owen Lattimore, to let Korea fall but not let it look as if we pushed her. In December, 1949—five years ago—our State Department even issued instructions to its personnel abroad to show no regrets when the government on Formosa fell—according to plan.

During the war in Korea, we were ostensibly fighting to defeat the Red Chinese attackers. Our military leaders, our people, and I believe most of the members of the administration, were loyal to that objective. But the invisible group had a different policy. They were determined to prevent military victory over the Reds. They intended to return by force the Chinese prisoners of war who did not wish to go back to Communist China, as they returned the hopeless refugees in Europe after 1945. They intended to leave North Korea a wasteland, occupied by Red troops who



—Wide World Photo
General MacArthur (front) shown touring Korean front April 3, 1951, with Generals Ridgway and Hickey. On April 11 of that year, President Truman removed MacArthur from all his commands and named Ridgway as successor.

could infiltrate South Korea at will and descend at a moment's notice on Free Korea, with armies rested and re-equipped.

The secret group won every objective except the return of the pitiful prisoners-of-war, who were saved by the insistence of Congress and the unremitting determination of our military leaders.

The same double purpose can be found in our German policy, in Austria, in Italy, in Greece, and in the tragic surrender of all Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union.

The public policy of the United States, which has in almost all instances denounced conquest and supported the independent peaceful nations, has faded away. The secret policy of the faction so friendly to the Soviet Union has in almost every instance been triumphant. Our public policy of resisting communism has succeeded only in Turkey, and to a limited extent in Greece. But Secretary of Defense Forrestal, who was determined to block the Communist advance, and who won over President Truman, was driven to an early grave. His hard policy of armed resistance to communism was replaced by the soft policy of economic aid to Europe.

From 1945 to 1952 the power of the Soviet Union spread east and west, until it covered one-third of the world and put millions of people in bondage. The conflict between freedom and slavery was not lost in Asia or in Europe. It was lost in Washington, because the little group in our policy-making which favored the Soviet Union was stronger than the people who believed in a pro-American policy.

I say to you that the Eisenhower

policy, for defense of the perimeter of the free world where it is threatened in the Formosa Strait, will be undermined, eroded, covered up, twisted and made over into a policy favoring Red China, unless we learn our lesson and deal with the realities of politics today.

EROSION IS APPARENT

Already erosion is apparent. We constantly hear it dinned in our ears that it is all right for us to defend Formosa but very wrong to defend Quemoy and Matsu. That is as if the UN should say to the United States, "You will reduce tension with the Soviet Union if you give up Alaska, which is nearer the Soviet border than it is to the United States. The Soviet Union says Alaska belongs to it. It does not matter if you need Alaska for radar information, weather information, and early warning of threatened attack. You must give up Alaska to the Soviet rulers so their tension will be lowered."

Another form of erosion is hidden in the warnings that Formosa really belongs to Japan and so it is all right for the United States to intervene, but Quemoy and the Tachens belong to China, and therefore, if we defend the coastal islands, we are threatening Red China. That argument omits the minor fact that we are not threatening the Reds. They are threatening us. They cannot get the coastal islands except by conquest. They have already tried and failed. It is they who talk of new conquests, not we.

A third form of erosion is the attempt to get a cease-fire in the United Nations. A cease-fire would tell the Nationalists they could never win back their own

country. That would be like telling George Washington he could have a cease-fire if he would remain in Valley Forge but make no effort to reconquer New York or Philadelphia or Yorktown.

A cease-fire would free the Red armies for a new attack on Indochina.

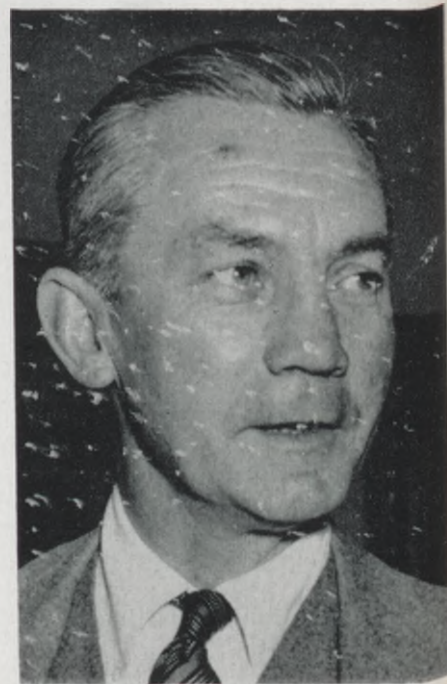
A cease-fire would give further recognition to the Red Chinese. It would tell the desperate people on the mainland they had no hope. It would tell the people of Poland, the Balkans and East Germany that the United States had no interest in their fate.

Other pitfalls are the proposals to establish two Chinas, and sooner or later to put Free China under a UN trusteeship. We know where that will lead. After Red China is safely installed in the UN as a "peace-loving" nation, it will bring up the demand that Formosa be surrendered to it and cite the Cairo Declaration as proof we have already agreed to the proposal.

Perhaps the most serious threat of all is the recent report that our government intends to ask other members of the UN to help us patrol the Formosa Strait. That would end all pretense of either a pro-American or an anti-Communist policy. It would mean another "victory" like Korea.

UN RIDES SEE-SAW

Whatever you make of the UN in general, it should be possible to get agreement among all good Americans on a few facts. The Soviet Union is a member of the United Nations. So are her satellites. She has a permanent seat on the Security Council, with the veto power. The UN has no commitments to support freedom. For every obligation



—Wide World Photo
James Forrestal

to the free nations it has corresponding obligations to the Communist nations. Its staff includes a proportion of open Communists, but it also has a substantial number of secret Communists. The UN recently awarded large damages to some American Fifth Amendment Communists on its staff who were dismissed only because of hearings held by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The UN is in the middle, see-sawing between the free world and the Communist world.

The most favorable policy to us which the UN can adopt is neutralism. It is nearer to downright coexistence.

This is the minimum of undisputed fact about the UN on which all Americans can agree. The UN is an agent of both Communist, anti-Communist and neutral nations. It has no justification for favoring the side of the free. It has never pretended to do so. Nowhere in the vast outpouring of documents that flows from the UN is there any commitment to freedom. The UN works for "peace," for welfare, for one world. It does not pretend to work for liberty.

Why do I say that these proposals to soften up the Formosa resolution—so dangerous to the interests of the United States, so shameful a breach of our moral obligations—will probably prevail in spite of the solemn commitment by the President and the Congress to a true American line of action?

The reason is this. A group of gangsters cannot be stopped by a written contract. A power group in government cannot be stopped by a state paper. A revolutionary junta, whose purpose is to take over the sovereignty, cannot be stopped by a resolution of Congress. The only answer to a ruthless political action group determined to destroy the honor of America is a political action group determined to support American political ideals and defend the men in government who are loyal to them.

We have talked loosely and superficially about this rival power system. But talk is no longer good enough. We have called the product the Acheson foreign policy. This dual control of foreign policy was operating in our government as early as 1940 under Harry Hopkins. It operated under Dean Acheson, but it has operated just as effectively since he left. We have no reason whatever to think this group lost its hold because Mr. Acheson resigned. Everything we know indicates the contrary.

Who then are the people we are discussing? Where do they operate? On what foundation does their power rest?

Part of our confusion comes from the fact that this group does not operate along constitutional lines at all. Our legal foreign relations staff works in

the State Department, under the direction of the President, and within the policy framework laid down by Congress. But the extra-legal foreign policy-making conspiracy operates all over the lot. Like a cancer growing wild, it ignores all the restraints inherent in a healthy, well-balanced organism. This collectivist machine operates, in part, in the State Department; in part, in the White House Secretariat; in the super-Cabinet agencies of national defense, in the Foreign Operations Administration, in the CIA. But a substantial part of it operates outside government. It may be found in the press, in the parties, in the colleges, in labor unions, in business, in the United Nations. The important point is that all the parts of this political machine are coordinated. They operate as one from some control tower we cannot see.

WHO TO BLAME?

We have tried to blame our presidents, the State Department, the party in power, for our failures in foreign policy. I am convinced we shall never recognize the octopus we have to fight until we realize it is not part of the legally established government at all. It is a revolutionary junta, operating within our government, and through our government, but not for our government, our Constitution, or our nation.

What keeps this cabal in power, under Democratic and under Republican administrations? Why has it been impossible for three presidents and many Congresses to demolish it? That is a long story but it can be summarized in three *p's*—pressure groups,



—Wide World Photo

Dean Acheson

propaganda and pelf (that is, big spending).

You could ask me whether this group is entirely Communist-directed. I doubt if our problem is that simple. This group has, we know, included Communist party members and Communist agents, and may still include them. It includes Socialists, collectivist one-worlders, ambitious individuals greedy for power, willing in time of trouble to advance themselves at the expense of their country. It includes trimmers and collaborators who believe they can make deals with the unscrupulous, who think they can get votes or power or contracts or publicity from the Communists and then cast aside their tempters. It includes the innocent and the simple-minded who love big words that have no meaning.

I do not know what proportion of these people are Communists, but I know for certain that everything they do is of benefit to Moscow because it is directed by Moscow. The Soviet leaders are the most skillful people in the world today in the new political arts of propaganda, brainwashing, camouflage, and what I have called revolution by assembly line. We can save ourselves a great deal of time and thought if we realize one fact. As conditions are today, the Communist world revolution will control and use all the bits and pieces of collectivism, one-worldism, centralism, internationalism and all their variations. None of them will be helpful to us.

How are we going to redress the balance and give strength to the vast majority of true Americans so they can manage their own government?

We must give up our reliance on legalism.

The pro-Communist, internationalist, collectivist foreign policy with its favoritism for everything which helps the



—Wide World Photo

Senator Richard Russell (D-Ga.), chairman of the 1951 committee investigating the ouster of General MacArthur, looks at volumes of transcript of testimony.

Soviet Union has triumphed again and again because of the energy, intelligence, and determination of a self-directed elite. We fight this advancing army with statements, promises, papers and laws. We will never win until we oppose the collectivist political faction with resolute political action by men determined to put America first.

The pro-American group within our government today is more numerous, abler, stronger, more devoted than the collectivist group. It is supported by the vast bulk of the voters of both parties. Its weakness is that it is trying to win a debate under the rules of American political life. It should be fighting for victory over opponents who know no rules.

PRO-AMERICANS UNDER ATTACK

We must know first the names of leaders of the pro-American group. You can find out who lead the American branch of our two-headed government by the enemies they have made. The left-wing press and the collectivist collaborators are always ready to attack Secretary of Defense Wilson. They center much of their fire on Admiral Radford.

Khrushchev, speaking in Red China last fall, violently denounced Admiral Radford and bracketed him with the



—Wide World Photo

Nikita Khrushchev during a speech in Warsaw in March, 1945.

Communist-hated Senators Knowland and McCarthy. Isn't it significant that left-wing American columnists today follow exactly the line spoken by Khrushchev last fall? You remember this bloc did not exactly like MacArthur. They denounce the senators who support the free nations of Asia. They criticize President Eisenhower if he dares cooperate with Republicans they have not recommended.

The collectivist press has not yet started to attack Herbert Hoover, Jr., who is now our Undersecretary of State, but it is a rule of theirs never to call attention to good people on our side until they have to. Assistant Secretary



—Wide World Photo

Herbert Hoover, Jr.

of State Robertson has escaped their attack for the same reason.

Today pro-American officials have not one moment's security. They are constantly under attack, mostly by moves they cannot see. If you need a blueprint of how the collectivists keep dangerous anti-Communists under constant pressure, I suggest you analyze the series of moves which they employed to destroy Senator McCarthy, from the day in Wheeling, West Virginia, when he tore down the curtain of censorship hiding the Communists in our State Department.

I tell you just such a subtle, complex, perfectly timed, secret campaign is already under way against the men who dared advise the President to resist the Chinese Reds. The strategy is worked out and broken into steps. It will arise, "spontaneously," from all directions. It will be echoed in all quarters of the world. The "line" is already apparent in the inspired British press and that of the Continent.

From a well-informed left-wing magazine I learn the shape of coming events. Once the UN is well in the picture the plan is to "build up enough pressure to make imperative the gentle liquidation of Chiang Kai-shek and the establishment of true self-government for the Formosans under UN trusteeship." But, my friends, the Nationalists are not Formosans. Self-government will give the island to its prewar inhabitants. Can you see the Nationalist armies, driven from Formosan soil by a demand for "neutrality," wandering like a ghost army about the world, as helpless as General Anders' valiant Polish fighting men? Next we are told "binding multilateral agreements for the reduction of armaments are imperative." These agreements will bind us but not the Communists. Finally we are told, "Then the gamble that the President has taken will start paying off. The greater his

success, the more likely he is to acquire the freedom of action he needs to (and I urge you to note) shed his most troublesome aides."

DESTRUCTION IN ACTION

The bloc which intends to destroy the true Americans in our government is in action. Is there a bloc to defend the true Americans and drive out the secret enemies of our country? I am not urging you to help our friends in Asia. I am urging you to prevent the humiliating defeat of our country and everything it stands for.

You ask who are the leaders of the collectivist bloc? Who is taking Acheson's place today?

I can guess but I have no legal proof. Remember, the physician cannot have proof that his diagnosis is correct. He can get that only from the autopsy.

But I want to point out one significant fact. We are never going to have legal proof about the most dangerous enemies of our country. We will not be able to use what proof we have, when the culprit is close to the top. Attorney General Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover told us how FBI reports on Harry White, for example, were sent to President Truman and his Cabinet officers again and again. We know President Truman and his top Cabinet members opposed promoting Harry White to the International Monetary Fund, in view of his record. But he was promoted.

Who could tell the President of the United States he must promote a known Communist collaborator? I have been told who was the person responsible, but I have so far no proof. Shall we sit and do nothing, when we have political proof that some of our officials are selling out our country, merely because we have no affidavits of what was said in their secret conferences?

One thing we know. The Communists



—Wide World Photo

Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson (left) and South Korean President Syngman Rhee met at Seoul in 1953.

and their collaborators push their best men close to the top, because that is the safest place to be. No one could remove Dr. John from his job in Germany though more than one person knew he was disloyal. We may get the little traitors by assembling legal proof. We will never get the big ones, except by political counterattack.

The pro-Communist attack on our political institutions is political action. We must use political action to remove from public life every man or woman who is beholden to the Communists, or committed to a philosophy alien to our Constitution. We cannot wait until we see a party card.

PUT U.S. INTERESTS FIRST

We must also know American policy. It is all very well to know Communist policy, but it is more important to know American policy. We must have a clear American foreign policy and a clear American military policy before we enter any conference with other nations in the United Nations or outside. There is no harm in conferring with foreign governments, inside or outside of the UN, so long as we put America first.

Nationalist China has perhaps half a million men eager to fight for their independence.

Korea has courageous soldiers ready to fight on their own soil. Indochina can provide others, with American training. Altogether Free Asia can furnish millions of troops eager to guard their sectors of the frontier of freedom.

Can we guarantee that no one in our State Department or FOA will hamstring the funds Congress has voted to arm them? Can we guarantee that agencies of our government will not conspire to undermine Chiang Kai-shek or Syngman Rhee or Vietnam? If the great brains, who have abandoned newspaper work for pontificating, sow planned confusion or attack our pro-American leaders, are we ready to meet them with better newspapers, better writers, better radio and television programs, or,



—Wide World Photo

Herbert Brownell



—Wide World Photo

J. Edgar Hoover as he testified November 17, 1953, that the FBI never approved any agreement to keep Harry Dexter White in the government in 1948 but kept watching the suspected spy on President Truman's orders. Hoover appeared as a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

if necessary, by mimeograph machines in every block?

The Chinese Communists have started four wars in Asia in the last ten years with no penalty. The Red Chinese know they can never put down the Chinese on the mainland, while the Chinese on Formosa have an army. They will never be satisfied with less than total destruction of that army. They must destroy the armies of Korea and of Indochina. They count on the aid of their supporters in our councils.

Support of the armies of Free Asia is American policy, as destruction of these armies is Communist policy.

The Communist regimes are weak and their people rebellious. The only strength they possess is the faction within the American government which puts the Soviet Union first.

We must deal first with our own dual government. If we will organize political action, to support the pro-Americans in our government and in public life, the world conflict will soon be over. We can win true peace for all the world if we will gird ourselves to defeat the enemy within.

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What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

My thanks to Mr. DeArmond for his review (*Facts Forum News* Book Review, April, 1955) of "Who Speaks For Man"? I am grateful to him for his fairness and generosity. I could wish that all reviewers who differed with me on certain points did so with the same constructive approach.

NORMAN COUSINS, Editor
The Saturday Review
New York, N. Y.

I want to sincerely thank the donor who sent me *Facts Forum News*. I didn't know that such an informative and truthful magazine existed. . . . I shall hand it on to someone else.

MRS. SAM STRANGE
312 Redlands, South
Grand Junction, Colorado

I think you are doing a great service for our country and trust you will continue the job.

JAMES A. FRANKLIN, JR., ThB, ThD,
Metropolitan Memphis Council
of Christian Churches
4207 New Willow Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Many times I've thought of writing you, so here goes. We enjoy your programs. Hope our station does not discard it for shadow stumps, beauty hints or English "quicky quacks."

MRS. M. F. LAHEY
Butte, Montana

I feel that *Facts Forum* is outstanding in Americanism . . . it opens up a clear, clean path, through the confusing maze that so many of us are endeavoring to cope with."

ELIZABETH HAMM
535 South Gramercy Place
Los Angeles, California

Congratulations on your fine and patriotic magazine. Such writings should be spread far and wide as an antidote to the failures of the American press. I would like very much to have your magazine for use in the history courses I will be teaching next year.

EDWARD P. ECHLIN
West Baden College
West Baden Springs, Indiana

I am glad to know that there exists a magazine which gives a real picture of the world situation of today.

PETER GOLOBIC
875 East 154th Street
Cleveland 10, Ohio

I think your organization is very worthwhile and does very much to keep America informed on important issues of the day. I would like to help in this work.

ALICE LINDER
Asbury College
Box 527, Wilmore, Kentucky

This is to tell you that I never miss your fine radio programs. . . . You surely do a great job and I have told all my friends not to miss your radio [programs]. . . .

JOHN E. SULLIVAN
126 N. Jefferson Street
Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin

COEXISTENCE

One of today's foremost authorities on communism, Dr. Fred Schwarz, believes that "Coexistence is merely the cornerstone of Communist conquest." Currently on his fourth world lecture tour, Dr. Schwarz left his medical practice in Australia to help stamp out the insidious, cancer-like spread of communism and now directs the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade with offices at Waterloo, Iowa.

SMOOT: Dr. Schwarz, it seems to me that the foreign policy of the United States—the foreign policies of virtually all of the Western powers, in fact—is based on one fundamental assumption: namely, that in and through the United Nations we can achieve peaceful coexistence and collective security with the Soviet Union.

What do you think of that assumption?

SCHWARZ: The Communists propose to conquer the world. They not only propose to conquer it; they believe their conquest is inevitable. The original teacher of the idea of the inevitability of Communist conquest was Karl Marx. He claimed to have discovered the laws inherent within capitalist society, and that the scientific application of these laws would lead to an accurate prediction of the future. Just as when Newton discovered the law of gravity it became possible to predict the future movement of the heavenly bodies, so Marx claimed that by the discovery of scientific socialism it was possible to know the future of human society. He predicted the inevitable, violent overthrow of capitalist society and the emergence of socialism.

The idea of the inevitability of Communist conquest has passed through various phases but has never been dis-

carded for one moment. From 1850 to 1900, the Marxists took Marx seriously and believed that the revolution would come about as the automatic result of industrialization. The old-fashioned Marxists used to do a simple mathematical sum. They would take the number of industrial employees in any state and consider it as a fraction of the total population. This fraction constituted the revolutionary coefficient. As soon as this fraction reached a certain value, as spontaneously as water boils at the appropriate temperature, revolution would occur. Until this point was reached, it was impossible to bring on the revolution. Once this point was reached, nothing could stop it. Believing this, from 1850 to 1900 the Marxists concentrated on endeavoring to improve local economic conditions while they waited for the revolution to come.

Into this situation there came a man of impatient, fanatical determination: Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. To the waiting Marxists he thundered: "You have not understood. Communist conquest is inevitable, but the inevitability is to be ministered through the creative and directive role of the Communist party." And Lenin projected into the Marxist concept of inevitability the role of the Communist party as the executive of the

will of history.

In 1917 the tiny Communist party came to power in Russia. They seized power in the confident expectation that the Russian revolution would be the spark that would immediately ignite the general European revolutionary conflagration. Lenin himself made the statement, not once but many times, "The simple truth is, unless Germany revolts, we are lost." In 1917 and 1918, the Bolsheviks awaited, first hourly, then daily, then weekly, the European revolution. It did not come. There were sporadic outbreaks, but these were all extinguished, and the infant Russian Soviet Socialist Republic was left to organize its own survival for world conquest.

The third change in the concept of inevitability emerged. The Communist conquest of the world was to be ministered through the consolidation of socialism within Russia, the control of the entire world Communist movement by the Russian Communist party, the organization of national colonial revolutions in Asia, and the postponement of the conquest of the West till the consummation of the colonial revolutions in the East. The architect of this final program was Stalin.

In his *Problems of Leninism*, Joseph



—Wide World Photos

Peace monument erected by Russians in Budapest, Hungary, and dedicated to those who defended Budapest. Right, Hungarian army units hear address in Budapest. Huge pictures (left to right) show Lenin, Hungary's Matyas Rakosi, and Stalin.

Stalin, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, in the lecture, "Foundations of Leninism," delivered to the students at Sverdlov University, we read:

"Hence the third conclusion: that under imperialism wars cannot be averted, and that a coalition between the proletarian revolution in Europe and the colonial revolution in the East in a united world front of revolution against the world front of imperialism is inevitable."

Thus, even in 1924, we see the main outline of Communist world advance was already formulated by Stalin, namely, the conquest of Asia as a prelude to the conquest of the West.

SMOOT: The passage you just read was from a speech that Stalin made way back in 1924. Do you think the realists in the Kremlin today still think they can conquer the world? Why are they in the UN if they don't want peace?

SCHWARZ: The Communists believe they are now on the very verge of total world conquest. I will simply give three quotations from modern-day Communist authorities to establish this point.

Firstly: William Z. Foster, Chairman of the American Communist party, in the dedication of his book, *The Twilight of World Capitalism*, written in 1949, writes: "To my Great-Grandson Joseph Manly Kolko, who will live in a Communist United States."

Two: Liu Shao-chi, in his book, *How to Be a Good Communist*. These are his lectures, delivered to the Marxist-Leninist Institute of Yenan:

"What is the most fundamental and common duty of us Communist party members? As everybody knows, it is to establish communism, to transform the present world into a Communist world." He continues: "Therefore the cause of communism has become a powerful, invincible force throughout the world. There is not the slightest doubt that this force will continue to develop and advance and will win final and complete victory. Despite this, however, the strength of the international reactionary forces and of the exploiting classes are still more powerful than ours and for the time being are still predominant in many respects. Consequently, we shall have to go through a long, bitter, circuitous, and arduous... struggle before we defeat them."

In passing, we might note that this was written in 1939. At that point the Communists acknowledged that the free world was fundamentally more powerful than theirs. Both Mr. Molotov and Mao Tse-tung have now renounced this idea and arrogantly they proclaim, "There is no power in the world that can approach the combined might of Soviet Russia and Communist China."

One third quotation should clinch the



—Wide World Photo
Mark Twain's picture was displayed as a "peace fighter" outside Bucharest University in Romania.

issue. It is taken from *Internationalism and Nationalism*, by Liu Shao-chi. This was written in November, 1948. Consequently, it's a little behind the times. Page 24:

"The liberated peoples already exceed one-fourth of the population of the globe. This signifies a regeneration of the world and bears testimony to the scope and level that mankind has already attained in its struggle for emancipation. Undoubtedly the number of the liberated peoples from now on will grow day by day. It will not be long before the whole of mankind will be freed from imperialist domination. No matter what setbacks the struggle may sustain, its general trend toward liberation is an inevitable and irresistible law of history."

Liberated means conquered. And Communist progress has been such since 1948 that the conquered people now exceed one-third of the population of the globe and not merely one-fourth. To any honest person, there can be no doubt that the Communists believe that they are on the verge of total world conquest. And every move in their world strategy is dedicated to this end.

SMOOT: Why are the Communists so confident that they will continue to succeed in their program of world conquest?

SCHWARZ: Their confidence springs not merely from an examination of the existing forces operating in the world, not merely from the record of incredible success that the Communist program has written, but from the very fundamental beliefs of communism itself. It is true that a reading of the record of Communist progress would entirely justify such confidence. To emphasize this, I would like to repeat the bold figures of Communist advance. I don't feel we can repeat them too often.

Lenin began Bolshevism with seventeen supporters in 1903. Lenin conquered Russia with forty thousand Bolsheviks in 1917. The party of Lenin is today in complete mastery of 900 million people. That record alone would fully justify their confidence, but the confidence springs from a far deeper source. When they were but a ragged handful, they were equally confident. To understand this confidence, we must go back to Marxism and the axioms of Communist thinking.

Karl Marx was a follower of the German philosopher Hegel, and as a youth he avidly embraced the Hegelian philosophy known as "dialectic." He later married the dialectic of Hegel to the materialism of Feuerbach, to create the present-day philosophy of communism termed "dialectical materialism." He was a devotee of the dialectic long before he became a Communist, and his entire Communist concepts were built from the dialectic.

The dialectic is a complex philosophy. But within it there are certain fundamental ideas very important to any understanding of communism. The first idea is the idea of progress. The dialectic teaches that within the infinite variety of change throughout the universe there is operative a directive principle of progress, and this principle has chosen and ordained that they shall conquer the world. Of this they have no vestige of doubt. The same forces that have ordained the rising of the sun in the morning have ordained the Communist conquest of the earth.

The second feature of the dialectic concerns the pathway of progress. The goal is never approached in a direct, persistent, straight line. It is not even approached in a circuitous, winding pathway. The dialectic mode of progress consists of a series of advances and retreats. Forward, abrupt about-turn, retreat. And through this forward-backward process, the goal is inevitably reached. Within the dialectic, even though heading away from the goal, you are still fulfilling the scientific method of approach. Therefore, the reverse movement must be carried out with the same fervor and determination as the advance movement.

Lenin outlines this dialectic principle in his book: one step forward, two steps back. It's rather akin to the process of hammering in a nail. "It is a very foolish man who brings the hammer down with a crashing blow and continues to push. When that blow has spent itself, the entire direction of progress is reversed and the goal is achieved through a series of backward-forward motions. Frequently, we are so foolish that we endeavor to determine the goal of the Communists by the precise direction in which they are moving at the moment. The technique of ad-



—Wide World Photo

Factory and office workers were ordered to march in parade in Prague, Czechoslovakia. They carry drawings of Gottwald, Dimitrov, and Lenin. Sign says: "We build the republic and thus for peace we fight."

vance may vary, but the goal remains unalterable and absolute—the inevitable Communist conquest of the world. An understanding of this feature of the dialectic will shed great light on the remarkable about-turns so characteristic of communism and so puzzling to the superficial observer.

SMOOT: Every time a Khrushchev replaces a Malenkov—every time there is any perceptible change at all in personnel or party line among the Communists—many observers in America seem to think that the change reflects trouble in the Soviet Union, and seem to think that basic Communist policies are therefore altered.

SCHWARZ: The third feature of the dialectic concerns the actual dynamic of progress. In any phase of advance, the dynamic is the conflict between two forces in opposition. Everything in existence is interpenetrated by its opposite, and every force is in conflict with its opposing force. Within the dialectic, the progressive force is called the "thesis"; the reactionary force is called the "antithesis"; and the conflict of thesis and antithesis determines the race and direction of progress.

Now, we come to the heart of the dialectic. This conflict for a period creates slow, gradual change. But inevitably a critical point is reached. At this point certain changes take place. The gradual changes give rise to rapid change. The thesis negates the antithesis. In dialectic jargon, it is a transformation of quantity into quality, and the emergence of an entirely new direction of progress known as the "synthesis." Therefore, at the heart of progress there lies this system: thesis-

antithesis conflict, leading to the critical point, with the negation of the antithesis by the thesis, and the emergence of a qualitatively different state: the synthesis.

As indicated, Karl Marx was a devotee of the dialectic. He thought dialectically. His slogan was: nature acts dialectically. And he analyzed the economic system in terms of the dialectic. His conclusion: within capitalism we have a perfect manifestation of the dialectic. It is the progressive thesis of labor, the working class, known as the proletariat, in conflict with the reactionary antithesis of ownership of the means of production, the owning class being known as the bourgeoisie. These two classes are in basic, inescapable conflict. There is no possibility of common interest or collaboration between them. They are at war. Karl Marx thus discovered the class war.

SMOOT: Let me see whether I follow you. In terms that I can understand, the practical result of all this is that Communists, by constantly stirring up trouble, tear society apart, cut it adrift from its traditions, undermine its conventional tastes and morals, and generally create chaos. And then, out of that chaos, they hope to build what they regard as the perfect Socialist society.

SCHWARZ: Yes, but it is interesting to note that Karl Marx never for a moment considered himself to be the inventor of the class war. The class war is a fact of being, even as the law of gravity is a fact of being. Newton discovered the law of gravity; Karl Marx discovered the class war.

When Newton discovered the law of gravity, the whole science of astronomy

took on new life. When Karl Marx discovered the class war, he believed, and the Communists have since contended, that they were scientifically in a position to interpret the inevitable future pattern of events.

This war is theoretically between the two classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. However, history has created for each class an armed vanguard. For the bourgeoisie, it has provided the mechanism of the state; and for the proletariat, it has provided the class-conscious, enlightened Communist party. Thus the class war manifests itself as war between the Communist party and the state.

Originally, this war exists primarily within an individual state. But with the progress of history, the proletariat, led by the Communist party, has come to power in Russia, in China, in Eastern Europe; whereas the bourgeoisie has more and more come under the direction of the American imperialists. Therefore, the war has transferred itself from the national to the international plane, so that the world is divided into two great warring camps. And the basic Communist concept is: America and Russia, America and China, are at war.

This war is a fact of being itself. It is in existence quite independently of the will of whatever political leaders may for the moment hold power on either side. All that can vary is the technique by which the war is operated. Dialectically, many directions may be taken by the Communists. But the ultimate goal of victory in this war remains utterly unalterable. The ultimate outcome of this war is not in doubt. It is determined by the forces of history. Its consummation will be reached at the critical point where the progressive thesis of communism utterly overwhelms the reactionary antithesis of American imperialism and the synthesis of world socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat comes into being.

The Communists today, everywhere in the world, profess themselves to be the devotees of peace. Peace is the most common word on their lips. In every country in the world they operate peace fronts, peace conventions, peace literature. For example: *We Pledge Peace—A Friendship Book*.

SMOOT: If the Communists' basic doctrine is that war is a state of being, how can they fool anyone with their pretensions that they want peace?

SCHWARZ: The Communists do want peace. They are genuinely dedicated to peace. If a fervent Communist were taken, given a lie detector test, and asked: "Do you love peace with all your heart?" the lie detector would indicate his affirmative answer was the unchallengeable conviction of his mind and

heart. The Communists are genuinely dedicated to peace. They live for peace. They will willingly die for peace. "Peace" is their unshakeable goal.

SMOOT: What on earth do they mean by peace, then?

SCHWARZ: What is peace? War is a state of being. War is that situation which exists. So what is peace? We must return to the dialectic.

Peace is the synthesis which emerges when the progressive thesis of communism has utterly overwhelmed the reactionary antithesis of liberty, of freedom, and in an annihilating victory communism has conquered the world and established the universal dictatorship of the proletariat, thus creating peace. Consequently, the Communists' dedication to peace is easy to understand. Since they are the historically chosen party to consummate this peace, they are the party of peace. Every act that they do towards this end is a peaceful act. If they shoot you, they take a peaceful gun, they put a peaceful bullet in your warlike brain, they give you a peaceful death, and they bury you in a peaceful grave. When the armies of the Communist Chinese, for example, advance with tanks and guns and bombs and bayonets, littering the field with dead, what is it? It is the advance of the forces of peace. Peace is wonderful.

SMOOT: Peaceful coexistence with Communists is like peaceful coexistence with a hungry tiger, isn't it? Once he eats you, you are both at peace.

SCHWARZ: When we ignore the concepts of the Communist mind and take the words they use and interpret them in our traditional sense, we become the plaything and the delusional idiots delighting the heart of the dialectic Communist.

This concept in the mind of the Communists that we are at war cannot be ignored in any situation. It is as true today as ever it was that "as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." It does not take two to make a quarrel. An idea in the mind of one is enough.

During the war against Japan, I was a doctor in the Brisbane General Hospital in Australia. Into the hospital they brought a man who told me he had put his finger down his throat to make himself vomit because the Yanks were going to kill him. Brisbane, Australia, at that time was the headquarters of the American forces for the conquest of Japan.

I looked at him with some astonishment and asked, "How do you know they're going to kill you?"

He replied, "I saw them watching me while I was having my dinner."

I said, "Why are they going to kill you?"

He replied, "I don't know."

I sought for a reason that would at

least partially explain his attitude. "Has your wife been running around with the Yanks?"

"Oh, no, nothing like that."

"They're not going to kill you," I said.

"Yes they are."

"I know they're not."

"I know they are."

He wasn't angry. He wasn't yelling, shouting, screaming. He didn't have fierce, penetrating eyes. He looked as sensible as the average person you would meet anywhere. All that was wrong was a peculiar delusional idea that he had in his mind, insisting that the Yanks were going to kill him.

I diagnosed him as a mental case of paranoia and sent him down to the mental ward. But he did not appear really ill. His wife came in, and she took him home. A week later he came to the hospital, accompanied by his wife, for a certificate. I said to him, "I hope you've got that silly nonsense

around from house to house, giving bread to the housewives, handling the money, playing with the children, apparently quite normal; but secretly established in his conscious and unconscious mind was this idea that the Yanks were going to kill him. Their every act he interpreted in that light. A man must protect himself. He took a shotgun, sawed off the barrel, sawed off the stock, and carried it around purely for self-protection. He walked into the public lavatory; he saw the American officer; he knew his life was in danger; he began to tremble; he pulled out the gun, shot him dead, and ran for his life. A week later he repeated the same process.

What he believed became the source of his conduct, his character, and his destiny. At our peril, we underestimate the significance of the dominating ideas of the mind. It did not take two to make a quarrel in that instance. A delusional idea in the mind of the one man was enough to lead to the destruction of the



Peasant girls carry sickles in parade in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

about the Yanks out of your mind."

He did not say a word. He hung his head, smiled at my ignorance, while his wife said, "Oh, those Yanks. He's driven me mad about those Yanks."

A week later an American officer went into a public lavatory in Queen Street, the main street of Brisbane, and was shot dead with a sawn-off shotgun. His assailant raced away. The police presumed that the criminal was a man like unto themselves. He must have had a motive akin to the usual motives for murder. For example, robbery, jealousy, revenge, alcoholic fury. They investigated every way they knew how. They could not get one clue.

A week later, in a suburb of Brisbane called Wilston, another American officer was shot dead with the same sawn-off shotgun. This time they apprehended the criminal. It was this man whom I had treated in the hospital. He was on a baker's delivery van, going

two unsuspecting and well-intentioned American officers.

We have a perfect parallel to that position in the world today. The Communists believe we are at war. Believing we are at war, they interpret every act as a war act, and they have armed themselves with 900 million people and all the techniques of modern science and propaganda to destroy us before we destroy them. They are not stupid; they are insane.

SMOOT: The Communists "are not stupid; they are insane!" That explains a lot, Dr. Schwarz.

SCHWARZ: They sincerely believe that America is determined to militarily conquer the entire world. This theme runs like a refrain through the official theoretical literature of all the Communist authorities.

Take, for example, *Internationalism and Nationalism*, by Liu Shao-chi. The

(Continued on Page 63)

Is Latin America Going Communist?



JIM BISHOP

Latin American authority Jim Bishop recently toured Guatemala for firsthand information—checking the events leading to and the after-effects of a revolution against its Communist-directed government. The executive editor of CATHOLIC DIGEST and author of THE DAY LINCOLN WAS SHOT discusses the situation with ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS panelists: Professor Charles Hodges, professor of international politics at New York University; William Buckley, Jr., magazine editor and America's youngest best-selling author; and George Hamilton Combs, network news commentator and former Democratic Congressman.



BURT: How does Latin America fit into the Soviet pattern for world conquest?

BISHOP: I think that the whole area of lower western America fits into the Soviet scheme for world conquest because barring an attack on the United States itself which would precipitate a third world war, I think it's much easier to get us embroiled in our own backyard; much easier to try to foment trouble to the south of us. Canada is almost impossible to take over with communism. That leaves you the smaller countries to the south and especially the people who do not understand communism.

For instance, in Guatemala, I think I found the key to why there are so many Communist party cardholders. The Indians in the villages found that they could not go to a pueblo and go to a dance or buy a beer unless they had a Communist card. And yet they didn't understand communism. So it was easy to give them a card free, not charge them any fee for it, and then throw them into jail if they didn't have a card. That makes Communist party members.

HODGES: I'd agree with Mr. Bishop that Latin America is the back door to the United States. It's the last stage in the world pattern of Red conquest. We

are forewarned, and I think we should take adequate steps to prevent a disaster.

I think it's very important to recognize that the hand has been tipped for years. I go to the national headquarters of the Communist party, take a look at the literature which is a tip-off as to what is coming up. I think that this is the sign that we're in for trouble permanently in Latin America.

BURT: Then you would say that the Soviet is making definite attempts to infiltrate South America and to do everything they can to stir up Communist uprisings?

HODGES: I would say that. I'd also like to point out that the accessibility of strategic and critical materials to the United States in time of war and for our expanding economy is important.

BURT: Mr. Combs, what is your analysis of Latin America? How does it fit into the Soviet pattern?

COMBS: I should say in three ways. Initially it fits in very tidily with the over-all pattern of world revolution which still remains the objective of the Communist party and the Communist philosophy. Secondly, it has an almost tactical value in the ultimate Soviet attempt on the United States. And third, it fits in opportunely with the present economic dislocations in Latin America,

with the poverty of many of its people, and with the social disturbances and unrest which always provide fertile ground for Communist exploitation.

I realize that there are some who do not subscribe to my theory that a hungry man is a potential dupe of communism, but I suggest that this is a very strong factor, indeed.

BUCKLEY: Well, an un-hungry man is also a potential dupe.

BURT: Mr. Buckley, are you going along with Mr. Combs on this?

BUCKLEY: Yes, pretty much so. I think we ought to remember that Latin America has been considered one of the real plums by the Communists for years. In fact, during the twenties I would say that the major Communist effort in the world, apart from Germany, was in Latin America.

They set up revolutionary headquarters in Argentina and in Mexico and in Cuba. Fortunately the Latin Americans caught on to the Communists at that time, and during the twenties three nations outlawed the Communist party. Then Latin America beseeched Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 not to recognize the Soviet Union and gave him all kinds of information about their experience with communism—the subversion and the use of diplomatic headquarters as a

means for spreading the party line and the rest of it.

During the thirties Latin America became a very important instrument of the popular front, as everybody knows, and now today again this ferment is going on. I believe that it's unquestionably true that Latin America continues to be a choice target of the Soviet Union.

I saw some statistics recently that indicate that the Soviet Union actually spends more money in its Latin America propaganda effort than it does in any country in the world. This would indicate the extent to which they believe it's an important territory to be covered.

COMBS: I'm always enthralled by this exhuming of the past. It is pertinent only for me to point out at this time that at the time the late President Roosevelt granted recognition to Soviet Russia, he did so at the insistence of the entire financial community—of most of the statesmen in our country, of all of the responsible business leaders or, let us say, a preponderant majority of them. This was a move so universally applauded and so bilaterally accepted by his Republican opponents that the question of the wisdom of it was never seriously questioned at that moment.

BUCKLEY: It was very seriously questioned.

COMBS: Well, it may have been by a few, but may I say that the problem of recognition is, as you know, a diplomatic device and that if he made a mistake by extending recognition then the present Republican administration of our country is making a mistake in maintaining that recognition when it could by a stroke of the pen withdraw it. So this is not entirely a sin to be laid only at the door of the tomb of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

BUCKLEY: I would like to comment that when Mr. Combs talks about exhuming the past he ought to recognize that, as Santayana put it, those who don't read history are condemned to relive it. And certainly he doesn't get anywhere by simply pointing out that we continue to recognize the existence of the Soviet Union, ergo it relieves Franklin Roosevelt of this particular responsibility. We must remember that if there had been a universal clamor for recognition, Hoover would have acceded to it.

BURT: Professor Hodges, in your opinion, to what extent have the Communists been successful in South America? In particular, is there a possibility that recent uprisings in Latin America were Communist-inspired?

HODGES: In the first place, I think that we should note the fact that the total Communist cardholders were estimated at 300,000 a year ago. The membership has dropped to 200,000. Now, that is deceptive because it means you're shaking out the fellow travelers



—Wide World Photo
Guatemalan President Carlos Castillo Armas shown as chief of rebel forces during the rebellion against the Latin American country's Communist government.

on a one-to-ten ratio. You get rid of only the weak people.

BURT: Mr. Bishop, to what extent are the Communists successful in their drive for ultimate conquest of South America or Latin America?

BISHOP: I don't think they are very successful at all at the moment, but I think I agree with President Castillo Armas who told me that it is a perpetual danger. It is not a thing to be judged by how high the thermometer is today. President Armas pointed out that communism took over Guatemala

with a total membership of 2,500 out of 3,000,000 people.

BURT: In other words, it doesn't take many of them to inflict a lot of damage?

BISHOP: All you need are men in the key posts and Arbenz, the former Communist president, had men in key posts. He had the chief of police, the chief of secret police, the minister of propaganda, the minister of the interior, the minister of war, and the presidency. You don't need much more than that.

They took over the ministry of education and found that they could convert teachers to communism without making them party members at all—merely by sending down directives saying that from now on you will teach this brand of history, and you either teach that brand of history or you're out of a job.

BUCKLEY: President Armas takes the position that any Latin American country that is face to face with a Communist uprising ought to do several things. One, of course, it ought to pay particular attention to needs of the population in that particular country. And also it ought to be ready tactically to come back at the Communists and employ tactics that are particularly suitable to whatever the nature of this uprising is. It's a matter of history that in Latin America the confusion that has existed as to the meaning of Communist conspiracy has hindered tremendously the anti-Communist effort.

HODGES: I have been shocked by the material which has been coming to me from Guatemala, including grim pictorial material of atrocities. I think that we now must make this clear to the American people that these regimes are murderous from top to bottom. Is that correct?

BISHOP: It's correct. I saw all of



—Wide World Photo
Communist deputies wave their hands in defiance of a measure removing all Communists from elective posts in the Brazilian government. The measure, adopted in early 1948, came during one of the most turbulent legislative sessions ever held in the South American country.

those pictures and brought them back with me.

BURT: Why is it that the Communists seem to delight in engaging in atrocities?

BISHOP: It's good propaganda. It frightens everyone else.

COMBS: What disturbs me about the Latin American situation and about the possibility of immediate progress of communism there is the economic dislocation which was exacerbated by our withdrawal of purchasing from Latin America at the end of the war.

During the war their economy, if not inflated, was at least a pretty solid one because they were exporting a great deal to the United States.

Immediately following the ending of the war Latin America was spending money like a drunken sailor here in the United States. I was talking recently to an executive of one of our large automobile companies. He told me that any automobile would bring seven or eight thousand dollars on the market down there; they would pay ridiculous sums for American goods. As a result, their credit was soon exhausted.

The exhaustion of their United States credit meant that the whole of the Latin American area was almost prostrated economically, and into such very serious disturbances in the economic equilibrium the pernicious weights of communism would be most effective. It's for that reason, plus the broadening of the base of possible conversion, that I'm very much alarmed about it.

BURT: What should the United States do to keep communism out of Latin America?

BISHOP: I think that the Communists could have taken over Guatemala if they had called themselves the Good Times-Happy Club. It would have been that easy because all they would have to do is go to the poorer people (and there are more of those than there are of the richer people) and say, "We are now going to see that you get equitable wages. You no longer are going to make \$1.25 per day. You'll make five dollars a day," etc.

That kind of thing, I think, could have enlisted the support of almost anyone who has no knowledge of what communism really is. The label isn't important. You could have sold a bill of goods to the people on that.

BURT: Now this situation applies in Guatemala, but would it apply in the Argentine?

BISHOP: Yes, it would apply almost everywhere else. Secondly, most of those people have an idea that we are their condescending cousins, and I think that the people of the United States who live at a level perhaps ten times higher in the scale of living than the average South American and Central American should get more of a real brotherly feeling of kinship toward people in Latin and South America, rather than "we know what's best for you."

COMBS: It involves many delicacies,

I must admit, for we will be charged with intervention regardless of what we do. It seems to me absolutely imperative that in Latin America—as in all of the areas of the globe—we must recognize that American destiny does not lie in seeking to preserve the status quo where the present situation is one which militates against the economic and social improvement of the people.

Therefore it ought to be necessary and certainly obvious wisdom for us to identify ourselves always with those forces which were once called "the forces of democratic revolution." Also we should associate ourselves emotionally and in governmental policy with the masses of the people who are seeking to throw off very unpleasant dictatorships in certain of those Latin American

since 1910, and they've been the party ever since.

Now they go through all of the forms of democracy and they have other parties and the rest of it. The point is that this party always wins the elections and always will. The point about Latin America is that we mustn't have this doctrinaire concern about democracy as we know it. These people don't know what democracy is. They don't experience it. They don't particularly want it. What we must do to lick Communists down there—this will sound evasive—but the best way to lick communism in Latin America is to lick the Soviet Union.

Communism will take care of itself in Latin America provided it is not coordinated by a national party the way



—Wide World Photos

At left soldiers of the Obregon Army "dig in" during Mexican Revolution. Yaqui Indians (right) advance on Vera Cruz from their perch atop freight train.

countries, in every way seeking to help the people realize their own self-fulfillment which, of course, if not completely throttled, at least very seriously compromised by the type of feudal dictatorship which exists in many of these Latin American countries.

BURT: Would this require financial aid on our part down there?

COMBS: It would require substantial financial aid, adroitly administered, not going to the dictators but right into the economy of the country, which would raise standards of living.

BURT: Are you saying that we should have a Marshall Plan?

COMBS: Of course we should, and a very extended one.

BUCKLEY: I think it is extremely naive and certainly indicates that Mr. Combs hasn't quite done his homework on Latin America. The so-called revolutions—the last series of revolutions in Latin America, which Mr. Combs terms "democratic revolutions"—simply changed the form of government. In fact, it is no less a dictatorship now than it was.

Let's take Mexico as a case in point. Mexico is dominated by a party which even has the word revolution in it, Partido Revolucionario Institucional, and this particular party had its last revolution in 1928. I think that was the tenth

it is today—thanks to the Soviet Union. If we could only get ourselves a foreign policy here that meant business with regard to the Soviet Union, then we wouldn't have to worry so much about it in Latin America.

HODGES: I think it's very important for us to recognize that you've got two problems. One is the long-term position of the masses. Now I think that as long as they are underfed—most of them are living on a 1,300 to 2,100 calorie diet without any diversification whatsoever—we're trying to help them on that. That's long-term and we've got to move quickly.

It seems to me the other thing is that you cannot pick and choose quite as we would want to in regard to people who are opposing communism. If they're "agin' communism we've got to work with them.

Now the point is that we have got to get American business in there doing more and more, and the funny thing is that if you had a Marshall Plan, George Hamilton Combs, you couldn't use the money which you think you can use. In other words, I go along with you but in reverse. We don't have to spend gigantically. In my opinion, our Latin American neighbors are our best neighbors in the whole world.

the UN Charter

WHAT do you think of the Charter of the United Nations?

* * * * *

Let's consider the topic from two opposite points of view—this time taking first the arguments of some who do not like the UN.

* * * * *

THERE is strong indication that Alger Hiss and Molotov actually wrote the Charter of the United Nations. But this cannot be proven.

There is evidence that the high-sounding preamble to the Charter of the United Nations was written by Dmitri Manuilski, one of the Soviet Union's toughest Bolshevik revolutionaries, who has been a Soviet representative in the United Nations ever since it was set up. But this cannot be proven either.

The exact authorship of the United Nations Charter is, in fact, an international mystery.

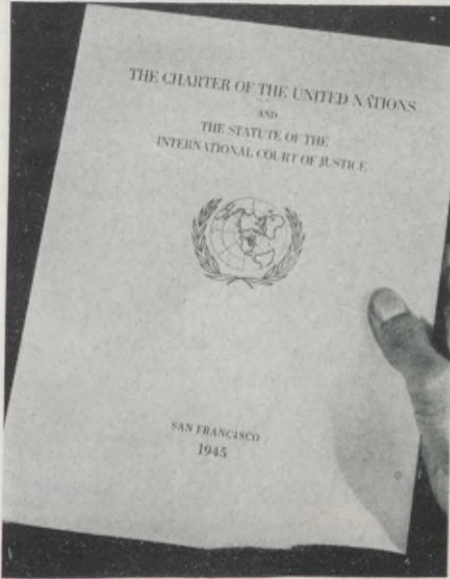
We Americans today know exactly who wrote our Constitution in 1787, one hundred and seventy-seven years ago. We know it was written by James Madison. We know every change that was made in Madison's original draft, who suggested the change, and why. But the best research brains in the United States have been unable to find out who wrote the Charter of the United Nations ten years ago.

So, let's dismiss this side issue. Let's look at the document itself from a perfectly neutral point of view to see whether our ratification of this charter as a treaty has been good or bad for our country. You will find in this charter many high-sounding platitudes about human welfare and equality and economic justice. And if you simply read the thing lovingly, beginning with the basic assumption that it was written by good people who wanted to help humanity, you cannot help being taken in.

But if you will make a critical, unemotional comparison between the United Nations Charter and two other important charters of government—namely, the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Constitution of the United States of America—you will find some startling things.

PREAMBLES AMIABLY AMBLE

There are many phrases in the United Nations Charter which were obviously influenced by the language of the Constitution of the United States—the very first line of the preamble for example: "We, the people of the United Nations."



—United Press Photo

There are many statements in this United Nations Charter which appeal to the warm-heartedness and openhanded generosity which does indeed characterize Americans. There are many statements in here about how everybody ought to have peace, plenty, and prosperity. And, of course, every sensible American would like to feel that every person on earth could achieve these wonderful ends. But when you get behind the nice sentiments and examine the philosophy of government written into this charter of the United Nations, you will find that it is taken entirely from the Constitution of the Soviet Union.

The basic American philosophy of government is not reflected at any point or in any line of the United Nations Charter. The philosophy of government written into the American Constitution is that people derive their rights from God—that government therefore must leave them alone and take none of their rights away from them, so that they will be free as individuals to pursue for themselves, under God, their own ideals. The philosophy of government written into the Constitution of the Soviet Union and into the Charter of the United Nations rejects the idea of divine power in human affairs and implies that all rights and privileges come from government. Now, both the Constitution of the Soviet Union and the Charter of the United Nations are filled with statements about all of the rights, privileges, and material goods that people ought to have. Both of these documents—the Charter of the United

Nations and the Constitution of the Soviet Union—hold that government should give the people as many rights and privileges and material blessings as government can afford.

MISTAKEN "TAKEN IN"

The Charter of the United Nations is a Socialist document of political organization, just as the Constitution of the Soviet Union is. In the UN Charter, there is enough high-sounding sentiment to entrance the gullible and mistaken.

But the philosophies of government in the UN Charter and in the Soviet Constitution are identical.

The American notions of individualism; of limited, negative government; and of the divine and inalienable rights of human beings are never even suggested in the Charter of the United Nations. In fact, the UN Charter does not even pretend to stand for freedom. It stands for peace and plenty, guaranteed by government; and it sacrifices freedom to these materialistic goals which Socialists and Communists believe that government can attain.

This helps to explain a statement once made by Charles Malik, delegate to the United Nations from Lebanon. At one time, Mr. Malik was head of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. He said that all of the activities of the UN agency revealed a Communist orientation and motivation—even, mind you, those activities supported and sponsored by non-Communist or Western delegates.

That is not hard to understand. For people working in the United Nations, within the framework of the UN Charter, there is only one philosophy of government which can legitimately orientate their thinking: the Socialist philosophy, because that is the only philosophy written into the UN Charter.

Remember that the UN Human Rights Commission which Charles Malik was talking about is the UN agency which Mrs. Roosevelt presided over a long time—the agency which drew up the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

If you want to find for yourself unmistakable evidence that the United Nations is a Communist conspiratorial plot to impose the Soviet system of government on the whole world, examine the original sources yourself. Get a copy of the Constitution of the Soviet Union and compare Chapter X of that Constitution with the United Nations document called the "United Nations Declaration of Human Rights." The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights is a formal statement made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948 and proclaimed to the world ever since as representing the kind of government which all nations should strive to achieve. This United Nations Declaration of Human Rights is a statement of United Nations ideals. It has been broadcast throughout the world, pub-



—United Press Photo

U.S. Secretary of State Stettinius presented the first draft of the "world security charter" in San Francisco in June, 1945. Seated are Alger Hiss (left) and Andrei Gromyko.

lished in millions of copies, and given wide free distribution over the earth for the purpose of setting the standard—the goal—toward which all nations should strive. All nations which endorse this United Nations Declaration of Human Rights say by their endorsement that if their institutions and system of government do not conform to the ideals proclaimed in this declaration, they will strive to alter their institutions and system to make them conform. Now, this declaration is not legally binding on any nation. Since it was formally proclaimed in 1948, UNESCO, private organizations, and the United States government have made intensive propaganda efforts to popularize it—to condition the minds of the American people to accept ultimately a treaty which will incorporate these ideals and which will then be legally binding on us.

In other words, the United States government has endorsed the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and, in endorsing it, has made a promise to the world that it will try to bring its institutions up to the ideal here proclaimed. Ever since this declaration was written and proclaimed in 1948, the people who wrote it have been preparing the treaty to implement it. This treaty is called the Covenant on Human Rights.

COVENANT TO SUPPLANT CONSTITUTION?

The Covenant on Human Rights was completed several years ago, approved by the Truman administration, and sent to the United States Senate for ratification. The Senate turned the thing down because it was afraid of it; but the Covenant is still wandering around in

the dusty catacombs of international bureaucracy, and will again come before the Senate of the United States for ratification. If the Senate ever ratifies this Covenant as a treaty, then this document will become the Constitution of the United States instead of the Constitution we now have—because treaties can become the supreme law of our land, overriding our Constitution.

Let's take a look at it.

Every year our President proclaims a special UN Declaration of Human Rights Day, calling upon the American people to pay homage to this document.

It is quite conceivable that some day this document, by the treaty process, may supplant (or at least become a part of) our own Constitution.

UN-USSR DOCUMENTS MESH

Let's at least glance at it.

Article 23 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to work... and to equal pay for equal work."

Article 118 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union: "Citizens of the USSR have the right to work... and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality."

Another clause of Article 23 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions."

Article 126, Constitution of the Soviet Union: "Citizens of the USSR are insured the right to unite... in trade unions."

Article 24 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to rest and leisure."

Article 119 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union: "Citizens of the USSR have the right to rest and leisure."

These are just samples. Compare this United Nations Declaration of Human Rights with Chapter X of the Constitution of the Soviet Union. They are identical in philosophy, and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights is, in many instances, a direct lift from the Soviet Constitution.

If the United Nations bureaucrats ever get this United Nations Declaration of Human Rights incorporated into a treaty which our government accepts, the United States at that point will no longer have the old Constitution that it started out with in 1789. It will have basically the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That's an easier and slicker way of destroying America than trying to do it by force of arms or even internal subversion.

You cannot dismiss this by saying, "Well, that sounds bad, but it would never happen to us, because our government wouldn't permit it."

Our government, at our expense, printed and distributed this particular edition of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

This pamphlet was published by the Federal Office of Education as a handbook for teachers.

One instruction to teachers is here on page 21:

"Make a list of the minimum economic, social, and cultural rights to which the students in your school have a right if their dignity as a person is to be preserved and if their personalities are to develop freely."

Whether the government officials who distributed this pamphlet at your expense realize it or not, they are here instructing the public school teachers of America in the techniques of Communist propaganda—to be used on your children in your schools.

Ratification of the UN Charter as a treaty was one of the most hurried, thoughtless, and dangerous acts in the history of the United States Senate.

The Senators may think they deserve a raise—but not for that kind of performance.

A few more such acts as that will convert the American Republic into a Soviet republic.

* * * * *

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

Let's discuss the UN Charter from the point of view of those who like the UN.

* * * * *

THE United Nations Charter represents the most worthwhile and promising effort ever made by man to secure the blessings of peace and prosperity for all the peoples of all the nations of the world.

The deep-felt needs and intentions



—United Press Photos

Signing of the UN Charter—Above, President Truman witnesses signing by Stettinius. Below, Gromyko signs for U.S.S.R.

which inspired the founding of the United Nations are proclaimed in the preamble of the Charter signed at San Francisco on June 26, 1945. The preamble reads:

"We the Peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

"And for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

"Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims. Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due

form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations."

Perhaps you've never heard, or read, this preamble to the United Nations Charter. But doesn't it sound somewhat familiar to you? It should. It is patterned after, and in great measure parallels, the preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America.

The entire United Nations Charter, in fact, is a twentieth century expression of the very principles embodied in our own Constitution.

The Charter merely spells out, with more clarity and in more specific language, the rights, privileges, and duties which people in a free society are entitled to.

The rights of man are proclaimed in the charters of government of many nations. But it remained for the United Nations to enlist the cooperation of representatives from all nations in the formulation of a statement of principles which proposes a common standard of achievement for all peoples.

"A MORE PERFECT UNION"

Americans have not achieved perfection in government, but we have been working toward "a more perfect union" since government began under our Constitution. We have come a long way toward achieving this goal, but there are many subsidiary and related goals still to be achieved. A great many of these are spelled out in the United Nations Charter and in the various other declarations and covenants which have been written under the auspices of the United Nations.

Our Constitution, while proclaiming the fundamental rights to which all

citizens are entitled, overlooks one important fact: no real right can exist where the means to *ensure* the right are not present. Only government can guarantee those means. This is where the United Nations Charter has taken a step ahead. The men who founded the United Nations and set up its charter realized that the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is a meaningless phrase unless this right is ensured by minimum economic, social, and cultural standards which people must have if their dignity as persons is to be preserved and if their personalities are to develop freely.

Like all steps forward, the United Nations Charter has met with hysterical opposition from isolationists and other groups who assume that anything new is bound to be bad—and particularly from those who imagine a Communist plot behind every sentence in the Charter.

As a matter of fact, the Charter was very difficult to write. For two months and a day, the delegates and their assistants worked out details and plans to which all nations could agree. There were special committees for each section of the Charter. Recommendations of each committee had to be considered at meetings of all the delegates. The meaning of every word and phrase had to be carefully examined. Getting a word or phrase to mean exactly the same thing to every delegate was not easy, because the delegates spoke many different languages.

Despite all obstacles, however, the Charter came into existence, and by mid-1951 there were sixty UN members, and a number of other countries waiting to get in. Now, if there is anything wrong or dangerous about the United Nations,



—United Press Photo

Signing of the Constitution (painting by E. H. Gunder) showing Washington in the presiding officer's chair and Franklin standing in the foreground.

why should so many countries want to belong? The United Nations has little direct power in itself. It is an association of independent states, not a world government. Its resolutions have no legal effect until governments approve them and decide to do something about them.

TALK TO AVOID WARS

But the United Nations provides the means by which representatives of nations can meet and discuss their problems. By talking them over they can avoid wars. By studying and discussing together, they can decide how their governments can help to make things better in the world.

The declared purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
3. To cooperate in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all; and
4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

Those are the principles on which the United Nations Organization is based—the principles which motivate United Nations activities. Is there anything dangerous, or subversive, in those principles?

Let's look a little further at the United Nations Charter:

"To fulfill these purposes, the United Nations acts in accordance with these principles:

"1. The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members;

"2. Members are to fulfill in good faith the obligations they have assumed under the Charter;

"3. They are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means;

"4. They are to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations;

"5. They are to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter, and to refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the organization is taking preventive or enforcement action;

"6. The United Nations is to ensure that non-Members act in accordance with these principles so far as is necessary for maintaining international peace and security;

"7. The organization is not to intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. This provision does not apply, however, when



—Wide World Photo

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., purchased the area pictured above at a cost of eight million 500 thousand dollars as an outright gift to the UN for permanent headquarters. The purchase price included all property in the above area with the exception of a small block which New York City agreed to obtain and turn over to the UN.

enforcement action is taken with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression."

This seventh statement of principle—that the United Nations is not to intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state—is in itself a refutation of the charge that the United Nations Charter has undermined the sovereignty of the United States.

In the few instances where domestic policies have been changed to coincide with the statement of principles and standards of justice set by the United Nations Charter, the decision has been made by Americans themselves — by American judges who have had sufficient vision to recognize that if our own domestic policies conflict with universal declarations of human rights, the deficiencies lie not with the United Nations Charter but with our own Constitution.

MARRIAGE OF FOREIGN-DOMESTIC

We are gradually coming to the realization, moreover, that we can no longer arbitrarily separate domestic and foreign issues. As Dean Acheson and John Foster Dulles have stated, in the complexities and intricacies of international tension and modern diplomacy, it is no longer possible to label one issue domestic and another foreign, for even the most trivial domestic problem may have a real and acute bearing on our international relationships.

The problem of reconciling human rights and national rights cannot be evaded. It must be worked at continually, because the line between universal rights and local rights changes with the evolution of international communication, culture, society, and organization.

Under international law, a state's domestic jurisdiction is determined by international obligations. Any controversy or dispute which involves the interpretation or application of an international obligation is therefore not within any nation's exclusive jurisdiction.

International obligations arise from treaties. Only a sovereign nation can make a treaty, but insofar as a nation has assumed obligations by treaties to respect or protect human rights, it has qualified its domestic jurisdiction.

The United Nations Charter is a treaty; and, undoubtedly, the United States government, in ratifying that treaty, has assumed certain obligations in respect to human rights which the United States government did not previously have under the Constitution.

"LET NO MAN PUT ASUNDER"

But there is nothing improper or dangerous in our being interested in ways to protect and guarantee human freedoms in the world. The United States does not and must not avoid aiding such endeavors. We must not permit ourselves to be infected with the hysteria of the UN-haters, simply because in a few instances we have raised the standards of our own laws as a result of participation in the United Nations.

The United Nations is and must remain the keystone of United States foreign policy. We cannot possibly hope to have a peaceful world unless we have a meeting place where all the nations of the world can meet and express their views and bring their grievances.

It is significant to note that since the formation of the United Nations, only two nations — Communist China and North Korea — have committed acts of aggression which threatened the peace of the world. Neither of these nations was a member of the United Nations; and they were not, therefore, bound by its purposes and principles. Is it not possible to believe that if these two nations had been permitted to join in cooperation with other nations through the UN, the course of recent history might have been different and infinitely better?

Despite the ten-year record of the United Nations—despite the irritating turmoil of prolonged UN discussions and controversies—it is probably true that very few Americans have actually read and studied the document on which the United Nations is founded: the United Nations Charter. Most people probably do not really understand it. Yet, as Eleanor Roosevelt has said, the things we do not understand are the things we fear. If every person in America would take the time to read and study the United Nations Charter until he really understood its purposes and principles, there would be none of the hysterical fear of the UN which the superpatriots are now able to incite.

Facts Forum Radio-TV

ALABAMA

Albertville	WAVU*	630	Sun	4:00 p
Alexander City	WAVU*	630	Sun	1:30 p
Andalusia	WRF5*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
Anniston	WCTA*	920	Mon	7:15 p
Atmore	WCTA†	920	Mon	8:30 p
	WSPC*	1390	Wed	7:30 a
Auburn	WATM*			
	WATM*			
	WAUD*			
Birmingham	WBRC*	960	Tues	6:30 p
Birmingham	WBRC*			
	WBRC-TV*			
Brewton	WEBJ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Brewton	WDBJ*			
Carrollton	WRAG*	590	Sun	12:30 p
	WRAG*	590		
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Cullman	WFMH*	1300	Thurs	7:15 a
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
	WHOS*	800	Sat	12:15 p
	WMSL†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WMSL-TV*	23	Sat	7:30 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Sun	2:15 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560	Sun	12:15 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560		
Enterprise	WIRB*			
	WIRB*			
Eufaula	WULA*	1240	To be announced	
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	1:00 p
	WWWF*	990	Sun	12:30 p
Florence	WOWL*	1240		
Florence	WJOI*			
	WJOI*			
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGAD*	1350	Sun	12:45 p
	WGWD*			
	WGWD*			
Geneva	WGEA*	1150	Sun	12:45 p
Geneva	WGEA*			
Greenville	WGYV*	1400	Thurs	9:15 p
Huntsville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Hamilton	WERH*	970	Fri	7:30 a
	WERH*	970	Sun	1:00 p
Huntsville	WHBS*	1550	Mon	7:00 p
	WBHP†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Jackson	WPBB*	1290	Mon	4:30 p
Jasper	WWWB*			
	WWWB*			
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Mobile	WABB*	1480	Wed	7:00 p
Monroeville	WMFC*			
	WMFC*			
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600	Mon	7:15 p
Montgomery	WAPX*			
	WSFA-TV*	12	Sat	3:00 p
	WJJJ†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOV-TV*	20	Fri	1:00 p
	WCOV-TV*	20	Mon	9:30 p
Oneonta	WCRL*			
	WCRL*			
Opp	WAMI*		Sun	1:00 p
Ozark	WOZK*	900	Sun	5:00 p
	WOZK*	900	Sat	5:15 p
Phenix City	WPNX*	1460	Sun	7:15 p
	WPNX*	1460	To be announced	
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	To be announced	
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1360		
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR*	920	Sun	3:30 p
Scottsboro	WEPG*			
	WEPG*			
	WCRT*			
Selma	WHBB*			
	WHBB*			
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*			
Troy	WTBF*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Troy	WTBF*	1490		
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*			

ALASKA

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

ARIZONA

Bisbee	KSUN*	1230	To be announced	
Phoenix	KOOL-TV*	10	Sat	5:00 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	7:30 p

ARKANSAS

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

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

To me...the welfare of our country is of deep concern. Three children are looking askance at the confusion they are expected to accept as a plan for living...Facts Forum has worked wonders in bringing the true perspective of conditions to their attention. With your help my parental dog-house will soon lose an occupant. Thank you wholeheartedly for a paper with a purpose. I am happy to know that my kids are now able to read the truth.

PAT B. WINSALL
163 N. Murray St.
Banning, California

Facts Forum News is one grand magazine! It so convincingly presents the facts we need to know about our country and the world in order to be better and more devoted patriots. It is bound to grow in influence, and add greatly to our nation's strength.

EDWARD E. HALL, SR.
516 S. Curtis, Alhambra, Calif.

I wish to thank you very much for the three films dealing with the UN which you sent me...I can assure you that they are being put to good use, and the class has found them most informative and helpful.

I wish to commend you...for the outstanding educational service you are performing by such productions. I feel that if we had more clear thinking Americans such as your organization, our situation in this country might be a great deal better than it is.

LEWIS C. POPHAM, III
Asst. to the President
New Haven State Teachers College
New Haven, Conn.

A cousin who is graduating from Kansas State College at Manhattan, Kansas, informed me that they used her *Facts Forum News* in her federal government class.

L. ROUSE
1002 E. Platte Ave.
Colorado Springs, Colo.

I would like to express my appreciation for your radio program. It is the most informative and helpful of any that I know.

REV. H. M. DRIVER
Route 2, Covington, Georgia

I have recently been hearing and seeing your program on local TV—the best program of the type that I have seen locally.

LAWRENCE L. SUMMERS
Box 813, Spenard, Alaska

Dan Smoot's program...was truly revealing and intensely interesting and instructive. I shall be very grateful to you for a transcript of all that was covered.

LOUIS G. BUSHLOW
311 Emerson St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

ARKANSAS—Continued

Russellville	KXRJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Stuttgart	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KCMC-TV*	6	Sat	8:30 p

CALIFORNIA

Coalinga	KBMX*	1470	Sun	1:00 p
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
	KDAC*	1230	Mon	9:00 p
Hollywood	KCOP-TV*	13	Sun	8:00 p
Los Angeles	KFI*	640	Sun	12:30 p
	KHJ†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Sun	7:30 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	
Oroville	KMOR*	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KAFP*	1490	Sun	4:45 p
	KAFP*	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV*			
San Diego	KFMB-TV*	8	Sun	4:30 p
San Francisco	KGO*	810	Sun	9:45 p
	KGO-TV*	7	Sat	9:30 a
San Luis Obispo	KVEC-TV*	6	Sun	7:00 p
	KVEC-TV*	6	Sat	
Santa Cruz	KSCO*	1080	Thurs	7:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE*	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	To be announced	

COLORADO

Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon	7:30 p
Cortez	KVFC*	740	Sun	12:00 n
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:15 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	7:30 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ-TV*			
	KFXJ-TV*	5	Sun	9:00 p
La Junta	KBNZ†	1400	Mon	7:30 p
	KBNZ*	1400	Sun	5:30 p

CONNECTICUT

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

DELAWARE

Dover	WDOV*	1410	Sun	4:00 p
Wilmington	WPFH-TV*	12	Sun	10:30 p
	WPFH-TV*	12	Fri	9:00 p

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WMAL*	630	Sun	9:15 p
Washington, D.C.	WEAM*	1390	Tues	10:00 p
	WTG-TV*	5	Sun	5:30 p

FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	Sun	2:30 p
Daytona Beach	WMFJ*	1450	Sun	8:15 p
Fort Myers	WINK-TV*	11	Sun	9:30 p
Gainesville	WRUF†	850	Mon	9:30 p
Key West	WKWF†	1600	Mon	9:30 p
Kissimmee	WRWB*	1220	Sun	3:00 p
Lakeland	WLAK*	1430	Sun	4:45 p
Live Oak	WNER*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	WNER*	1450	Fri	7:30 p
Marianna	WTYS†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Miami	WGBS-TV*	23		
	WGBS-TV*	23	Wed	9:30 p
	WIOD*	610	Thurs	6:15 p
	WKAT†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
	WITV-TV*	17	Fri	10:30 p
Palm Beach	WJNO-TV*			
	WJNO-TV*			
Panama City	WPCF*	1400	Sat	5:45 p
	WPCF†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WDLP*	590	Sun	2:00 p
Pensacola	WPFA-TV*	15		
	WPFA-TV*	15		
West Palm Beach	WIRK-TV*	21	Sun	7:00 p

GEORGIA

Atlanta	WSB*	750	Thurs	6:45 p
Columbus	WDAK-TV*	28	Sat	7:30 p
Cordele	WMJM†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
	WGFS*	1430	To be announced	
Dalton	WBLJ*	1230	Sat	6:45 p
Dublin	WMLT†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Gainesville	WGGA†	550	Mon	9:30 p
Griffin	WKUE†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Monroe	WMRE*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
Statesboro	WWNS†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Swainsboro	WJAT*	800	Sun	5:15 p
Toccoa	WLET†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon	9:30 p
Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon	9:30 p

HAWAII

Hilo	KILA*	850	Sun	8:45 p
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IDAHO

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

ILLINOIS

Bloomington	WBLN-TV*	15	Fri	9:00 p
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
	WLS*		Sat	6:15 p

(Continued on Page 31)



—Underwood & Underwood

Pledge Allegiance to U. S. only

Opposing views on U.S. participation in the UN are given by Senator Alexander Wiley (R-Wis.) and Representative Usher L. Burdick (R-N.D.). Senator Wiley urges that faith in the UN be kept high because such faith will help "lead a war-weary mankind into a permanent path of peace and justice." Representative Burdick asks, "Can anyone doubt that the United Nations was purposely set up to . . . get us to surrender our liberty without firing a shot?"

The UN and Its Role in the Atomic Age

Address by Senator Alexander Wiley in observance of the ninth anniversary of the United Nations.

IT is a great privilege to address this splendid gathering of public-spirited citizens, deeply interested in America's contribution to the cause of world peace.

As you know so well, we celebrate today the ninth anniversary of the coming into force of the history-making United Nations Charter.

We have come together to consider how far we have come and how much distance we must still go—toward the great objective of world peace and prosperity.

NINE YEARS OF CHALLENGE

I think that those in this audience who are parents can particularly understand when I point out this fact: These first nine years of the infant United Nations have probably been the hardest, but they will be, by no means, the only hard years.

After all, infancy has its problems,

but so does adolescence. For all of life is challenge; all of life is change; and this is particularly true of the first few years of life.

Already the young United Nations has had more than its share of crises. It has overcome most of them quite successfully. But it faces still more in time to come.

I am glad to say that it is you and your public-spirited friends throughout our land who will help the UN to meet these challenges effectively. And for this, I pay sincere tribute to you.

HEARTLAND THINKING FOR PEACE

I want to say now that it is particularly appropriate that you and I should come together at this, the center of what is the heartland of the North American Continent.

You of Illinois and we of Wisconsin have long and rightly prided ourselves

that we symbolize the grassroots thinking of America.

In time past, in the preatomic age, we of the Midwest, in particular, have prided ourselves on concentrating on our own American affairs. We had sought to avoid—what were then unnecessary—foreign entanglements.

But, then, a new age dawned. When? It was when the explosive mushroom cloud soared to the sky over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It was when jet propulsion dawned and when space and time were shattered by man's inventiveness and ingenuity.

So, the concepts of bygone days had to be shelved in order that we might survive.

NEW THINKING OF THE MIDWEST

And so I say, it is thrilling to me to see you of Chicago and surrounding areas demonstrate the new thinking of the State of Illinois and the State of Wisconsin and of the United States as a whole.

It is a new thinking which holds fast, of course, to the ancient landmarks of

love of country and allegiance to flag.

But it is a thinking which recognizes our wider responsibilities. I refer to the responsibility of keeping America at peace by helping to keep the world at peace. I refer to the responsibility of making sure that our own Stars and Stripes shall never be replaced by the Red flag, by helping other national ban-

upon foreign raw materials from overseas. We must import 100 per cent of our tin; 92 per cent of our cobalt; 60 per cent of our tungsten, and so on down the line.

To make a single M-47 tank—a single United States tank—we need 1,900 pounds of chromium, of which 100 per cent is imported; we need 950 pounds

of manganese, of which 93 per cent is imported; 520 pounds of nickel, of which 99 per cent is imported, and similar high percentages with regard to bauxite, copper, and other strategic products.

How, we ask, do the isolationists think we are going to make our M-47 tanks and our bombers and our tankers

to Whom...

U. N.?

ners to keep flying—safe and secure from Red aggression.

Here, in this heartland of America, you in this audience are giving the twentieth century answer—in word and deed—to those of our countrymen who are still daydreaming in the nineteenth, in the eighteenth, and the seventeenth centuries.

You give the true answer to those backward-dreamers who still mistakenly think that we can or should ignore the realities of the atomic-hydrogen age; to those who mistakenly think we can isolate ourselves from the dangerous trends of our times; to those who mistakenly think we could live in a misnamed "Fortress America" all by ourselves, ignoring the fate of mankind.

NEW REALITIES OF THE ATOMIC AGE

It is strange indeed to hear these daydreamers speak about the United States as allegedly surviving in isolation. These people seem to have completely forgotten the basic speed and other facts of the atomic age.

They seem to have forgotten that the city of Chicago is but ten hours bomber-time from Moscow, if a plane merely flies at the rate of five hundred miles an hour. (And let us remember that airplanes can already fly far faster than that—faster than the speed of sound.)

These people seem to have forgotten that the United States desperately needs overseas bases—air and other bases—on which, in particular, to locate elements of our Strategic Air Command. For our long-range bomber force—widely dispersed for security—and possessing its great atomic-hydrogen power, represents, as Winston Churchill well pointed out: the principal deterrent to war today.

The daydreamers seem to forget that the United States is directly dependent

—Underwood & Underwood



and our machine guns if we do not have these foreign raw materials?

How do they think we could resist the Soviet Union if it could outproduce us—if it possessed the factories of Western Europe and the skilled manpower, and thus outweighed us on the crucial industrial scale?

No, the opponents of our present foreign policy have not thought out the answer to that and related questions.

But you, my friends, in the audience this afternoon—you know these problems—these realities—and that is why you are striving so earnestly in support of United States good partnership in the United Nations.

That is why you wisely support our participation in regional organizations for security—whether they are in Western Europe, the Western Hemisphere, or Southeast Asia—but always within the framework of Article 51 of the UN Charter.

I wish that time were available for me to comment on all of the many phases of the problems of the United Nations, which truly merit review at this time.

THREE PRINCIPAL PHASES

Let me, however, confine my remarks to three principal points.

Let us, first, see some of the principal issues looming before us—in terms of possible improvement of the United Nations Charter.

Let us, second, see why, even without these changes, it is so essential that we defend the United Nations against those who would recklessly attack it.

And, third, let us see what horizons face the United Nations, in particular, in connection with the famous atoms-for-peace proposal of President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

IMPORTANCE OF CHARTER REVIEW

Now, first, my friends, I want to refer to the very important challenge facing us—of weighing proposed changes in the UN Charter.

You are all familiar with the fact that, as chairman of a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the UN Charter Revision, I have been holding hearings across our nation on the subject of possible charter changes.

We have heard splendid testimony from citizens like yourselves in cities—large and small—across America. We have heard proposals for such changes as:

1. More effective armament control;
2. Altering of the present veto power which has so often paralyzed the Security Council;
3. Weighted voting in the General Assembly; that is, changing the present "one nation, one vote" formula;
4. Making more universal the membership in the UN (which is today limited to but sixty nations because, principally, of the Soviet veto).



—Wide World Photo

Wiley Says:

1. To contend that the UN is a do-nothing organization is a base untruth.
2. The charge that the UN is a danger to American sovereignty is absolutely false. The UN Charter prohibits intervention in domestic affairs.
3. To label the UN as "a financial rat-hole" is absurd. UN costs Americans around sixteen cents per year and worth every cent.

It is still too early to say what formal recommendations my colleagues and I will make next year [1955] to the United States Senate.

And it is still too early to predict what proposals our United States State Department will ultimately recommend through the United States mission to the United Nations. It is already clear, however, that, as Secretary of State Dulles wisely pointed out, the United States will definitely favor the holding of a review conference to evaluate changes in the charter.

This review conference will give us a golden opportunity—ten years after the founding of the United Nations Charter—to take stock of the changed situation. It will give us an opportunity to see how we can overcome shortcomings which have arisen, and how we can prevent the Soviet Union from throwing a further monkey wrench into the United Nations.

SPIRIT COUNTS MORE THAN LETTER

But whatever proposals we of the United States may strive for, I urge you, my friends, to remember that it is the spirit of the United Nations which will count far more than the letter of the UN Charter.

The charter, even with its present limitations, could succeed if the right spirit is present, if there is a true will, intent, and purpose among the nations to achieve peace.

Let us not become so preoccupied with the mechanism of peace that we

forget that the important feature is the spirit among the nations.

Our own spirit is still strong for peace.

Our enthusiasm has not flagged. Every public opinion poll demonstrates that fact. The latest Gallup poll, for example, shows that more than 76 per cent of the American people approve of the United Nations.

This, then, is the basis on which we approach the proposed review conference. And I say, let it come. We welcome it. We will not allow ourselves to be paralyzed by fear of a possible Soviet veto of charter changes.

DEFEND UN AGAINST ATTACKERS

But second, my friends, I want to turn to a still more immediate task: the task of defending the United Nations against those who would defame it; those who would attempt to smear it or its affiliated agencies, whether it be the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, or the International Labor Organization or any other group represented in the UN system.

I say to you, my friends, that now is the time to rededicate ourselves to the defense of the UN.

Why? Because in defending it, we defend the United States; we defend the unified foreign policy which has been carried on by the leaders of the American people, irrespective of political party. It is the foreign policy dedicated to America's fulfillment of its role in the shrunken world of the atomic-hydrogen age.

I need not tell you that from many quarters, mud is being thrown at the United Nations, that attempts are being made to ridicule it and to destroy it.

It is not for me to question the good faith in which these criticisms are hurled, but I can state that each of the attacks must be answered calmly and reasonably—with the hard facts.

We cannot be silent in the face of these attacks. It has been wisely stated that "all that evil needs to triumph is that good men be silent."

Let us not be silent now, therefore in answering the principal unfair criticisms which have been hurled at the UN.

What are some of those criticisms?

THREE UNFAIR UN CRITICISMS

1. First, it is charged that the United Nations is a do-nothing organization. This is absolutely false.

It was the UN which caused the withdrawal of Soviet forces in Iran, which mobilized world opinion on behalf of the United States and to Greece against the Communists. It was the UN which helped bring peace in the Holy Land. It was the United Nations which, for the first time in recorded history, in June, 1950, mobilized the armed forces of sixteen nations in defense of Korea—an innocent victim—of Red aggression.

In that struggle, in addition to our

own heavy sacrifices in blood and treasure, other UN members—aside from Korea itself—suffered 17,000 casualties, including 3,000 honored dead.

And the aggression was stopped, although not in total victory for our side.

And I point out, too, that in non-military phases, the UN is far from a do-nothing organization.

The United Nations is giving indispensable technical assistance to the underdeveloped nations of the world: It's giving milk to starving babies and to pregnant mothers; medical care, financial aid, and other necessary assistance.

So, to contend that the United Nations is a do-nothing organization is a base untruth.

U.S. SOVEREIGNTY NOT ENDANGERED

2. Second, it is charged that the United Nations is a danger to American sovereignty.

That is absolutely false. The United Nations Charter specifically prohibits intervention in the domestic affairs of any of the countries. No international instrument made inside or outside of the United Nations is binding upon us unless we choose to ratify it.

You and I know that part of this attack against the United Nations is represented in the universal movement for a constitutional amendment to limit treaty-making power under the United States Constitution.

This is the so-called Bricker Amendment which, in the final days of the second session of the present Congress, was reintroduced in slightly amended form.

Time does not permit me to analyze in detail what I regard as the serious dangers in this amendment. Suffice it to say that the President of the United States rightly remains steadfastly opposed to this or any other amendment which would (a) jeopardize the historic prerogatives of the Chief Executive, or which would (b) endanger the traditional checks and balances under the

United States Constitution.

I am glad to report that the tide has turned against the Bricker Amendment. For example, recently the Oregon State Bar Association had the opportunity to cast its vote on it, and the amendment was overwhelmingly rejected by a vote of better than 5-to-1. This is but a symbol of the fact that the American people are waking up to the dangers in this amendment, and that they are not going to fall prey to constitutional panic or hysteria.

They know that the tried-and-true United States Constitution must not be lightly amended. I point out to you that it is a strange fact that in over a century and three-quarters we have found sufficient and adequate the original Constitution and twenty-two amendments. But in this latest Congress alone more than five times that number of constitutional amendments have been loosely proposed.

Why all this amendment frenzy? Why change a document which has worked so well for us? Why abandon the landmarks of the past? Why replace faith with fear and reason with hysteria?

UN COSTS LITTLE

3. We come now to a third charge. It is charged that the United Nations is costly, that it is a financial rathole. That is absurd, too.

The United Nations itself costs the citizens of America—on the average—around sixteen cents per year. That is less than the cost of a package of cigarettes. Do you think that it is worth a package of cigarettes to save world peace?

Do you know how much we were spending during World War II? We were blowing up 275 million dollars per day. I repeat 275 million dollars per day, in order to kill Germans and Japanese.

Do you think it is worth spending sixteen cents per year in order to avoid some day having to kill Russian boys and having American soldiers and civil-

ians die in the same conflagration? Of course you know the answer to that question.

The UN is definitely worth every cent we contribute to it.

Now, there are other charges which have been hurled against the UN—like charges of disloyalty of certain United States personnel there. But this is a matter which, by and large, has long been adequately disposed of by our effective United States Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge.

But now time is growing short, and I want to turn from the past and present to the future.

THE ATOMS-FOR-PEACE PLAN

I should like to refer now in some length to the great proposal which was made by the President of the United States in his atoms-for-peace suggestion to the UN.

On December 8 of last year [1953] President Eisenhower sought a way out of the tragic record of failure that had marred the efforts of the United Nations to control mass destruction weapons. That date may yet become one of the most notable in man's history. For, on that day, our President laid before the General Assembly of the United Nations his bold new proposal.

Unlike all previous negative efforts to try to reduce or eliminate atomic materials for military purposes, this was a positive, constructive approach along a new avenue toward peace.

Very simply, it extended an invitation to the governments principally involved to begin making joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an International Atomic Energy Agency. It would create a kind of nuclear bank.

Here was the most realistic attack yet made upon the almost hopelessly snarled problem of international atomic control. For the first time, it offered a promising, though modest, plan whereby fissionable



UN FIGHTS DISEASE AND HUNGER—Left, Indian villagers shown being vaccinated in health campaign aided by UNICEF. Center, Indian children learn about malarial mosquitoes through UN control project. Right, Arab and Jewish refugees receive food provided by UN funds.

—Wide World Photos



—Wide World Photo

A UN observer (right) in Jerusalem as he watched for violations of the UN truce between Jews and Arabs. With him is an Israelite soldier.

material could be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind. It was a call to mobilize experts in the application of atomic energy to the needs of agriculture, medicine, and other peaceful activities.

One of its primary functions would be to furnish adequate electrical energy in those areas of the world which are desperately starved for power. And it proclaimed the intention of the United States to dedicate its strength to serving the needs of mankind. It offered the possibility of demonstrating to the peoples of the world that the great powers were, after all, intensely concerned with human aspirations rather than producing implements of warfare. Man's greatest fear could become, overnight, a source of his greatest blessings.

But President Eisenhower's proposal was not just a project for the scientific peacetime allocation of atomic energy. If that had been its only purpose, we need not have advanced it through the United Nations at all. No, my friends, its great and historic promise was something far more inspiring.

PAST ATOM CONTROL EFFORTS STERILE

All prior negotiations for the control of atomic armaments had been sterile. A demoralizing impasse had been reached on the entire subject of disarmament.

For eight years we, and the Soviet Union, had failed to agree on the basic principle which should govern either the reduction and regulation of atomic weapons, or the limitation of conventional armaments. Only a few days ago, this

impasse was again underscored when Ambassador Wadsworth of the United States delegation told the United Nations Main Political Committee that the Soviet Union still did not seem prepared to take the same steps to reassure the world, which we have been prepared to take.

As far back as 1946 we had gone a long way to show our good faith. Why, less than a year after the war potential of the atom was discovered, we presented to the United Nations a plan which would have made possible an effective international control of this new force, and encouraged its use by all nations for peaceful purposes. This plan received the overwhelming endorsement of the Assembly in 1948. It has been stalled ever since.

In the Atomic Energy Commission, the Soviet Union flatly rejected its control features. In the Conventional Armaments Commission, the U.S.S.R. rejected the proposals for a system of disclosure and verification of armed forces and armament because it did not include atomic armaments. And so, we tried again. We proposed in 1951 that the work of these two Commissions be merged, and a new commission was created.

We repeatedly joined with France and the United Kingdom in submitting proposals which would place numerical ceilings on the armed forces of the U.S.S.R., China, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. The Soviet representative gave them scant consideration and denounced them as cynical and hypocritical.

So far as atomic weapons were concerned, as you all know, the Soviet Union from the very beginning has deceptively insisted upon a prior outlawing and abolition of these weapons before the creation of satisfactory controls and inspection procedures could be assured.

We, for our part, still held fresh in our minds the memory of the 1921 Naval Conference at Washington. We were not and are not going to be taken in again by a plan to destroy our own arms in reliance upon some other government's paper promise.

This is why we have insisted upon and will continue to demand, legal control and inspection procedures by an international agency, as a condition to any reduction or prohibition of atomic weapons.

There you had it: a complete stalemate. And the hopes of mankind shrank in direct ratio as the stockpile and destructiveness of man's latest scourge increased.

Into this bleak and disheartening picture was injected the dramatic proposal of President Eisenhower last year. It carried the electrifying hope that the marshaling of atoms for peace, even on

a small scale, might reverse the trend toward a fearful military buildup.

It was inspired by the belief that if the Soviet Union would join with the United States and other nations possessing atomic material and know-how, this act of cooperation could be the beginning of a new pattern of understanding.

The plan was one that could not possibly injure any government. And its greatest virtue was that it avoided the suspicions and irritations which had accompanied proposals for world-wide inspection and control. Yet, it, too, was rejected by the Soviet government.

And that government said, in effect, that before they join in any peacetime effort to develop atomic science for the benefit of mankind, the free nations of the world must renounce all military use of nuclear weapons. Of course, you and I know there is no logical relationship between these two things. And we are not going to throw down our strongest shield against aggression without an adequate safeguard for the security of the free world.

But we definitely do not propose to let President Eisenhower's plan die. Instead, Secretary of State Dulles recently informed the United Nations of our intention to press on with our desire to enlist this new force into the service of human progress.

To explore the possibilities of peaceful uses of atomic energy, we will direct our efforts toward the convening of an international scientific congress to meet under the auspices of the United Nations next year [1955].

The program outlined by Secretary Dulles envisages the opening in the United States, next year, of a reactor training school where students from abroad may learn the working principles



—Wide World Photo

Secretary of State Dulles called for the creation of an international agency for the peaceful use of atomic energy during major address at UN General Assembly Sept. 23, 1954.

ples of the peaceful use of atomic energy. Medical and surgical experts from abroad would be invited to participate in the work of our cancer hospitals. This, of course, would only be the beginning.

We are saddened that the Soviets have thus far missed a great opportunity to contribute to a relaxation of the world tension which this simple gesture of cooperation would have inspired.

But they know that the door will always be open to their participation. Our government does not intend to overlook any avenue of negotiation which offers prospects, no matter how slight, of enlisting the cooperation of the Soviet Union in a program which could end the deplorable waste of economic wealth in military requirements.

Whether the Soviets come forward or not, we are resolved that the President's

program shall become a living symbol of hope or a better way of life to millions of mankind.

In conclusion, may I say that it has been a great pleasure to be with you here this afternoon. I have not of course attempted to cover all or even part of the many phases of the United Nations.

I commend to you a further study of this great organization and in particular of proposed charter changes. I urge you to keep your faith high in the UN because it merits that faith.

I urge that you give it your best because, in so doing, you will be giving your own beloved country your best. You will be helping your country to lead a war-weary mankind into a permanent path of peace and justice.

This is the call today—to you and to me on this, the ninth anniversary of the United Nations Charter.



Burdick Says:

1. UN Charter, NATO, Covenant of Human Rights, Genocide Convention, UNESCO—all aimed at total destruction of American liberty.
2. The UN was organized to destroy the Constitution of the United States.
3. People who will eventually be stripped of the protection of the Constitution will pay the price of its destruction in taxes.

The Great Conspiracy to Destroy the United States

Speech of Congressman Usher L. Burdick in the House of Representatives.

THERE can be no doubt that there now exists a widespread understanding and agreement made between the agents of this government and the United Nations and North Atlantic Treaty Organization to build a world government, and to make the United States a part of it, regardless of our Constitution, laws and traditions. This is to be done in the name of peace, but will result in the total destruction of our liberty. The agents representing the United States may not be deliberately trying to do this treasonable work, but the best that can be said for them is that they are dupes. Some mighty important people who are United States citizens are not only going along with this scheme, but are daily and hourly contributing all their efforts in that direction.

What proof do we have to back up this general statement? The purpose of this speech is to lay this proof before the American people.

First of all, the people of the United States were so completely sick of war after World War II that these schemers found a fertile field to exploit. They appealed to churches, schools, and every other organization they could reach, on the basis that the way to secure peace in the world was to organize a United Nations group, and that through the machinery which they proposed to set up wars could be stopped before they started.

It seemed like a plausible idea, and not knowing the sinister purpose behind the move, millions of people supported the suggestion.

The first move was made at San Francisco, where many nations met, drew up a charter, and submitted that charter to the Senate of the United

States for approval as a treaty.

This document had none of the earmarks of a treaty, because the Supreme Court of the United States has held in many cases that a treaty is an agreement made between nations, to do or not to do particular things. In the case of the Charter of the United Nations, it was not an agreement between nations. It was an agreement made by the agents of several governments, and there is no contention from any quarter that the United Nations at that time was a nation with which we could make a treaty agreement. The dark forces behind this move knew that the United Nations was not a nation with which we could make a treaty, but intended to make it an integral power at the first opportunity. How these forces for evil planned to make the United Nations a nation is clear now, since they propose at this time to build a world government by simply amending the Charter of the United Nations.

Who were the principal movers at San Francisco for this United Nations Charter? Who wrote the charter, and who had the most to do about shaping its provisions? The answer is that the Russian Communists and Alger Hiss, a representative of our State Department, were the prime movers and schemers in arranging its provisions. That is the same Alger Hiss who was convicted for perjury when he denied sending secret material to the Soviet Union representatives. Its very beginning gave this document a bad odor.

The universal approval of a plan to preserve world peace had not worn off and the facts were yet unknown when the Senate was called upon to approve the United Nations Charter. The senti-

ment for peace was so strong that only two Senators refused to approve the charter. If the question were to come up now, a great majority would say "No."

U.S. CONSTITUTION ASSAULTED

If the real purpose of this charter was to outline a method to secure and preserve world peace, why was it necessary in that charter to make an assault upon the Constitution of the United States? Are we not already a peace-loving nation, without having to rely upon the Soviets and Hiss?

Here you see again that world peace was not the object of this scheme at all. The real purpose was to build a world government, controlled by the Communists and their dupes in the United States.

As soon as this charter was approved the courts of the United States began to hear about it. In the Fujii case in California, the Charter of the United Nations was substituted for the laws of the state of California, and that remained so for several months, until a higher court overruled the court that made this finding. It was a precarious situation, depending upon the whim of a court.

Again, in the Steel Seizure case, where the Supreme Court was searching our Constitution for some provision that would uphold the President in his action, the same Charter of the United Nations once more appeared. Failing to find any authority in the Constitution to fortify the President's position, the

Chief Justice resorted to one of the most unheard-of things in American history. He produced the Charter of the United Nations as the authority for the seizure and cited its provisions in an effort to support the President's act. Fortunately for the people of the United States, the majority of the Court would not permit this communistic charter to supplant the Constitution of the United States. It was, however, a close call, and abundantly proved the need of the Bricker Amendment. No one can ever tell what the next decision might be, although throughout our history God seems always to be on our side; and no matter what the political complexion of the Supreme Court may be, the decisions have upheld the Constitution.

The next assault on the Constitution is found in the Covenant of Human Rights, which has not as yet been presented to the Senate for ratification. The United Nations has amended its first draft several times, and because of the rising tide of objection to what it is doing and planning to do, the latest draft has not come before the Senate.

The subtle and fraudulent work of the United Nations in trying to prepare the people of the United States for the approval of this un-American document ought in itself to condemn its further consideration by the people and their leaders.

To prove to you that its procedure was fraudulent and totally dishonest, I wish to clearly state that the United Nations put out a Declaration of Human Rights, which, upon its face was not objectionable. This declaration was propagandized by the spreading of millions of copies among church people, in the common schools, and in the higher institutions of learning. Every civic organization was also the object of this avalanche of propaganda.

CUNNINGLY DESIGNED GROUNDWORK

There was a cunningly designed purpose in this. It was necessary to prepare the people for the advent of the Covenant of Human Rights. When the propagandists thought the groundwork had been sufficiently laid, the real human rights document appeared. It was and still is called the Covenant of Human Rights, but it is entirely different from the propagandized Declaration of Human Rights. Here in this Covenant of Human Rights the United Nations, among other things, undertakes to do three important things, all of which threaten the Constitution of the United States. It has rewritten what is meant by free speech, a free press, and free religion. The Constitution is not in doubt in defining these three fundamental attributes of a free government. Here is what it says:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging

the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

If the provisions of the document called the Covenant of Human Rights are adopted by the Senate please ask yourselves what has become of these precious constitutional rights. Here is what the covenant says about them:

Article 15, section 3: Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals, or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

Article 16, section 2: Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art or through any other media of his choice.

Section 3: The exercise of the rights provided for in the foregoing paragraph carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall be such only as are provided by law and are necessary (1) for respect of the rights or reputations of others, (2) for the protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals.

When we go so far as to hedge in, restrain and circumvent free speech, then there is no free speech. There will be no free press. There will be no free religion. Does anyone who is acquainted with these facts want to say that the United Nations is not trying to rewrite our Constitution, with the aid and support of Communists and revolutionists? Just why is it necessary to emasculate our Constitution if the only object of the United Nations is world peace? Is not our Constitution and the desire of all the people of this country in favor of peace?

IS FURTHER PROOF NEEDED?

It is necessary to change our Constitution in order to carry out the design and conspiracy to build a world government. Is it not perfectly clear to you now that this was the real purpose of the framers of the United Nations from its very beginning? It ought to be obvious to any fair-minded person that it is the deliberate scheme of the United Nations to destroy the Constitution of the United States, and should need no further proof.

But that is not all, as the following steps will disclose. The United Nations has produced another convention, which in time they will ask the Senate to approve. I refer to the Genocide Convention. This is an appealing subject and it has caught in its net a great many good American citizens. As defined by the dictionary, genocide is "the use or a user of deliberate, systematic measures toward the extermination of a racial, political, or cultural group."

The wholesale destruction of a race or group of people for no reason at all



—United Press Photo

Alger Hiss (left), Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, as he greeted President Truman at San Francisco meeting June 26, 1945.

except that they are a race or group, is against all principles of humanity, and in this country is a violation of moral and civic law. Is there anything in the Constitution of the United States, or even in the laws of any state of this great union, that approves such crime? Why is it necessary to change and amend, abrogate and repeal, our own Constitution in order that we shall be authorized to rise up against such a moral and legal crime? The answer is that there is no possible reason for this action—if the purpose of the covenant is to prevent genocide.

This Convention undertakes to further amend the Constitution of the United States and deny the rights of our citizens under the Bill of Rights in another respect. The sixth amendment to the Constitution provides:

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

The Genocide Convention provides that a citizen of the United States, who has, in the opinion of the United Nations, libeled or injured the feelings of a race, a group, or any member of a group, shall be subject to trial for violating the covenant. Will the accused be tried here in the United States, where the crime was alleged to have been com-

mitted? No. He will be tried wherever the United Nations may decide. Will he be tried under the Constitution and laws of this country, with the safeguards provided by the sixth amendment? No. He will be tried under such laws as the United Nations World Court shall prescribe. Why was it considered necessary to take away from the citizens of this country the protection our Constitution gives them? Are our people engaged, or were they ever engaged in race annihilation?

OUR INALIENABLE RIGHTS THREATENED

The real, hidden, and treasonable purpose of this provision was and is to tear down our Constitution and make all citizens, who are entitled to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, subject to the provisions of a world court, which is already being set up to function in this supergovernment—a world government.

Do we need further proof that the real and only purpose of the builders of the United Nations was to fashion a world government and to make our citizens subject to that world government, and to strip from them the protection guaranteed them under the Constitution of the United States?

If this is not treason, then I do not understand the provision of the Constitution defining it. Section 3 of article III of the Constitution says:

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

For fear that there may be some in the United States who are not yet convinced by what I have said so far, I will not rest this case there, but will present further evidence.

The United Nations set up an organization known as UNESCO—United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization—for the purpose of spreading universal learning, which the promoters contended would bring the people of the world more quickly to a mutual understanding than anything else would.

There was no objection to this proposal—at least on the face of it. But it turned out to be the most dangerous, the most dastardly undertaking of all that the United Nations had theretofore contrived. Its purpose was not what its promoters said it was. It was a deliberate plan to create public opinion for the coming world government. The malicious and cowardly element of the enterprise was that it was directed to the schoolchildren of the nation, where minds are young and impressionable, and it is patterned exactly after the Soviet teaching of the youth of the country.

TARGET PRACTICE ON NATIONAL SPIRIT

These schemers knew that the United States has a strong national spirit; they

knew that the average American loves his country; they knew he would defend its institutions, which had brought freedom in a new land. The plotters determined that this spirit must be destroyed, or at least minimized. So UNESCO went to work.

The first step was to train teachers at Columbia University, at the expense of the United Nations—principally at the expense of the taxpayers of this country—to teach our children ways by which they could become world citizens, and that a strong national spirit interferes with this world venture. The birthdays of our great leaders, like Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Lincoln were not to be celebrated in honor of these leaders, but the day of celebration should be devoted to propagandizing these children on the benefits of this future world government. They made it exceedingly plain that love for the United States and its institutions prevented our participation in such a world government.

Printed matter, radio and television were used night and day to carry on the cultivation propaganda, and to root out the love of country from these United States. This program is still being carried on, and the worst part of it is that the people who will eventually be stripped of the protection of our Constitution will pay the price of its destruction in taxes. It should now be proven overwhelmingly that the United Nations was organized to destroy the Constitution of the United States. This is all done in the name of world peace—but who wants to substitute world peace for the liberty and freedom we have? Who wants to surrender the sovereignty of this great republic to an organization which has been assiduously at work from its very beginning to abolish our Constitution?

Two very important sessions of the world government advocates have been held in London, and in the proceedings it is made plain that the machinery for world government is already set up in the Charter of the United Nations, and all that is necessary is to make a few amendments to that charter. Many advocates of the United Nations have now come out openly for this world government. Some very influential men in public life say that we can afford to give

up some of our sovereignty to obtain world peace. The propaganda for a world government has flourished in many quarters. I am here to tell you that we cannot afford to give up any of our national sovereignty for any cause.

We have the only government on earth where the people themselves rule. The government here exists for the people, and the people do not exist for the government. For over one hundred sixty years we have gone on our way with our own concept of government, and we know what freedom means. Are we fools enough to abandon our course and listen to the siren songs of those whose design it is to destroy this great government, and fit it into a new world government with a heterogeneous collection of nations whose ideas of the purpose of government conflict with our own? Instead of destroying our national spirit, it should be increased. If other nations want to follow our example, let them do it; but to let any foreign combination direct the affairs of this government would be intolerable and will never be permitted. It could not be done by force. And if the American people are alert and prize freedom and liberty as much as I think they do, this false, insidious, and conspiratorial scheme to subdue us will never prevail.

The world government proposes a world congress where members are elected according to the population of the member nations. This means that Soviet Russia and Red China and their enslaved comrades will control that government.

After examining this record, can anyone doubt that the United Nations was purposely set up to do to this country what could not be done by force of arms, but through the blandishments of Communists, fellow travelers, and dupes, get us to surrender our liberty without firing a shot?

There are some questions that should be answered. One of them is, "Why does this government permit the recognition of Soviet Russia, when it is known by all, including all the administration leaders, that from the Russian Embassy here in Washington there is a constant flow to all parts of the country of propaganda that is inimical to the United States?" The next question is, "Why do we remain in the United Nations when we can plainly see that the whole scheme is directed to our destruction?" If the administration officials hide their heads in the sand for security, I am sure that the people will not.

I have faith in the American people, when they are armed with the facts.

I have faith in the Divine Ruler of this universe, who has sustained us in the past; and I have an enduring faith that He will not desert us in our efforts to maintain a government of freedom and liberty here on these shores where it began.

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America's Promise

by Dan Smoot

WHERE but in America can you hear true freedom sung?

Freedom is as rare and precious today as it was several hundred years ago when our forefathers found their way to the shores of this country searching for it.

Freedom! A magic word that means America!

And why America? Why was freedom sought here?

Between 1790 and 1921, great waves of immigration pounded the shores of America, bringing in forty million Europeans. And still they want to come. Millions of people everywhere would sacrifice all they have—break all the ties that bind—for the privilege of living in America. Why?

There have always been other places with greater natural resources, with climate as good or better, and with land more fertile and plentiful.

And yet they came—with blue vistas of hope in their eyes—to a land where a man could stand on his own feet; where a man could be himself and become whatever thing his vision and his manhood and his faith could combine to make him.

They were not looking for freedom from fear. Here in the secret, immense, and lonely earth of America were more fear and pain and hunger and cold than they left behind them—and they knew it. It was not the cult of the common

man that brought them here. Most of them may have considered themselves common men when they came; but they were looking for a place where the common man had a chance to become uncommon, where every man could, God willing, pull himself above the dead level of mediocrity implied by the phrase "common man." They knew this—these men who searched for freedom—here among the rocks and rills of this land of liberty.

What is the magnetism of America which spreads abroad and tugs at the hearts of men all over the earth?

America is a fabulous country, the only fabulous country: A place of miracles; a place of exultancy and strong joy. America is a place of harsh sun on the Texas plains and the sting of snow in New England.

It is a place of mighty rivers with magnificent music in their names: the Monongahela, the Colorado, the Columbia, the Tennessee, the Hudson, the Kennebec, the Rappahannock, the Delaware, the Wabash, the Rio Grande, the Chickahominy, the Indian River, the Tombigbee, the Niagara, the Susquehanna, the Chattahoochee, the Arkansas, the Missouri, the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Potomac.

America is a land of great trains thundering over the continent on rails that plunge through mountains, drive across eight hundred miles of golden

wheat, cross the plains, rise high above the marshes, and leap through flatness and the dull scrub pine to meet the ocean.

America is a place where great boats are baying at the harbor's mouth, where great ships are putting out to sea.

It is a place of the moon-white countryside and the wailing whistle of the fast express.

It is a place of the immense and pungent smell of breakfast; of steaming, fragrant coffee; of lonely hunters in frosty thickets calling to lop-eared hounds.

It is the place where spring brings a wild and tender beauty to the wilderness, freshness to the barren plains, and the marvel of baseball to city parks.

America is a place of quick money and sudden loss. It is a place of fat abundance and raw desolation.

It is also the place of children and laughter, where youth treads the earth mad with solar energy, believing in love and victory and thinking it can never die.

America is a place of bitter ugliness—and of indescribable beauty!

But America is more than poetry.

It is a daring place: where free men can joke about fate itself, like old Ben Franklin, putting his flourishing signature on the Declaration of Independence and saying, "Now that it is finished and



—Wide World Photo

done, we will all hang together, or we will all hang one by one”;

—**A place** of practical men who formed a government while despising government; scholarly men like Jefferson intoning that that government is best which governs least; and haughty men like Hamilton saying that the powers which “We the People” delegate to the federal government must be few, clearly defined, and closely watched;

—**A place** where men wrote a Bill of Rights—not asking the government for something, but telling the government what it must not do;

—**Where** stern men, firm in their faith that they are sons of God, speaking with divine authority, say to government: “Thou shalt not abridge these freedoms which God has given us”;

—**Where** men know that morality, conscience, and happiness are the exclusive possession of individuals and can be achieved only by individual effort with divine help;

—**Where** every organic document of government, from the signing of the Mayflower Compact in 1620 down to and including the formulation of the state constitutions, recognizes the sovereignty of God and invokes His divine blessing;

—**Where** equality signifies the equal importance of individuals before God and before the law, but recognizes the infinite diversity of talents, tastes, am-

bitions, capacities, and material conditions as natural for free men here on earth and essential to the sustenance and progress of human society;

—**Where** men realize that the tyranny of unrestricted majority rule can be even more terrible than the tyranny of a dictator;

—**Where** the universal brotherhood of man is not a utopian dream of oneworldism, but a national ideal, actually being achieved by the chemistry of time and freedom;

—**Where** men, knowing that the ballot box is not enough to secure the blessings of liberty, established a constitutional system of limited government to guarantee personal freedom by law;

—**Where** the only valid functions of government are to preserve the peace and prevent individuals from infringing on the rights of others, leaving all people free otherwise to fulfill their own destiny;

—**Where** men, believing their rights are bestowed by heaven, said, “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights,” and founded a government on this religious assumption: the assumption that every human individual—rich or poor, big or little—has certain rights that God has given him and that no power on earth can take away, neither government, an organized group, nor an overwhelming majority of the people themselves!

Reflect on that for a moment—and take a long and thoughtful look at the American Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to our Constitution. They are brief—only 462 words. The language is simple; the admonitions are stern; and they are negative. They say nothing about government’s responsibility to the people. On the contrary, the

American Bill of Rights tells government what it shall not do.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or abridging freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of peaceful assembly.

The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Congress shall make no law...

That is the American philosophy of freedom which for 125 years filled human hearts with hope all over the globe, and brought a thundering flood tide of immigrants pounding at our shores; immigrants who were not looking for security, but for liberty; freedom-loving men with faith; men who could sing at the stern task of carving a great nation out of a raw wilderness.

For generations, few people seemed to know or care what made the American system tick. It just worked; that is all. It was taken for granted that the precious diamonds of human civilization were here, and only here—in America. For over a century, a supreme ecstasy of millions was the voyage to America. There was no other earthly experience remotely comparable to it in its sense of joy and magnificent hope.

And there was sheer magic in the old American formula. It wrought miracles upon the swarming millions who came here seeking the promised land. In a miraculously short time it produced the greatest civilization the world has ever seen.

Ancient feuds and class-conscious hatreds of Europe failed to take roots in the soil of America—until recently, when they were planted and nourished by alien philosophies. Only in the twentieth century have Americans begun to doubt and fear and lose their faith—lose the old cocksure confidence in the abso-



The place of children and laughter.

—Photo by David Strickler



—Photo by David Strickler

Great boats baying at the harbor's mouth... Great ships putting out to sea.

lute rightness of American principles. One generation of Americans faltered in faith and began to introduce the worn-out quackeries of Old World collectivism into the American system. And, as we lose our faith, we lose our strength.

But today the winds of freedom are rising, and they will sweep across this land as in a time gone by when they inspired fearless men to write a flaming declaration of eternal principles—"When in the course of human events..."—writing it out for all the world to see.

Christianity is, of course, the Hope of the World. But politically speaking, America is the last, best hope for peace and freedom on earth—the only hope. If American power should disintegrate, the whole human race would soon be enveloped in a fog of terror so demoralizing, so terrible, that those who survived would envy those who did not.

We are told that the world is sick and needs our help; but we cannot cure the patient by getting in bed with him. We might give him some hope of re-

covery if we could show him evidence of our own vigorous health and tell him how to achieve that health himself. A dying man would benefit more by learning of a cure for his ailment than by having his hospital bills paid.

The old American formula is the only known, proven cure for the economic ills of human society. If the bankrupt nations of the world do not want to use that cure, we cannot cram it down their throats, high-pressure them into taking it, or buy their acceptance of it. And we must not—we must not—destroy our own system in vain efforts to shore up theirs.

We Americans are proud and should be proud of our famed standard of living; but what we must not forget nor let other people forget is that the material things—the bathtubs, the automobiles and central heating, the television sets—are merely by-products of the American system. We do not have these material things because we are greedier and more dollar-grasping and more materialistic than others are. We have them

because a group of men who gave us our formula for successful living realized that if man is free and independent, the material things will accrue to him and flow into his society as a matter of course. The Founding Fathers provided for the unbelievable prosperity of America when they gave us a workable means of preserving personal freedom.

If the real and fascinating American story were told and understood throughout the world, tyranny everywhere might topple in a scramble of peoples to follow the American example.

All around us, frantic men are searching for new concepts and fresh approaches to achieve universal peace and harmony. America needs no new discoveries in the realm of political ideas, or the launching of any new social experiments. Our need now is for rediscovery and renewed understanding of the true and tried principle of Americanism. In the striking record of our own country, the precious gem of human understanding lies buried. While civilization exhausts itself in fruitless efforts for peace, it would be tragic indeed if the one simple, proven, and effective formula for the peace and happiness of humanity were permitted to lie unheeded in the dusty, unturned pages of American history.

The subtle secret of 1776 might save our fearful civilization today. From the thundering power of Niagara to the silent, sun-baked beauty of El Centro; from Puget Sound to the Florida Keys—America, mighty and magnificent, is teeming with hope and youth and promise. And so it will always be if we do not remove the ancient landmarks which our fathers have set.

Yes, America is a fabulous country, the only fabulous country. A country with a history—colorful, beautiful, magnificent, and inspiring! America—my land—my home.



—Underwood & Underwood

...pungent smell of breakfast; of steaming coffee.



—Underwood & Underwood

The sting of snow in New England.

(Continued from Page 19)

ILLINOIS—Continued

Harrisburg	WEBQ-AM*	1240	Wed	2:00 p
	WEBQ-FM*	99.9	Wed	8:00 p
Kewanee	WKET*	1450	Sun	12:15 p
	WKET*	1450	Sun	1:00 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:30 p
Litchfield	WSMI*	1540	Sun	
Mt. Vernon	WMTX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Rock Island	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
	WHBF-TV*	4	Sun	2:00 p
	WHBF-TV*	4	Sun	1:00 p
Rockford	WREX-TV*	13	Sat	4:00 p

INDIANA

Fort Wayne	WKJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Jasper	WITZ*	990	Sun	1:00 p
Lafayette	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Lafayette	WFAM-TV*	59	Sun	8:00 p
Portland	WPGW*	1440	To be announced	
	WPGW*	1440	To be announced	
Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
	WJCD*	1390	Sun	5:00 p
Terre Haute	WTHI-TV*	10		

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	KCRG†	1600	Mon	8:30 p
Clinton	KROS†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Decorah	KDEC†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KDEC*	1240	Sat	5:30 p
Des Moines	WHO*	1040	Mon	9:15 p
Fort Dodge	KQTV-TV*	21	Wed	7:30 p
Marshalltown	KFJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Oelwein	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:30 p
Ottumwa	KBIZ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Spencer	KICD†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Storm Lake	KAYL*	990	Sun	9:35 a
Waterloo	KWWL†	1330	Mon	8:30 p
	KWWL-TV*	7	Sun	1:00 p

To subscribe, see Pages 39-40

KANSAS

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

KENTUCKY

Campbellsville	WTGO*	1150	To be announced	
Cumberland	WCMP†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL*	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Henderson	WSON†	860	Mon	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX*	1390	Sun	5:30 p
Louisville	WGRG†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW*	730	Sun	1:30 p
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Sun	2:00 p
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	To be announced	

LOUISIANA

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

MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV*	2		
Orono	WORO*		Tues	7:45 p
Portland	WCSH*	970	Sun	1:15 p

MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Baltimore	WBAL*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
Cambridge	WCEM*	1240	Sun	7:00 p
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:80 p

MASSACHUSETTS

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

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I was so happy to learn that I had won an award of thirty six-months subscriptions to *Facts Forum News*. . . I have so often wished I could send these subscriptions, and now I can. It is wonderful!

MRS. RUTH PITTE

1944 Sharon Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.

May I have one or more copies of the discussion presented . . . by Dr. Schwarz [see "Coexistence," p. 8].

In a discussion, people of opposite views are difficult to convince. Facts given on these . . . broadcasts are so pertinent and convincing.

LULA SCHAFER
3501 Coolidge Ave.
Baltimore 29, Md.

... Your forum on "The United Nations" [see "UN Charter," page 15] . . . was very enlightening. . . I am always so glad to get your broadcasts and think you are doing a wonderful work.

MYRTLE McCRARY
1101 Maple St., Shenandoah, Iowa

I wish to congratulate the Facts Forum for its impartial radio programs. You are playing the role of Paul Revere in arousing the American people from their mental lethargy and indifference as to their duties of citizenship. The American people today are taking their liberty too much for granted.

EDWARD M. NOBLE
273 Shadywood, Rochester, Mich.

We enjoy your broadcasts immensely and have written our local radio station to "keep up the good work." *Facts Forum News* is the most educational and informative magazine published, a "must" in our family. Please renew our subscription.

MR. AND MRS. CHARLES E. JOHNSON
Taunton St., R.F.D. 3, Box 353
Middleboro, Mass.

I am becoming more interested in your magazine and other services every day. Thank you very much for using two quotations I submitted and especially for the two gift subscriptions to *Facts Forum News*. . . I hope that *Facts Forum News* can continue the high level of quality and diversity that has been exhibited in the early issues.

PAUL W. BLACK
2714 Crawford Ave., Parsons, Kans.

We have received the three films that you mailed to us. We will take good care of them, and I promise you they will be widely used throughout Mississippi.

If we can work with you in your information program in any way, please do not hesitate to call on us.

ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Secretary
Citizens' Councils of Mississippi
Winona, Miss.

MICHIGAN

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

MINNESOTA

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

MISSISSIPPI

Aberdeen	WMPA*	1240	Sun	5:30 p
	WMPA*	1240	To be announced	
Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMI*	570	To be announced	
Biloxi-Gulfport	WLOX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Brookhaven	WJMB†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Canton	WDOB*	1370	Sat	11:30 a
	WDOB*	1370	Sun	8:00 p
Clarksdale	WROX*			
	WROX*			
Columbus	WCBI*			
	WCBI*			
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Greenville	WGVN*			
	WGVN*			
Greenwood	WGRM*			
	WGRM*			
Hattiesburg	WFOR*	1400	Tues	7:15 p
Indianola	WMLA*			
	WMLA*			
Jackson	WRBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
	WJTV-TV*	12	Tues	6:00 p
	WLBT-TV*			
	WLBT-TV*			
McComb	WAPF*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPF*	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO*	1230	Fri	6:30 p
Tupelo	WELO*			
	WELO*			
West Point	WROB*	1450	Tues	7:00 p
	WROB*	1450	Thurs	7:00 p
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

MISSOURI

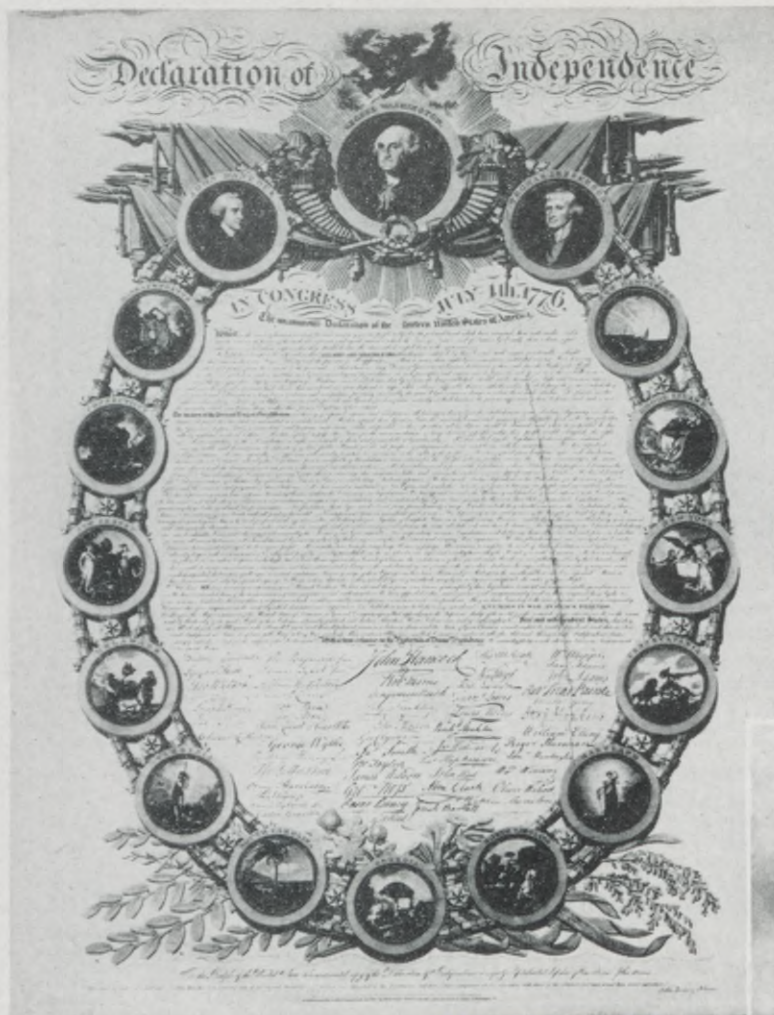
Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
Charleston	KCHR*		To be announced	
Clinton	KDKD*	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
Jefferson City	KLIK*	950	Sun	1:45 p
	KWOS†		Mon	8:30 p
Joplin	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSWM-TV*	12	Tues	
Kansas City	KMBC*	980	Sun	12:15 p
	KMBC-TV*	9	Fri	2:30 p
Kirksville	KIRX*	1450	Sat	6:15 p
Lebanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
	KNIM*	1580	Fri	3:45 p
Moberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
Nevada	KNCM*	1240	Sun	1:05 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Sun	6:30 p
St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV*	2	Sun	1:00 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 a
	KSGM*	980		
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Trenton	KTTN*	1600	Sun	5:30 p

MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	To be announced	
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLQ*	1230	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLQ*	1230	Sat	
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLF*	1370	To be announced	
	KXLF-TV*	6	Sun	9:45 p
	KXLF-TV*	6	Wed	7:00 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLK*	1400	To be announced	
Havre	KOJM†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat	9:00 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KXLJ*	1240	To be announced	
Lewiston	KXLO*	1230		
	KPRK†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
Miles City	KATL†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
Miles City	KATL*	1340	Sun	7:00 p
	KATL*			
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLL*	1450	To be announced	
	KGVO-TV*	13	Fri	9:30 p

(Continued on Page 34)

*Facts Forum or Answers For Americans †Reporters' Roundup



—United Press Photo



"America"

*O beautiful for
spacious skies,*



—Photo by David Strickler

For amber waves of grain;



—Photo by David Strickler

For purple mountain majesties



—Wide World Photo

in the Beautiful"



—Underwood & Underwood

Above the fruited plain!

*America! America!
God shed His grace on thee*



—Wide World Photo



—Underwood & Underwood

*And crown thy good
with brotherhood*



—Underwood & Underwood

From sea to shining sea!

A FACTS FORUM PICTORIAL

(Continued from Page 31)

MONTANA—Continued

Missoula	KGVO-TV*	13	Sun	9:30 p
			(Thurs	7:30 p
			as fill in)	
Shelby	KIYI†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Sidney	KGCX†	1480	Mon	7:30 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR*	To be announced		
Columbia	KJSK*			
Hastings	KHAS†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Lincoln	KLMS*	1480	Sun	6:15 p
McCook	KBRL†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG*	780	Sat	10:15 a
Omaha	KFAB*	1110	Sun	12:45 p
Scottsbluff	KNEB†	960	Mon	7:30 p

NEVADA

Reno	KZTV-TV*	8	To be announced	
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NEW HAMPSHIRE

Manchester	WMUR-TV*	9	To be announced	
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NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
	WLDB*		Sun	
Millville	WMLV*			
Pleasantville	WOND*	1400		
	WOND*			
South Orange	WSOU-FM*	208		
South Orange	WSOU-FM*	208		

NEW MEXICO

Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
Hobbs	KWEW†	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Portales	KENM*	1450	Wed	7:15 p
	KENM*	1450	Fri	6:30 p
Roswell	KWSN-TV*	8	Sun	2:30 p

NEW YORK

Albany	WPTR†	1540	Mon	9:30 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490		
Auburn	WMOB†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Wed	10:15 a
Buffalo	WXXA*	1080	Sun	9:30 a
Elmira	WTVF-TV*	24	Sun	6:30 p
Kingston	WKNY-TV*	66	Fri	7:30 p
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WICY*	1490	Mon	7:15 p
	WICY*	1490	Tues	7:15 p
New York	WOR*	710	Sat	6:15 p
	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p
	WPIX-TV*		Sun	12:00 p
North Albany	WROW-TV*	41	Thurs	7:30 p
	WROW-TV*	41	Fri	9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLG*	1490	Wed	7:00 p
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheboro	WGWR*	1260	Tues	6:45 p
Asheville	WWNC*	570	Sat	6:30 p
	WLOS-TV*	13		
	WLOS-TV*	13		
Belmont	WCGC*	1270		
	WCGC*	1270		
Brevard	WPNF*			
	WPNF*			
Burlington	WBBB*	920	Sun	1:00 p
Charlotte	WBT*	1110	Sun	5:30 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410	Wed	10:00 a
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Forrest City	WBBO*	780		
	WBBO*	780	Sun	5:30 p
Gastonia	WLTC*	1370	Sun	12:45 p
Greensboro	WBIG*	1470	Sun	12:30 p
Henderson	WHNC†	890	Mon	9:30 p
Hendersonville	WHKP*	1450	Tues	8:00 p
Hickory	WHKY*	1290	Tues	7:30 p
	WIRC*	630		
High Point	WNOS*	1590	Sun	3:00 p
	WNOS*	1590	Sun	
Jacksonville	WJNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Kings Mountain	WKMT*	1220		
	WKMT*	1220		
Leaksville	WLOE†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Lenoir	WJRI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Lexington	WBUY*	1450	Thurs	7:30 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV*	28	Mon	10:00 p
	WPTF*	680	Sun	1:15 p
	WRAL†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Roxboro	WRXO*	1490		
Salisbury	WSAT*	1280	Wed	8:00 p
	WSTP†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Statesville	WSIC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Washington	WHED†	1340	Wed	9:30 p
Wilmington	WGNH†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WMFD-TV*	6	Sun	8:00 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV*	26	Sun	9:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA

Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX*	1230		
Fargo	WDAY-TV*	6	Sun	4:00 p
			alternating Sun	4:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Valley City	KOVG†	1490	Mon	8:30 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Your monthly poll is excellent. I believe your magazine should be studied by social science, civil government, and history classes in all schools from junior high up. It would cause students to think about our past history as well as our present troubles.

VERA L. PRAAST
Box 299, Anaconda, Mont.

Attached is my first letter to the Editor. . . Although I am past the Biblical three-score-and-ten, and no longer active as formerly, I still keep up interest in current trends, and find that *Facts Forum News* gives all the important issues with complete clarity and conviction. . . I share my copy with a friend. . . We want to do something . . . at least we can express our position on the burning issues of the day—for what it may be worth. . .

MRS. L. L. SCOTT
218 West Sixth St., Apt. 2
Charlotte 6, N. C.

I must have the complete reprint of Dan Smoot's guest speaker from Australia concerning world conditions in Southeast Asia. [see "Coexistence," page 8]. It has taken us a long time up here in the northeastern section of the U.S. to appreciate the wealth of material that *Facts Forum* gives to the public in their weekly programs. . .

CARL E. CLIFFORD
Brookline, N. H.

. . . I have read many magazines on current issues in my life, and I have always had a keen interest in preserving our American constitutional form of representative government. Never have I seen the issues and the facts concerning those issues more clearly, honestly, and truthfully set forth than in *Facts Forum*. . .

REV. F. H. JOHNSON
649 Wilfred Ave., Dayton, Ohio

I have enjoyed many intellectual treats by virtue of listening to Dan Smoot, both on the radio and on television. It is unbelievable that we are able during this day and age to listen to a person who can express himself with such clarity based on facts.

ROBERT E. TAAFFE
233 South Sierra St.
Reno, Nevada

Your magazine is most informative—our household looks forward to receiving it each month. Thanks for helping keep America American.

MRS. R. L. MANNING
305 N. Eleventh St.
Ponca City, Okla.

. . . Please place the enclosed names on your poll mailing list, and also send them sample copies of *Facts Forum News*. They are interested. May God bless you and expand your activities widely and rapidly.

LORETTA A. OTTO
4517 Vista St.
Philadelphia 36, Pa.

OHIO

Ashtabula	WICA*	970	Sat	8:00 p
	WICA-TV*	15	Wed	8:00 p
Canton	WCMW*	1060	Sun	12:15 p
Cincinnati	WLW*	700	Sun	12:30 p
Cleveland	WHK†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	9:45 a
	WEOL*	930	Wed	7:30 p
Gallipolis	WJEH*	990		
Lima	WLCK-TV*	73	Tues	8:30 p
Hamilton	WMOH*	1450	Sun	12:30 p
Marietta	WMOA†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Newark	WCLT*	1430	Sun	6:30 p
Portsmouth	WNXT*	1260	Mon	8:15 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
Warren				
Youngstown	WFFF†	1440	Mon	9:30 p
Youngstown	WFMJ*	1390	Sat	6:45 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV*	50	Wed	7:00 p
			alternat'g Thurs	9:30 p
	WHIZ-TV*	50	Mon	7:00 p

OKLAHOMA

Altus	KWHW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL*	1580	Wed	10:30 a
Cushing	KWHF*	1600	Sun	12:45 p
Duncan	KRHD†	1350	Mon	8:30 p
Elk City	KASA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Enid	KCRC*	1390	Sun	10:15 p
Lawton	KSWO-TV*	7	Thurs	7:30 p
Oklahoma City	KOMA*	1520	Sat	5:45 p
	KTVQ-TV*	25	Sun	9:30 p
Okmulgee	KHBG†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Ponca City	WBBZ†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Poteau	KLCO*	1280		
	KLCO*	1280		
Shawnee	KGFF†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Tulsa	KTUL*	1430	Tues	9:45 p
	KVOO*	1170	Thurs	9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p

OREGON

Hillsboro	KRTV*	1360	Sun	1:00 p
Lebanon	KGAL*	930	Sun	7:30 p
McMinnville	KMCM*	1260	Sun	7:45 p
	KMCM*	1260	Wed	8:45 p
Portland	KXL*	750	Sat	6:00 p

PENNSYLVANIA

Bradford	WESB†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	1050	Sun	12:45 p
	WBUT-FM*	97.7	Sun	12:45 p
	WBUT*	1050	Sun	4:30 p
Carbondale	WCDL*	1230	Thurs	6:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960	Sat	8:15 a
Coudersport	WFRM*	600	Sat	5:30 p
	WFRM*	600	Sun	1:30 p
Easton	WGLV-TV*	57	Sun	7:30 p
	WEST*	1400	Tues	10:15 p
Gettysburg	WGET*	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV*	56	Tues	10:30 p
	WARD-TV*	56	Sun	3:00 p
Lock Haven	WBPP†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
New Castle	WKST†	1280	Mon	9:30 p
	WKST-TV*	45	Wed	8:30 p
Oil City	WKRZ†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Philadelphia	KYW*	1060	Sun	6:15 p
Pittsburgh	KDKA*	1020	Sun	10:15 p
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Reading	WEEU-TV*	33	Tues	9:30 p
Seranton	WARM-TV*	16	Thurs	10:00 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
St. Marys	WKBI*	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	WKBI*	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wellsboro	WNBT*	To be announced		
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	1:00 p
	WLYC*	1050	Sun	5:00 p
York	WNOW*	1250	Sun	5:30 p
	WNOW-TV*	49	Fri	8:30 p
	WNOW-TV*	49	Sun	7:00 p

PHILIPPINES

Manila	DZAQ-TV*	3	Sat	8:00 p
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PUERTO RICO

Mayaguez	WTIL*	1300		
San Juan	WHOA*	1400	Tues	8:00 p

SOUTH CAROLINA

Aiken	WAKN*	990	Sat	1:00 p
Barnwell	WBAW*	740	Sat	6:00 p
Camden	WACA*	1590	Sun	2:00 p
Cheraw	WCRE*	1420	Sat	12:30 p
Columbia	WCOS-TV*	25	Sun	2:30 p
	WCOS-TV*	25	Sat	3:00 p
	WIS*	560	Sun	1:15 p
Conway	WLAT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Florence	WJMX*	970	Thurs	8:30 p
	WOLS*	1230	Sun	9:15 p
Georgetown	WGTN†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenville	WFBC*	1330	Wed	10:15 p
	WGVN-TV*	23	Tues	6:30 p
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280		
	WJAY*	1280		
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	7:00 p
Rock Hill	WTYC*	1150	Sat	6:00 p
Spartanburg	WSPA*	950	Sun	2:00 p
Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Union	WBCU*	1460	Fri	7:15 p
Walterboro	WALD*	1490	Thurs	7:15 p
	WALD*	1490	Sun	12:15 p

(Continued on Page 56)

*Facts Forum or Answers For Americans †Reporters' Roundup

Do You Approve of Atlantic Union?

FEDERAL UNION, INC. was incorporated in 1940 as a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nonsectarian membership association. Its purpose was to promote educational activities to bring about a federal union of the Atlantic countries.

A chief purpose of the Atlantic Union Committee, incorporated in 1949 to supplement the work of Federal Union, is to obtain a joint resolution of Congress, calling for a convention of delegates from Atlantic democracies to explore the possibility of their forming an Atlantic Union.

In 1950 a resolution, supported by a fourth of the members of both houses of Congress, was introduced by Senator Estes Kefauver. This resolution called for the United States to invite the NATO countries to name delegates to meet in a federal convention to explore the possibilities of forming a federal union, in furtherance of Article 2 of the NATO Charter. Senator Kefauver remains the principal sponsor of such a resolution—although Congress has not yet passed one.

In December, 1954, representatives of eight NATO nations, meeting in Ottawa, Canada, called for implementation of Article 2 of the NATO Charter to provide greater economic and political unity. The formation of an Atlantic Assembly was proposed, this assembly to be composed of members of the legislatures of the NATO members. Under this proposal, NATO is to take on the duties of coordinating the economic and political—as well as the military—activities of member nations.

A meeting of the Council of Ministers of NATO is scheduled at The Hague, in the Netherlands. At this meeting these proposals will be considered, and the United States government has now agreed to discuss them.

Facts Forum's question: "Should the United States join in a Federal Union with the Atlantic NATO countries?"

• • •

In the tradition of Facts Forum, let's consider the question from two opposite points of view, taking first the arguments of some who say YES.

• • •

The Atlantic Pact nations are often referred to as the Atlantic Community. This is the group of fourteen nations belonging to NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization: Belgium, United Kingdom, Iceland, France, the Nether-

lands, Luxembourg, Italy, Turkey, Greece, Canada, Norway, Denmark, Portugal, and the United States.

These nations are already bound together in the common purpose of resisting tyranny and defending democracy in the world. They are already bound together economically and militarily in the sense that the fate of all depends on the fate of each. Yet they are not united politically.

Each nation has its own foreign policy, its own currency, its own regulations of trade and immigration. The result of this has been division, some mutual antagonism, and dangerous indecision.

Necessity dictates that the democracies move beyond the Atlantic alliance to form a federation like the federation of the forty-eight American states, with enough power residing in the central federal authority to provide for the common safety.

The proven American federal system, which is democracy at its highest and most organized level, should be put on a trans-Atlantic basis.

The American people would be losing none of their sovereignty under such an arrangement. Our present government, of course, would surrender sovereignty to the greater federation, but this would not impair our freedoms since sovereignty resides in the people, not in the government. We would merely be changing the government under which we reside. We would still have representation in proportion to population. The American individual would be exercising his sovereignty through his elected representatives in an *Atlantic Union*, rather than a *national Congress*.

It would be wisest to begin the exploration of Atlantic Union with the original seven NATO sponsors: the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. The people of these countries have long experience in free, representative government. It would be a natural and comparatively easy step for them to form a Federal Union. The decisions could be made later as to inviting other NATO countries to join the Union. There are other nations who are not members of NATO, which might eventually be invited—such as West Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and Ireland. The term "Atlantic Union" does not imply the exclusion of any democracies outside the North Atlantic region. Such non-Atlantic democracies as Aus-

tralia and New Zealand might well be invited to join the Union.

The Union should be composed of those people who are experienced in free government, and this should include any non-Atlantic people who wish to be included and who meet Atlantic's standards of individual freedom and free government. Atlantic Union should not include countries which are dictatorships. In this respect Atlantic Union differs sharply with the proposals for world federalism.

The Constitution of Atlantic Union should include a Bill of Rights which would guarantee the citizens all the rights they enjoy in each and all member nations today. No one would lose any such rights. A frame of government would have to be provided—one which would secure the citizen's rights against aggression, dictatorship and anarchy. This frame of government would include a legislature elected by the people; an executive capable of enforcing Union law upon the citizens; and a judiciary empowered to adjudicate disputes between citizens and member states. Also needed would be a threefold division of powers. These should be defined. First, there would be the powers reserved to the people by the Bill of Rights; second, the powers retained by the member states; and third, the powers specifically delegated to the Union.

FREE MARKET FOR 400 MILLION

This proposed federal union of Atlantic Pact nations would provide not only the military strength to combat aggressive communism, but also the economic strength to raise the level of prosperity for all the people of the free world. The Atlantic Union would establish a free market for 400 million people. It would afford the only important market for all other countries. It would be their best buyer of raw materials and their sole source of supply for many manufactured goods.

The nations of the Atlantic Community share a common set of interests and needs. We do not have identical systems; but we *do* have a similar political tradition of representative government which grew out of the same Greek and Roman society lying at the root of Western civilization.

Since the end of World War II, these free nations have sought to achieve effective cooperation. Economically, we have employed American foreign aid. Militarily, we joined forces under NATO. But in spite of all our efforts

to realize economic and military integration, the Atlantic Community is without a government.

Can you imagine the hazards this nation would have faced if the thirteen colonies had refused to unite under the Constitution and had attempted to operate as independent sovereignties through friendly diplomacy? That is precisely what the Atlantic Pact nations are now attempting to do.

Witness the tremendous strain on our alliance with Great Britain, caused by the conflicting policies regarding Communist China. Witness the difficulties caused by France's fear of a remilitarized Germany. Such dangerous problems would be resolved by union—by the majority vote of the elected representatives in the Atlantic Assembly.

Atlantic Union would permit Germany to assume her proper role as a key industrial contributor to the needs of the free world—while eliminating any possibility that Germany might revert to a dictatorship or become an ally of Russia.

Atlantic Union would bring the Atlantic democracies extensive savings and a new and broader basis for prosperity and higher living standards. We are presently committed to, and are paying for, a joint defense effort which does not provide real protection, even while costing us billions of dollars. We are, in effect, maintaining fourteen different defense establishments, with all of the inevitable duplication and waste, lack of coordination, and inefficiency that goes with the maintenance of such a many-headed structure.

AMERICAN TAXPAYER DRAINED

The ever-increasing cost of maintaining this defense structure is draining the American taxpayer and creating an economic burden which American and Atlantic peoples cannot continue to bear forever.

Under Atlantic Union, the savings in defense costs, which now account for three-fourths of our taxes, could be measured in billions. At the same time, we would be building up a military defense system which would so strengthen the Atlantic democracies that no aggressor would dare to attack.

With a complete integration of the North Atlantic forces to include a unified design of weapons, standardization of equipment and ammunition, coordinated Navy, Air and Land Forces, and above all a consistent and unified foreign policy, the total expenditures could be reduced by one-third—and provide a better defense.

How long can we keep up this competition in armaments by going it alone, or with a loose alliance only, and not go bankrupt? We must depend upon the superior quality of our equipment, and our technological improvements. But we must also obtain all the advantages of a closer cooperation and integration

with those peoples who have practiced democracy for many years and who share with us the same sympathies and ideals.

An Atlantic Union, federating the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, would have adequate strategic bases throughout the world which could be used much more effectively than our present system of separate bases for each of our forces.

A comprehensive federal union of Atlantic democracies, with a common foreign policy, a common defense, a common currency, a common citizenship, and free movement of goods would be the surest, cheapest, and strongest way to stop war, halt Communist expansion, create prosperity, and extend freedom.

U.S. WOULD PRACTICE—NOT JUST PREACH

If the United States would pass a resolution proving that we are ready to explore the possibilities of going beyond NATO and ECA, we would do much to quiet European fears of our return to isolationism. We would show that we are no longer just preaching federation to Europe, but that we are preparing to practice it with them. We would be offering to explore union openly and freely on the basis of the equality of our citizens with the citizens of small nations—just as the Founding Fathers established our own federation of large and small states.

Atlantic Union is opposed—as a matter of ritual—by the small remnant of isolationist forces in our country. They have not yet been realistic enough to concede that the United States has permanently discarded isolationism. The signing of the North Atlantic Treaty may be regarded in the future as a symbol of America's repudiation of its isolationist tradition and of its realization of the responsibilities attached to the role of leadership in the world.

But isolationists are not the only opponents of Atlantic Union.

Some partisans of world federation do not want to convert NATO into Atlantic Union, because they fear this would sidetrack their drive to convert the United Nations into a world federation.

Other World Federalists take a more realistic view of Atlantic Union.

While not willing to give up their ideal of a unified one-world, they realize that the world is not yet quite ready for world federation. They take the sensible view that Atlantic Union is a necessary intermediate step toward the beautiful one-world ideal.

And that indeed it is.

A comprehensive union of federal democracies would equalize the distribution of wealth—thus raising and leveling living standards—over a large area of the world. Atlantic Union would thus

eliminate many of the root causes of war.

A common defense and foreign policy for all the Western nations would remove international tensions and make peaceful coexistence with our Communist neighbors a reality instead of a hope.

Atlantic Union would reach these goals very quickly. And once these goals are reached, the final step into a world-wide federation of all nations would be relatively easy.

• • •

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

Here are views of some who DO NOT think the United States should join in a federal union with the Atlantic NATO countries.

• • •

Cecil Rhodes, wealthy British diamond merchant, dreamed of returning America to the British Empire and of extending British sovereignty over as much of the rest of the world as possible. To further these ends, he left his vast fortune for scholarships at Oxford University, to train promising leaders who might carry out his purpose. Consequently, many American Rhodes scholars have been in the forefront of the work to bring about a reunion of Great Britain and the United States, with the proposed union to include also Canada, France, and the Benelux countries.

The number of Rhodes scholars in the United States is small—numbering a few over a thousand. But their influence is vastly out of proportion to their numbers.

Rhodes scholars occupy strategic positions for influencing public opinion.

Clarence K. Streit, a Rhodes scholar, is president of Federal Union, Inc., and the editor of its magazine, *Freedom and Union*. Mr. Streit is also a member of the Board of Governors of Atlantic Union Committee.

Other notables who are members of the Atlantic Union Committee: G. W. Healy, Jr., editor of the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*; Mrs. Dorothy Schiff, publisher of the *New York Post*; Mrs. Mark Ethridge, wife of the publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and the *Times*; Grove Patterson, president of the *Toledo Blade*; Palmer Hoyt, publisher of the *Denver Post*; Gardner Cowles, president of the *Des Moines Register* and the *Tribune*; Clayton Fritchey, former editor of the *New Orleans Item*, and now editor of the *Democratic Digest*; William T. Evjue, publisher of the *Madison, Wisconsin, Capital Times*; and Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and owner of the *Houston Post*.

John Marshall Harlan, the new Justice of the Supreme Court, a Rhodes scholar, has been a member of the National Advisory Council of the Atlantic Union Committee since 1952.

Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower was a member of the National Council in 1952.

OFFICIALS HAIL AND GREET

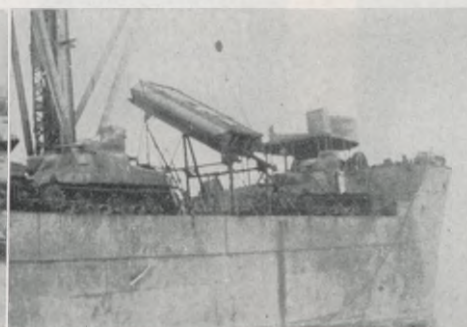
Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, in the fall of 1952, sent a congratulatory telegram to the Atlantic Union Congress meeting in Buffalo. Mr. Dulles praised the idea of Atlantic Union, but suggested that NATO be used as the basis for fashioning the contemplated international state.

In December, 1954, President Eisenhower sent greetings to an Atlantic Union meeting, stating that his interest was official as well as personal and that success was certainly worth maximum effort.

Obviously, there is great power and prestige behind the drive toward Atlantic Union. We cannot dismiss the proposition lightly.



At left, tanks and guns from the U.S. were lined up on flat cars along a wharf at Istanbul. The military equipment was part of American aid to Turkey intended to build up that country's defenses. At right, American tanks for Russians arrived at Murmansk under Lend-Lease.



—Wide World Photos

What would our membership in Atlantic Union do to American independence?

It would as the Atlantic Union people themselves admit, eliminate America's independence. That's the purpose of Atlantic Union.

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1950, the president of Atlantic Union Committee—former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts—admitted that in joining Atlantic Union, the United States government would have to surrender its rights and powers to coin money, to levy taxes and tariffs, to regulate immigration, to enact citizenship laws, to declare war, and to maintain standing armies.

These powers would be exercised by a parliament elected by the people of the United States, Great Britain, Canada, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg—plus other countries such as West Germany, Italy, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, which might be admitted in the future.

Great Britain is a Socialist country. France is about half Socialist, half Communist. Belgium is a Socialist country. The Netherlands is a Socialist country. Norway and Italy—should they be admitted—are Socialist countries. In short, in Atlantic Union the strong and cohesive political force would be the

Socialists. Hence, the government of Atlantic Union would, inevitably, be a Socialist government.

Atlantic Union would place the defense, foreign policy, and atomic energy program in the hands of Socialists who have a long record of affinity for deals, appeasement and sellouts to the Kremlin.

Atlantic Union would control our foreign trade and our currency—that is, our whole economy.

Atlantic Union would establish common citizenship and control all immigration. The Communists of all the NATO countries would have free access to America. And if there weren't enough Communists in the Atlantic Union countries to accomplish the complete destruction of a free America, more could be imported.

The people of the United States would be taxed by Atlantic Union, in accordance with laws drafted by Marxist internationalists. Is there any doubt that our taxes would be determined according to the Marxist formula, "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need"? Just how well would American taxpayers fare at the hands of the representatives of bankrupt Socialist countries of Europe? For years European Socialists have been financing their public doles with American foreign aid. They are desperately afraid that penny-pinching Americans might some day tire of keeping them up. If the Socialists of Europe could get us involved in a government with them, they could make us finance their folly and our own destruction.

Did not the British Socialist, John Strachey, say that the Socialist state eventually becomes the Communist state—"as every Socialist knows?"

Did not the British Socialist, George Bernard Shaw, say that socialism eventually means forced labor, with death as the penalty?

Did not the British Socialist, George Orwell, portray in his book, *1984*, exactly what socialism means in its ultimate destruction of human freedom and privacy of thought?

Did not Joseph Stalin call for the

establishment of the Socialist state as "the first stage of communism"? And do not official Communist directives look for the establishment of federations of Socialist states as a means of bringing on the final world union of Soviet Socialist Republics?

Many advocates of Atlantic Union claim that they are not Socialists and do not want a Socialist—or Communist—world.

How, then, can they blind themselves to the fact that the surrender of American sovereignty to an Atlantic Union government—or any other supergovernment—would mean the final triumph of socialism and tyranny in the world?

SOCIALIST SHADOW LENGTHENS

The black shadow of totalitarian slavery which is cast by the Kremlin and which is inching its way over the entire earth is a Socialist shadow. The Soviet government is a Socialist government.

Nowhere on earth is there any strong resistance to the cancer-like spread of socialism—except in America, where our massive strength rests on our free institutions, our strong tradition of individualism and personal freedom, and our still comparatively free economy.

Advocates of Atlantic Union claim that only our government would surrender sovereignty—that we the people would give up none. We would merely transfer our allegiance from the national government to an international government.

Representation in the proposed Atlantic Union would be based on population—which means that we Americans would be outnumbered approximately two to one. We would be bound by the decisions of Europeans whose fundamental philosophies of government are almost exactly opposite from ours.

The American Constitution is built on the basic principle of limited government. The American Bill of Rights, for example, does not ask or require government to do anything whatever for the people.

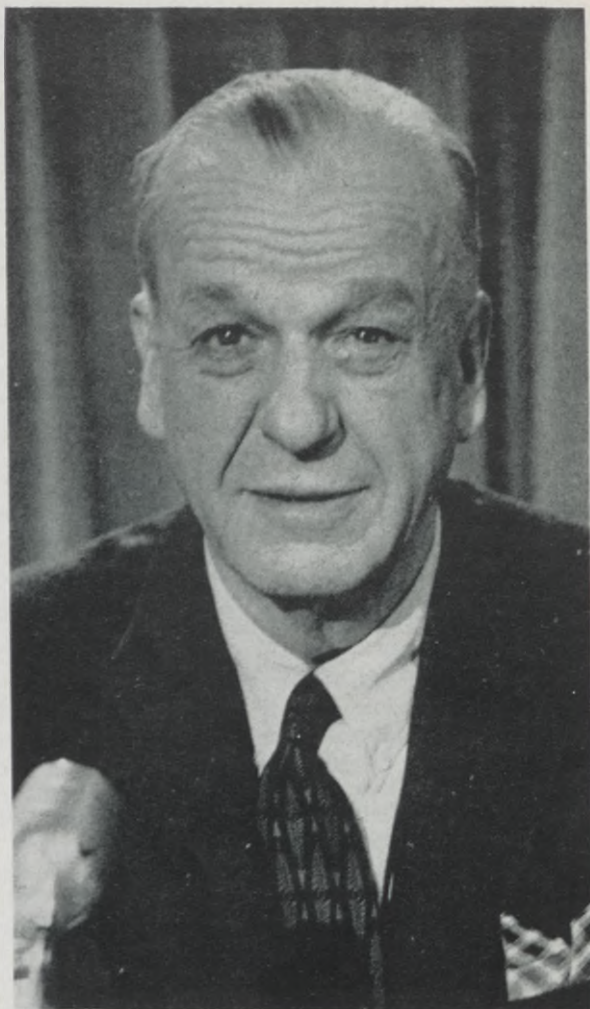
Our Bill of Rights is essentially negative, telling government what it *cannot* do, chaining the government down to prevent it from invading the God-given rights of men.

This concept of limited government is uniquely American. It exists in no other nation on earth, and it is the primary reason for the enormous growth and development of America.

LUCK—JUST PURE LUCK

New Deal Socialists, internationalists, and totalitarian liberals of the twentieth century have somehow fobbed off on the American people the idea that America's great prosperity resulted from some peculiar gift of nature. The typical internationalist point of view is that America has enjoyed great prosperity

(Continued on Page 60)



Is a balanced budget the yardstick by which we must measure our defense needs?

**ECONOMIC
STABILITY**

**ADEQUATE
DEFENSE**

MAJOR GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT, well-known military analyst, discusses this problem facing our national lawmakers today with members of the **ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS** panel, Professor Charles Hodges of New York University; Author William Buckley, Jr.; George Hamilton Combs, noted news commentator, and Hardy Burt, Moderator.

(BURT) President Eisenhower has recommended a further reduction in our armed forces. Would such a reduction weaken our national defenses?

(ELIOT) I could answer that a lot better if I knew when we were going to fight (and so could the President and the Congress), and if we're going to fight at all. The trouble with a free country which can't plan a war and say whether we're going to do this at a certain day is that it never knows when it's going to fight.

It has to prepare, as the President said, for the long pull. The question is always the balancing of the economy and the needs of the country in various other ways against the amount to be spent for defense. The reduction President Eisenhower has now recommended is actually a speed-up of a reduction which was already planned. That is, we're cutting back by the end of fiscal year 1956 to the level we planned for 1957.

(BURT) Would it be your conclusion that President Eisenhower is right or wrong in doing this?

(ELIOT) The President apparently does not agree with the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the subject. But the Joint Chiefs of Staff take only the military viewpoint. The President has to look at the whole thing.

I would think that if we get our

reserve program going so that we are able to substitute to a certain extent a fully-trained reserve—which will take a couple of years to get going and which is being asked for in legislation now being submitted to the Congress—that in the end we probably could dispense with a part of the regular forces that we now have and substitute trained reserves.

Indeed, every country which is in contact with a possible enemy has always had to depend on training practically the whole of its manpower for defense in one way or another. You never can keep all of these people on a full-time payroll. You can't subtract them from the labor force. You can't pay them if you could. The budget won't stand it. You have to train your citizens.

(COMBS) I don't see how a reduction of strength can possibly strengthen our armed forces. It would seem to me that this is an absurdity in itself. I'm questioning the wisdom of it at this time—the timeliness of it—and also the psychological effect of it. We are virtually saying to France and to Germany that we are reducing our forces, which, inferentially at least, means that they will have to increase theirs—or that we are expecting them to do the fighting which perhaps we shall not do as a result of the

dismantling of a part, at least, of our military establishment.

I'm by no means sure that the so-called balanced military force is any longer a valid concept in view of the development of atomic power. But lacking information as to the nature of the war we're going to fight—whether it is to be a limited war or one fought with conventional weapons—it seems to me highly imprudent at this time for us to reduce our forces even by one man with this other question so imponderable: the matter of creating a trained reserve.

(BUCKLEY) First of all, a knowledge of these things requires a technical knowledge of strategy in military warfare and the rest of it, which I don't have and consequently can't speak about it quite so apodictically as some people. But I do say that if behind this reduction in armed forces is a considered technical opinion that we simply don't need this number of people under arms in order to defend ourselves against the Soviet Union, then I would say all right, I will defer to the experts and go along.

On the other hand, I'm very much afraid that there is a relationship between this decision, as Mr. Combs has intimated, and sort of a general Polly-

(Continued on Page 41)

JOE FOUND A WAY

by Emma Stark



For the second consecutive year, Emma Stark has received The George Washington Honor Medal in the essay competition sponsored by Freedoms Foundation, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

Last September FACTS FORUM NEWS reprinted Emma's 1953 award-winning essay, "I Speak for Our Constitutional Republic," which outlined the principles upon which our American republic was founded.

Emma is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Loren D. Stark, 2320 Danville, Houston 6, Texas.

THE FOUR WALLS of the judge's chambers were paneled in deep red mahogany. The soft indirect light and the cool, clean air circulating in the room created an atmosphere of peaceful dignity. In spite of these pleasant surroundings, Joe Boshervick felt the old familiar tug in his throat as his eyes drifted over the windowless walls. Why did a closed room put him in this sudden, quiet panic? Oh, you remember, Joe, come on, now—think.

Yes, I remember, Joe thought. I was only trying to forget. Is there any crime in trying to forget—forget the ugly past? It was so horrible. Monstrous tyrants, created by the people themselves, grabbed and clawed at my native land until they had robbed my people of all self-respect and pride. Yes, thought Joe sadly, it was our own fault. We were afraid of responsibility and so we gave to the government those duties which we could and should have done for ourselves.

The lazy were eager for prideless handouts; the sturdy worker wanted job security; the housewife demanded stable prices. Everyone traded his individual freedom for what appeared to be a present good. Farmers accepted price supports—a complicated thing called "parity"—which turned out to be a centralized control of everything he did, such as the crops he could plant and the price he had to pay for everything he bought.

Small businessmen sought governmental protection from big businessmen and both got bureaucratic planning of their business. Schools and colleges asked for governmental grants of funds and received federal control, including government textbooks and the subjects to be taught. Industries sought subsidies and got government ownership of their plants. Individuals accepted governmental security for health, old age, and unemployment and found themselves shackled slaves to a monstrous tyrant of their own making.

The church had catered to the social and economic needs of its members while the spiritual life had withered and died. Before I was born the church as a spiritual force had ceased to be, but Dad told me all about Jesus. A group of friends used to gather in the basement of what once was a church but now was a pile of stone and broken stained glass. Our belief in Christ was the only thing that helped our family survive as long as it did. I wonder why God spared me?

"My good man, what can I do for you?" The judge's tender yet firm voice broke Joe's nightmarish thoughts, and he was glad. Joe was once more back in the paneled room with the judge. He looked at the judge whose eyes seemed to say, "Don't be afraid, you are in America now." They were friendly, but knowing—yes, knowing eyes. Joe thought of his own grave limitations—short of stature, ill-fitting clothes, and foreign born—but he was determined to do his best.

"Sir," Joe finally spoke, "I have come to take my oath for naturalization."

"Oh, yes," said the judge as he picked up a paper from his desk. "I assume you have followed the rules—the years of residence . . . ?"

"Yes . . . but . . ." Joe hesitated.

"Something's on your mind, Mr. Boshervick. What is it?"

"Sir, I came to America because in my country the people had lost their freedom. During the time I have been in America I have noticed that the symptoms which have preceded the downfall of every great nation are also present in the United States. I was born too late to save my own country, but America can yet be saved only if . . ."

"Only if what?" asked the judge with much interest and concern.

"If the American people were only awake to the forces

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- Get the Chairman of your club to write for the FF Sales Agency plan, which will enable your club to meet its expenses through commissions.
- Get your club or discussion group to raise FF Poll questions in their meetings.
- Write editors, columnists and commentators your informed opinions on problems facing us. Enter the published clippings of letters containing 150 or less words in the FF letter contest. Read rules of the FF contests on page 61 of this magazine.
- Write Letters to Editors about the ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS plan, so that the public will become aware of it and understand its value.
- Write Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas, for material which will assist you in getting business friends interested in ADDING PATRIOTISM TO THEIR ADS.
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- Submit three questions to enter in the September Poll Question Contest (72 spaces or less). Vote the August poll on page 65 of this issue.
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USE OTHER SIDE ALSO

that are destroying their pride, self-respect, and incentive to work. Just as in my country, before it was taken over completely, the people here are afraid of responsibility. They want the state to look after them. Don't they realize that the purpose of the government is to act as an umpire and not as a nursemaid? My people didn't realize this fact and look what happened to us!

"People should learn to benefit by the mistakes of others and then history would not repeat itself. Oh, how I pray that wonderful America will not follow the road which led to the downfall of my native land! It doesn't have to happen if the people will inform themselves, think before they act and understand issues before they advocate them.

"I read in an American journal that only a very small minority understand progressive education, yet a great majority apparently are in favor of it. The same thing goes for the United Nations. The people are swayed by lofty sounding slogans and phrases which make the United Nations appear to be a vehicle for peace. They do not realize that this organization would destroy the sovereignty of this nation. Most people have no knowledge concerning the ultimate purpose of UNESCO, The Genocide Treaty and The Covenant of Human Rights. When patriotic men have unveiled the infamous nature of these things they have been publicly abused. When decent men reveal traitors in our government it is they, and not the traitors, who are defamed. And the average citizen won't take the time to write his representatives in Congress to demand that such traitors be removed from the government and punished.

"In my native land our people conferred upon our government the authority to take from the individual the right to retain the fruits of his labors. This same frightful invasion of individual rights occurred in this country by the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment, but in my country it led to our destruction. America still has a chance to amend this law.

"I am amazed how material the people of this country have gotten. They are confused; they don't seem to know how to fight anything that they can't see. If the United States were threatened with an invasion by a foreign power, the people would know how to cope with it, but the American people don't realize that the only way to counteract this dreadful trend in their country is to inform themselves—understand the forces that are trying to ruin America!"

The judge sat in his chair with those quiet, knowing eyes fixed on Joe. He was nodding his head as he said, "What you have said is true—so true. If every individual knew what you know, then this onrush toward collectivism could be reversed." The judge stopped speaking and his eyes were sad, but he smiled. There was a long pause; the silence seemed interminable. He finally said with a tired voice, "And what are you going to do about it, Joe?"

When the naturalization board met immediately following the judges' talk with Joe, Joe was not present. Two years later Joe found himself once more in the room without windows, but this time there were butterflies in his stomach, no lump in his throat.

"Judge, I have accepted your words of wisdom. Before I could accept citizenship in these wonderful United States I had to follow your advice, although you may not remember the advice you gave me. I have spent all my evenings these past two years teaching in the adult education department of our public schools. Through my own experience in my native land I have awakened fifty American men and women. Because of me they now know the dangers which America faces. They have gone out and are awakening other Americans." He paused and then said, "Judge, I am now ready to become a citizen of the United States."

The judge rose and put his hand on Joe's shoulder. When he finally spoke his voice, rich with warm emotion, conveyed deep conviction. "You have made a great contribution toward the salvation of this nation. Joe, you have my blessings and—my grateful thanks."

Economic Stability—Adequate Defense?

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anna attitude toward the Soviet Union. Certainly one is justified in assuming this from the unbelievable statement of President Eisenhower and so many members of his entourage that we are nearer to peace than we ever have been before.

I think Adlai Stevenson very shrewdly said a year ago our foreign policy, in effect, is that we turn to the Soviet Union and say, "You commit one more outrage and we will reduce our defense budget by a billion dollars." This is in effect what our attitude has been, unfortunately. So, whereas I could be convinced that a reduction is all right if there are technical reasons for it—supposing we just don't need this number of people—I'm afraid that it is primarily a political decision based on unreality and that, in effect, we are closer to war or subjugation (whichever you prefer) than we have been at any time in the past.

(HODGES) I personally think that we must remember the arms problem is tied into our diplomatic problem. We don't have armies just to have armies or military strength. Therefore, we have to ask ourselves exactly what is the mission we seek for the present military establishment.

Now, whether it is sound or not, I believe we're in for a period of mild cold war and that if aggression comes, it cannot be reached by direct military action. I think it's going to be infiltration and subversion. I think that that's the real danger.

Also I think you have to operate within the framework of the American people and what they themselves want. I think that this is a bipartisan issue, and it's going to split the Democrats just as much as the Republicans when it comes down to voting the situation. Also a part of it is certainly due to the fact that Americans unhappily distrust the military. That's a tradition—

(ELIOT) There are one or two points that have been made that I could say a word about. In the first place, with regard to Mr. Combs' feeling about what the French and the Germans are going to say, "Oh, the Americans are reducing," when we're asking the French and the Germans to increase forces. Both have traditionally and always had to depend on exactly the kind of forces we now propose to create—a trained reserve. They understand the trained reserve. We are proposing actually to increase our potential military forces by a very considerable number of people.

(BURT) Doesn't this go indirectly into a matter of conscription, though, which Americans traditionally as individualists have been opposed to?

(ELIOT) Well, Americans have got to do some things that they haven't wanted to do. Traditionally, if you go back to Washington's first recommendations—his sentiment on a peace establishment—he called for exactly what President Eisenhower is calling for now. He called for it for the same reason—a fully trained militia—a trained regular force of citizen soldiers.

(BUCKLEY) I just wanted to comment that this points to the emptiness of this liberal slogan that you shouldn't fight totalitarianism with totalitarian methods. Conscription is totalitarian, of course, and we recognize that we have to use a certain number of totalitarian methods. It's unfortunate but we ought to recognize it.

(ELIOT) Is the defense of this republic totalitarian, then?

(BUCKLEY) To the extent that it has conscription. Don't you believe involuntary servitude is totalitarian?

(ELIOT) I don't believe involuntary defense of your country—being required to give a part of your time for the defense of your country—is totalitarian at all.

(BURT) I think we should have a little bit more illumination on our topic: the strength of the civilian economy to support the armed forces.

(ELIOT) When you can't get enough full-time people because you can't pay them on a full-time payroll without spending too much money and you can't subtract them from the labor force—then your only possible dependence, if you still need more trained defenders, is to have part-time soldiers, and that is a trained citizen force.

(HODGES) It is significant that the Soviets would like to have us armed to the teeth—no trained reserves, and bankrupting ourselves! That's the important part of this picture. They want to force a situation where the West will be, in my opinion, economically bankrupt.

(COMBS) It seems to me that military power has, as one of its essential components, economic power, and that postulates the economic soundness of the country. I'm certainly not advocating such a wild or extravagant program as would imperil the economic stability of our country, but I'm wondering whether or not in the drive for a balanced budget, for example, we are not being rather unrealistic. After all, dead men pay no dividends. And I'm not sure that a balanced budget is going to be an adequate defense against bombers.

Therefore, I don't accept the criterion

of, let us say, our Secretary of the Treasury—of the balanced budget as the yardstick by which we should measure our defensive forces at a time when I believe, along with Mr. Buckley, that we are in a graver peril than we have ever been since the dawn of our own national history, and that the economic or fiscal end of this must necessarily be secondary to the basic question of defense.

Now I agree also with Mr. Buckley that neither he nor I nor Professor Hodges is expert in this. It is a technical field but I'm wondering whether or not we shouldn't spend more money in defense against intercontinental bombers, against guided missiles, and in the enlargement and the augmenting of our airpower with a corresponding reduction in the armed forces.

(BURT) Major Eliot, will you give us your analysis of this question: Will push-button warfare eventually replace the foot soldier?

(ELIOT) Not within the period of time that we can plan for now, it won't. Mr. Combs has a point with regard to the defense against air attack. That is one of the reasons why the whole military budget has recently had to be overhauled. We have to go in now on a very large scale for continental air defense. A large command has been set up at Colorado Springs to coordinate the entire air defense of the country. We've got to spend a great deal more money on defending our home territory as a base of operation for whatever we might want to do elsewhere, and to defend our citizens and our production. That has to be done, and it's going to take a very much larger slice than we've had to spend on purely defensive measures before.

(COMBS) What about the foot soldier? Will he ever be obsolete? Is he not necessary for the occupation of subjugated countries?

(ELIOT) In the end you're going to have to get back to the point where the struggle is for a piece of ground, a piece of territory. Man is an earthbound creature. He can't stay in the air very long. He can't stay at sea indefinitely. He lives and has his hopes and his home and his future, his ambitions, on the surface of the earth.

So in the end you get back to fighting for territory by poor infantrymen down on the ground—dirty and lousy and miserable and unhappy and fighting their way forward through mud and against all kinds of obstacles. They are the boys who in the end are going to take an atom-scarred shell crater just the same as they took artillery positions—positions that had been prepared by conventional artillery, or just the same as they went forward without any artillery preparation before there was any.

(COMBS) I had a question I wanted

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Consult your bookstore for books reviewed here—or write to publishers listed.

Nineteen Eighty-Four

By George Orwell, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., 1949, 237 pp., \$3.75 (Signet reprint, 35c).

George Orwell, in one of those bursts of candor for which British Socialists have become famous, projects the socialist trends of today into the logically advanced barbarism of "1984." But there is no mistaking the fact that Orwell was writing of the essence of semantic and mental techniques which he saw already being practiced when he wrote the book. In fact, his original title was "1948"—subsequently changed upon the insistence of his publisher who felt that people would not accept the thesis

unless it was projected into the future. Actually, Orwell wrote a caricature of his own time—of its Socialist double talk and, in the language of 1984, "double-think."

1984 is depressing in its portrayal of physical brutality and depravity of atmosphere. One suspects that here Mr. Orwell cribbed a bit from the Soviet "land of victorious Socialism." In this respect, the book reads like a "horror" story, albeit hardly worse than the actual accounts of many who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain.

INGSOC IN OCEANIA

The despotic techniques of nazism and communism have simply been advanced and extended to control men's very thinking as well as their every action in Oceania, the scene of 1984. The system of government in this society is Ingsoc, or English socialism. The language gradually being imposed upon this society is called "Newspeak," the scheme being to eliminate "thought-crime" (deviation from the Party line) by removing from the language all words and meanings which enable or express independent thought. It is a broad and systematic plan which Orwell portrays in meticulous detail.

To the Ministry of Peace is assigned the job of maintaining the state of perpetual war which is the justification for the political and economic controls. The Ministry of Love provides the various forms of "corrective" torture and brainwashing. The Ministry of Truth furnishes the official propaganda and history. History is constantly being rewritten or perverted to maintain the infallibility of the party and its leader, Big Brother.

Hardly a book for a cheery evening by the fire. It is, nevertheless, one which should be known about. The real significance of the book lies in the contribution it has made to the language of political philosophy, for Orwell has coined new words to define the corruption by inversion of the language of freedom.

War is Peace. Freedom is Slavery. Ignorance is Strength. This is Newspeak. Fantastic though it may be in fiction, it fails to amuse in its contemporary forms of deliberate deception. The reader can compile his own dictionary.

More hair-raising details need not be listed here. For all the exposure of evil methods and despotic trends—and Orwell is perceptive—there is no solu-

tion offered or implied. The characters earn one's interest but little lasting sympathy. Apparently, Orwell concludes that these pernicious doctrines and practices can destroy the spirit of man and his intellectual integrity. If one is helpless against those influences, 1984 is unanswerable. However, if man had not been demonstrating his individual capacity for centuries, the conditions of 1984 might long ago have blighted the world.

George Orwell must have been shocked by the paths socialism followed in Germany and in Russia. But Orwell perhaps neglected to see freedom as a spiritual force rather than as the mere negative of material despotism. Even more startling than the book itself is its author who remained a Socialist.

—JOAN DEARMOND

Anthem

By Ayn Rand, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1953, 105 pp., \$3.00.

If man's freedom is maintained, all else follows. Lost with freedom is all that grows in freedom's soil. Lost, the spirit of adventure, of inspiration, of love and gentleness. Freedom lost can be regained; it will be remembered, cherished, struggled for.

But what is left for mankind when freedom is no longer even a concept or a memory in the thoughts of men—when its obliteration has been made complete?

This is man's extremity in *Anthem*. Ayn Rand, author of *The Fountainhead*, is uncompromising when individual freedom is the issue. Freedom, to her, is always the reality, awaiting, however, obscured, the inevitable rediscovery.

Freedom is the keynote of her anthem to individual man, illustrated by inversion in the completely collectivized society and reaffirmed by the escape of one who rediscovers the meaning of individualism.

Others have written satires on the evils of mass conformity, projecting despotic trends to consummation in "1984" and later. But *Anthem* is different—inspiring different. Most satires have presented the collectivized society in terms of its physically brutal aspects. These writers have done little more than parody twentieth century tyrannies. Ayn Rand portrays the mental state that lies beyond the tyranny, beyond slavery. Gone is the physical brutality, the purges, and the tortures—yet the Collective of *Anthem* is intellectually more repellent, even, than the cruelty and inhumanity that must have gone before. The stagnation has become voluntary, the transition to the peaceful Collective apparently complete. Lost is all sense of individual worth and identity.

In the Collective, where all activity

ECONOMIC STABILITY—ADEQUATE DEFENSE?

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to ask. My friend Major de Seversky insists that we're going about the whole thing in the wrong way. It was his idea that our bases are wrong, that the multiplicity of bases constitutes weaknesses rather than strength and that we should concentrate virtually our whole defensive effort as well as our aggressive effort on intercontinental aircraft which are potentially more destructive.

(ELIOT) Let me ask you a question. If the Soviet Union had bases for their air force in, let us say, Labrador, Newfoundland, Bermuda, all the West Indies islands, Mexico, Hawaii and the Aleutians, would you feel safer?

(COMBS) No, I would be scared to death, and I am anyway.

(ELIOT) Well, the Soviet Union is surrounded in just about that fashion by American and allied bases and I don't think they feel safer. Otherwise, they wouldn't have the question of bases in every single item of their military budget.

(COMBS) Of course, any base costing us a half-million dollars would be vulnerable to one atomic bomb, I take it. But our theory is that we'll be able to get our aircraft off the ground and away from those bases in time at least to administer a reprisal blow before they strike.

(ELIOT) The theory is also how many atomic bombs and how many aircraft to carry them do they have to attack these various bases, and how are they going to distribute them and what their target priority is and so on. And all of this is relative.

is prescribed by the State, man has ceased functioning as one and has become merely a tool for the group—presumably for the good of all. Having discarded recognition of the individual, except as an organic part, the society has lost all the advanced accomplishments of individuals. As all individual thought and action are forbidden, the fruits of individual inspiration are unknown.

When, in this dark age of mere manual labor in candlelight, one man—by his own initiative and intellectual curiosity—discovers electricity, he must flee from the retribution of the Collective. The reasons are several. He had been assigned to the life of a street-sweeper (because of his brilliance and independence of thought). And he had worked alone, in a society where all endeavor was collective and all truth determined by the votes of councils.

THE UNSPEAKABLE WORD

Flight to the Uncharted Forest—to “the corruption to be found in solitude”—but another follows him to freedom. The love story is as beautiful as it is simple. Discovered are remains of the lost civilization, and rediscovered is the Unspeakable Word, the one simple word which had been abolished from the language of the Collective, and whose obliteration had achieved all that the “Newspeak” of “1984” sought to achieve.

Even those who seek a compromise between freedom and security will be intrigued to consider Ayn Rand's idealism, for her style is as forceful as her message. In her usage of the English language she combines clarity of expression with prose of poetic grace. Here, indeed, is an anthem—an anthem, not in the idiom of music, but in the more difficult medium of words alone.

This is the most beautiful, the most inspiring novel this reviewer has ever read. It is an ethical and philosophical rather than a religious dedication to freedom and the individual.

For the unwholesome trends projected in books of this type Ayn Rand has a positive answer. Tyranny, or the apathetic ignorance that is slavery, can never be final. The uncompromising individualist cannot accept defeat. The basic premise of individualism precludes the amalgamation of identities. Freedom and security must coexist fully within the individual.

“Through all the darkness, through all the shame of which men are capable, the spirit of man will remain alive on this earth. It may sleep, but it will awaken. It may wear chains, but it will break through. And man will go on. Man, not men.”

—JOAN DEARMOND

Communist Guerrilla Warfare

By Brigadier C. Aubrey Dixon and Otto Heilbrunn, Frederick Praeger and Co., New York, N. Y., \$4.50.

Sound books on Soviet Russia and world communism are now pouring off the presses in a steady flow. This is most heartening in view of the fact that until a few years ago the birth of a real anti-Communist book amounted to a latter day miracle. Authoritative and readable books on communism and the Soviet Union are now available in sufficient number for both the serious student and the casual, general reader. For some odd reason, however, one most important aspect of communism has been almost completely overlooked—that of guerrilla warfare, which might be called Moscow's real secret weapon.

In 1949, the “Red Dean of Canterbury,” a notorious pro-Soviet apologist, released a press statement in England which probably very few Americans noted. He warned Americans “to forget the idea of a push button war” against Russia, etc. He went on:

If the West fights the East it will be the most appalling, long and bloody war the world has ever seen. If there is war we must think in terms of 200 million Russians, 100 million other East Europeans, and 200 to 300 millions of Chinese. Partisan armies will spring up all over Europe. Even Marshal Tito will be right there alongside Russia.

Partisan warfare contributed materially to the defeat of the German armies in Russia.

Our own commanders in Korea found the Red Dean's predictions of guerrilla bands behind our lines only too accurate. Yet very little appeared in the press in this country on guerrilla warfare in Korea. A few hints and fragments crept out between the lines in a few dispatches.

Mao Tse-tung finally conquered China after twenty-five years of various types and phases of partisan warfare against the Nationalist armies. Chinese Communists are generally considered superior to even the Russians in this form of warfare.

In two years of partisan warfare behind the German lines in Russia, Soviet guerrillas claimed to have killed thirty German generals, 6,336 officers, 1,500 airmen, and 300,000 soldiers and supporting German civilians. They wrecked 3,000 trains and destroyed 3,263 bridges. They also blew up or destroyed 1,191

tanks, 476 planes, 378 guns, 4,600 staff cars and other vehicles, and blew up 895 ammunition dumps. Even with the customary Communist padding of figures even a half or quarter of these figures still remains impressive. The Germans ruefully admitted their heavy losses and difficulties in countering this form of war in their official reports which fell into our hands at the end of the war.

A British Brigadier and Otto Heilbrunn, presumably a German, have just published a very important treatise on partisan warfare as gathered from official German records. *Communist Guerrilla Warfare* should be used as a textbook at West Point. It also should be compulsory reading for every American officer regardless of branch of service. It fills a definite want in our intellectual armory against world communism, and should be in every first-class library.

—K. BAARS LAG

The Turning of the Tides

By Paul W. Shafer and John Howland Snow, The Longhouse, Inc., Publishers, P. O. Box 1103, Grand Central Annex, New York 17, N. Y., 1953, 187 pp., clothbound, \$3.00; paperbound, \$2.00.

A hot potato in the educational controversy is *The Turning of the Tides*. Authors Shafer and Snow have done that mean old thing. They have sought to indict our educational social reconstructors out of their own mouths.

The book is a valuable—and highly interesting—compilation of strong documentation. It is not surprising that a copy usually turns up where a school fuss brews.

In Part I Mr. Snow outlines the early history of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, after 1921 known as the League for Industrial Democracy. This was the American counterpart of the British Fabian Society. In education, its objectives were pursued by the Progressive Education Association.

Part II is a speech made in the U.S. House of Representatives by Congressman Shafer. It outlines the Socialist movement in our nation's schools.

In Part III Mr. Snow presents a study of the Socialist direction of the UN and UNESCO educational program. There is abundant documentation, particularly from the UNESCO pamphlet series, “Towards World Understanding.”

Presented have been the Currents, Tides, and The Flood. Part IV is Mr. Snow's presentation of the hope for a return to emphasis upon individual freedom under limited constitutional government—and a recrudescence of that type of patriotism which holds these things to be fundamental to American freedom and independence.

An excellent index and an extensive bibliography is included.

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

CORRECTION

B. M. Miller, referred to as “an Alexandria businessman” in the last issue of *Facts Forum News*, is a businessman in Arlington, Va.

The Diminished Mind

By Mortimer Smith, Henry Regnery Company, 20 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Illinois, 1954, 150 pp., \$2.75.

Mortimer Smith, who six years ago annoyed some educational circles with his little book, *And Madly Teach*, has done it again. In this volume, subtitled "A Study of Planned Mediocrity in Our Public Schools," he offers a trenchant yet good-natured and temperate study of the plans of an educational hierarchy which would seek to subordinate educational values to an aim of reconstructing society along collectivist lines.

Mr. Smith has no quarrel with the many improvements in teaching techniques. But he does take sharp issue with the Social Reconstruction theory which regards the public school system as an instrument to be used for the construction of a new social order. He takes issue, also, with the Life Adjustment theory (supported by the U.S. Office of Education) which blithely assumes that 60 per cent of our young people are incapable of being educated in the traditional sense, or else will not need such education. This philosophy proposes that these "uneducables" be "adjusted" to the society in which they shall live, rather than be actually educated. One educator even goes so far as to propose it as "an excellent program for all American youth."

The Life Adjustment program bodes ill for the general basic literacy of public school graduates. One educator, in an article published in the *Bulletin* of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals, has stated that "it is just as illogical to assume that every boy must be able to read as it is that each one must be able to perform on the violin." A National Education Association subsidiary concedes that "reading to comprehend newspapers and magazines reasonably well" is a worthy aim. Well, that appears to be about enough literacy to satisfy the requirements of "Newspeak."

This age is seeing a great dialectical confusion of the English language—indeed, strangely reminiscent of "Newspeak" in George Orwell's novel. The tendency and ultimate of this distorting of words is the corruption of the language in which ideas were expressed in earlier years. Rendering the language of our religious, cultural, and political heritage unintelligible could accomplish the purposes of "Newspeak" even more surely than would physical destruction of the literature itself. Parents who have children in schools geared to the Life Adjustment theory, and who wish these young people to be able to read well the classical English of the nineteenth and earlier centuries, may find it advisable to undertake this education at home.

Quoted is the minimum blueprint for

a Federal Education Authority, offered by Theodore Brameld, professor of educational philosophy at New York University. Mr. Smith does not mention that Professor Brameld has distinguished himself by joining a number of Communist fronts and by acting as a sponsor of the Communist Jefferson School of Social Science (Buden: *The Techniques of Communism*). Professor Brameld wants:

"An educational system (a) supported heavily by federal taxation, supplemented by local resources, and controlled by the service state; (b) offering completely free universal education from the nursery school through the university and adult levels; (c) gearing curricula, teaching, guidance, and administration to the purposes of the economy of abundance, service state, scientific society, and esthetic order; (d) bringing newspapers, radio chains, and other instruments of public enlightenment into direct cooperation with education under similar controls." (Brameld: *Patterns of Educational Philosophy*, World Book Co., Yonkers, N. Y., p. 662.) [Emphasis added.]

BLUEPRINT FOR BRAINWASHING

This passage occurs in a leading textbook—one used for the training of teachers. The blueprint reads like one for a completely collectivized and "brainwashed" society. "Service state" and "scientific society" are dialectical expressions which have a clearly defined meaning and usage.

We might recall that the aim of using the schools for "social reconstruction" toward a Marxist society was clearly stated in the 1933 "Call to the Teachers of the Nation," issued by the Progressive Education Association:

"If the teachers are to play a positive and creative role in building a better social order they will have to emancipate themselves completely from the domination of the business interests of the nation... recognize the corporate and inter-dependent character of the contemporary order and transfer the democratic tradition from individualistic to collectivist economic foundations.... This would involve... the wide adoption of the principle of social and economic planning.... First of all if the profession is to be a factor in the process of social reconstruction, its members must prepare to struggle cooperatively and valiantly for their rights and ideas.... They must uphold the ancient doctrine of academic freedom.... The progressive-minded teachers of the country must unite in a powerful organization, militantly devoted to the building of a better social order.... In the defense of its members against the ignorance of the masses and the malevolence of the privileged such an organization would have

to be equipped with the material resources, the legal talent, and the trained intelligence necessary to wage successful warfare in the press, the courts, and the legislative chambers of the nation. To serve the teaching profession of the country in this way should be one of the major purposes of the Progressive Education Association."

Mortimer Smith's corrective for "1984" educational practices is simply stated: "American public school education will only throw off the incubus of these two false philosophies by restoring the centrality of the individual in education. We must adopt again the idea that the purpose of education is the improvement of the individual and when we achieve this we can be assured that the quality of the group will rise and society will be sounder."

SURVEYS UNWHOLESOME SITUATION

The Diminished Mind presents a searching study of an unwholesome situation that has grown up and which would be more severe were it not for the decentralization of public education. Politically active groups are, however, able to exercise a considerable degree of national control. This is a book which should be read by every parent, teacher, Sunday School teacher, and individual who works with young people. The author's dry humor makes his presentation enjoyable as well as highly informative.

It is this reviewer's opinion that there must be no neglect of education in basic literacy sufficient to detect and reject premises and proposals leading to totalitarian systems. The rejection of a philosophy which would repudiate ultimate truths in favor of pragmatic testing, and the refusal to accept mediocrity, is essentially individual. Any individual, alerted to the ways and purposes of "Newspeak," has it within his capacity to insist upon and preserve a higher standard.

In his closing sentence Mr. Smith points to this requirement on the part of the individual: "Not until individual man rebels against mediocrity, spiritual illiteracy, and group subservience will our unique experiment of universal education become once again a bright hope and promise in American life."

The defense of freedom must rest upon its practice. Individual freedom can be maintained only by the individual. Its maintenance cannot be delegated to groups, organizations, leagues, or other corporate bodies, because it inheres in the individual. Liberty, with which all men are endowed by their Creator, depends upon acknowledgment of its source and upon adherence to the principles which undergird it. It is the concomitant of understanding of those moral absolutes which pragmatic philosophy denies.

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

Education or Indoctrination

By Mary L. Allen, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1955, 211 pp., \$4.00.

This book is a case study of one of the educational *cause celebres*—the Pasadena case. Mrs. Allen, a resident of Pasadena, writes an eyewitness account, bolstered by considerable subsequent research. For those whose knowledge of the Pasadena case is derived from newspaper and magazine accounts, Mrs. Allen's book may open up a new and larger vista.

The greatest value of *Education or Indoctrination* lies in its usefulness to parents and citizens who are faced with social reconstruction operations in their local schools. They will find here a clear portrayal, not only of the techniques used by Progressive Education agents, but of the nationally organized techniques employed to discredit and silence objectors. There is a saying that "forewarned is forearmed." "Dissident" parents would do well to know what to expect at the hands of organized educational reconstructors and their allies in the press. They would also do well to acquaint themselves with the pitfalls to be avoided.

Mrs. Allen devotes a sizeable chapter to the history of Progressive Education and its capture and utilization for the furtherance of the Marxian program. The whole thing would appear to have gone beyond the purposes envisaged by John Dewey, the "father" of Progressive Education—while still retaining the key points of Dewey's philosophy. These were listed by Albert Lynd in his *Quackery in the Public Schools* (Little, Brown and Co., 1953):

"There are no eternal truths. . . . There is no mind or 'soul' in the traditional sense. . . . There are no moral laws. . . . Democracy is a moral value. . . . Pragmatism justifies Progressive Education."

Although not a disciplined Marxist, John Dewey believed in using the schools to build a form of Socialist society. He was perpetually allied with the Marxist movement and was prominent in a number of Marxist organizations. Dewey was associated with an American spiritualist organization, Nuova Vita, which later merged with a similar British group of mystics to form the Fabian Society whose influence achieved the socialization of Britain. In 1921, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society reorganized under the name of the League for Industrial Democracy, patterned after the Fabian Society. The purpose of the L.I.D. was defined as "education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit"—the old, familiar, moth-eaten Marxist slogan. John Dewey, along with other prominent educators, was a member of the L.I.D., and once served as its vice-president.

The Progressive Education Association

allied itself with Socialist—and even Communist—organizations in its efforts to build a collectivist society through the schools. Generally, the deceptive and highly successful methods of the Fabian Society have been employed.

It appears that the Progressive Education Association reorganized in 1944 under the name of the American Education Fellowship. This is a standard maneuver when the goals of an organization become too generally known. But the American Education Fellowship published its policies on the back cover of the April 1950 issue of *Progressive Education*:

"The reconstruction of the economic system in the direction of greater justice and stability than at present; a system to be secured by whatever democratic planning and social controls developing experience shows to be necessary. . . .

"The establishment of a genuine world order, an order in which the National sovereignty is subordinate to world affairs . . . an order in which world citizenship assumes at least equal status with national citizenship.

"The advancement of these objectives requires educational leadership and experimentation in school administration, in curriculum change, in programs of community adult education, in joint efforts among professional organizations."

Thus, in a newer dialectic, we still have "education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit." The later version is encountered daily. It would appear to be a requisite approach to "coexistence" with communism. It would certainly be an approach.

ANOTHER LITTLE GIMMICK

One of Mrs. Allen's most enlightening chapters is the one she has entitled "Method and Channel for Indoctrination." In this chapter she describes her own experience with "group dynamics." We have all heard of "group process," "group" this, and "group" that—with the "group" always supreme, the apparently basic, irreducible element of society. Mrs. Allen shows clearly how this little gimmick works. The first thing this collectivist device gets rid of is that troublesome thing, the majority vote. Things are decided by "group consensus" instead. With the majority vote eliminated, the "consensus" is established by the manipulations of the elite, according to a predetermined plan of action. Dissenters are adroitly made to look ridiculous. This one chapter—showing what these people mean by "democracy"—is well worth the price of the book.

All in all, this book is a useful and interesting account. It is unlikely that it is the last we will hear of the Pasadena case. The human penchant for

Ex-Red Says Russia Fears U.S. Airpower

Fear of America's "long-range air force" prevents Russia from engaging in open warfare, Leon Volkov, ex-officer of the Soviet Air Force, opined via Facts Forum's ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS program.

The former Russian lieutenant colonel believes that peaceful coexistence will last only as long as the United States maintains air superiority.

"The Russians are afraid of starting anything big just because they are afraid to be destroyed," he said.

Volkov, who made his way to the United States after parachuting from a Russian plane, has become well known in his adopted country as a playwright and as Soviet affairs specialist for *Newsweek* magazine. In view of his intimate knowledge of Russian thinking, Volkov was asked if present Russian leaders subscribe to the premise stated by Lenin and reiterated by Stalin that the conflict between communism and capitalism must end in a death struggle.

"I believe," he replied, "that the present rulers believe in the same thing that Lenin believed; otherwise, they would change much more than they have changed since they succeeded. And I want to say that everybody in Russia (including me when I was there) has been brought up under a notion that we were to participate in that big fight with capitalism. I don't say that they succeed in convincing the Russians—otherwise you wouldn't see me here. But this is their goal, and they're concentrating everything around that goal."

One of the program highlights was the reiteration of a Soviet leader's definition of peace: "That situation which exists when the enemy has been conquered!"

However, the conflict is "not with the Russian brand of communism but with communism," Volkov contended. "If you begin to think you're fighting Russia—not communism—you involve yourself in such a war as the Germans were in during the last war."

"The Germans had a very good chance of winning the war if they had recognized that the people supported them against communism and against the Kremlin and against Stalin. They failed to recognize that, and this is why they lost the war," he asserted, "and I would hate to see this country—my new country which I love so much—make such a mistake as the Germans made."

trying to get in the last word will take care of that. Nevertheless, the title of Mrs. Allen's book—*Education or Indoctrination*—is a question often and properly posed.

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

Replies To "The Liberal Mind"

In the June 1955 issue of *Facts Forum News*, replies were invited to William F. Buckley, Jr.'s article, "The Liberal Mind." Many readers have responded to Mr. Buckley's challenging treatise. We present here two letters expressing views opposed to those of Mr. Buckley and a letter from *Reader's Digest* editor Eugene Lyons whose use of the phrase "totalitarian Liberal" was mentioned by Mr. Buckley.

Bulganin and Buckley— Both Conservatives?

I am glad that Mr. Buckley admits that what he writes in his article, "The Liberal Mind," is "fragmentary and inconclusive." That is stating the case against his arguments in an exceedingly mild fashion.

Apparently Mr. Buckley is of the opinion that conservatives are of such a nature that "the hatred they feel for anyone who disagrees with them" (to use some of his exact words) never "twists their minds and poisons their hearts." He states that "it is possible to maintain that such inconsistencies (the inconsistencies of a Liberal) . . . reflect not on the Liberal mind but on the Liberal temperament," but he very hurriedly casts the possibility aside as an improbability because Liberals are, for the most part, "icy men who think in refrigerated offices, where passion is not admitted."

Now, it may be that Conservatives sit in different type offices, but both Conservatives and Liberals are human and both, when they feel some important matter is at stake, sometimes yield to the temptation, icy office or not, to trim a bit of a corner off of "the whole truth" or to becloud the issue somewhat for the sake of their pet interest. Mr. Buckley himself may be doing that. It is pretty hard to believe that George Sokolsky always deals objectively with the evidence before him and never tells even "a little white lie," while Drew Pearson is (to use Mr. Buckley's words again) "a practiced liar."

Now, a Conservative, evidently, is one who wishes to conserve certain features of our way of life, certain landmarks, certain principles which men in previous generations considered good and useful. Every man is, in that sense, somewhat of a Conservative. A Liberal, if the term is supposed to refer to the opposite of a Conservative, is one who is willing to let go of certain attachments to the past when he feels that "letting go" will allow him to grasp hold of something better in the present and for the future. And, it follows that a Liberal is one who occasionally does feel that way. All of us obviously have

some of the Liberal tendency, too.

Mr. Buckley, being of a predominantly conservative turn of mind, finds it impossible to comprehend the Liberal mind. To him the life of Bulganin makes more sense than the life of Eisenhower. Why? Because Bulganin (though he would probably vigorously deny it) is a Conservative, as is Mr. Buckley. Both are indiscriminate lovers of certain aspects of the past out of which they and their minds developed. Mr. Buckley thinks the Liberal mind is "undisciplined," and many Liberal "minds" quite likely are. But, he does not recognize the disciplinary principle in the lives of a host of Liberals because his source of discipline is so different than theirs. His discipline emanates from authorities in that segment of the past which he considers sacred. Their discipline is a spiritual principle, applicable in every given situation and to every area of life. "Humanitarianism," "concern for the common good," is their discipline. That is their authority for their every policy and every act. They may make many mistakes; they may often apply the principle wrongly. Perhaps the current policies of leading Liberals in high places are not the best and wisest. Time will tell. But they go courageously forward with the welfare of the human race in their hearts. Tradition be hanged, if necessary. Authority be ignored, too, if need be.

If the Liberal has his blind spots and being human, he probably does, please let us admit that the Conservative may be occasionally wrong, too.

However, the most asinine assumption of all is that because a number of Liberals have been successfully duped by communism, liberalism is, per se, "pink" or "pro-Communist." The Communist propagandists are clever enough to shout out against the same social evils which disturb true Liberals. Thereby they worm into the fellowship of liberal groups and sometimes lead unwary, but thoroughly sincere, men out of true liberalism into Communist orthodoxy.

The Conservative is so wary and so obstinate and so devoid of spiritual principle while adhering to tradition that he throws the baby out with the bath. Because Communists, for selfish

purposes, speak of peace, any peace movement is categorically branded "pro-Communist." Because Communists cry out for racial integration, the NAACP is looked down upon as a stooge of communism. That is the foolish line or argument Conservatives are throwing at Americans every day.

"The perils of the Liberal mind" are nil in comparison to the perils of the Conservative mind.

—KENNETH A. HOLMES, Minister
Kansas City, Kansas

• • •

The Beam in Buckley's Eye?

I have just read an article entitled "The Liberal Mind" by William F. Buckley, Jr. . . . After reading the article, I am forced to conclude that if by your medium you are attempting to cater to erudite and serenely intellectual people, then Mr. Buckley is not your man. If you have other purposes, however, then, in that case, any old writer will do. Mr. Buckley accuses the Liberals of not being able to think straight or objectively, but all the while the beam is certainly in his eye.

He states that liberalism is fed by the waters of rationalism, positivism, Marxism, and utopianism. As if conservatism were not fed by the waters of rationalism and positivism. Mr. Buckley admits Senator McCarthy's lies and calumnies but condones them in his book which was co-authored by Bozell. Such pragmatic position and ideology, direct descendants of positivism, make Mr. Buckley a 100 per cent legitimate offspring of positivism. When does Mr. Buckley complain about the pragmatic nature of conservatism, to say nothing of conservatism's ideological affinity with Marxism with respect to production and materialism being the ideals of the workingman, or should be so. As a Conservative, Mr. Buckley undoubtedly desires a religious ideal, but his rhetorical pieces certainly make one wonder if Mr. Buckley has forgotten that good intentions pave the road to hell.

In his piece, "The Liberal Mind," he takes Mrs. Roosevelt to task on an insignificant matter—whether or not to shake hands with Vishinsky, Hitler, McCarthy, as if trivia decided a person's fundamental ethos. Then he and Mr. Burnham take her to task for saying in a book that Sudhir Ghosh's enthusiasm inspires one with confidence, then commenting that such statement is irrational. Both Mr. Buckley and Burnham may be reminded that there is nothing irrational or recondite about the statement. Enthusiasm always inspires confidence, particularly if one is susceptible to the enthusiasm. Messrs. Buckley and Burnham, aside from belaboring minuscule points for controversy, should realize that there is nothing mysterious about an elementary

psychological response such as confidence following upon enthusiasm.

The fact that not one conviction has resulted from McCarthy's activities is a valid objection to McCarthy's investigative racket, now fortunately a thing of the past. And McCarthy's so-called (by Buckley) reply of a logical nature does not answer the Liberals or prove in any wise their inability to think. Is it not reasonable to conclude that if McCarthy failed to secure a conviction it possibly was due to his incompetence? And if McCarthy is so successful, why should there be "successful Communists who throw you off the track"? And if there are persons about whose loyalty there is a reasonable doubt, who decides what a "reasonable doubt" is? McCarthy? Mr. Buckley's naivete prevents him from realizing that what the Liberals are driving at is not that we should let down our guard as far as subversion is concerned but that we should conduct such investigations in a calm, level-headed, bipartisan fashion without the aspects of a Ringling-Barnum & Bailey circus characteristic of McCarthy, and without the fast and loose system of accusations, most of which, as Mr. Buckley himself states, were false. If need be, we might mention the professional witness fees received by many of McCarthy's witnesses including the turncoat Matusow who campaigned for McCarthy in 1952. Mr. Buckley might think it quite cynical for me to state that McCarthy has exploited the communism field as skillfully as a manufacturer of yoyos exploited yoyos during the days of the yoyo fad.

In another piece in your magazine Buckley states that the Liberals have grabbed power coarsely, which amounts to a gratuitous and insignificant generalization. Mr. Buckley, can you think of anyone else who has grabbed power "coarsely"? With public relations firms and the rest of the standard equipment? And with methods more befitting an election for dogcatcher?

To sum up: There is a case for conservatism and there is a case against liberalism, but evidently Messrs. Buckley and Burnham are incapable and unable to make such cases. We might also, and very appropriately, turn around the phraseology in the penultimate paragraph of page 55 of the same issue to read: "When Buckley thinks, he tends to think illogically. He tends, moreover, to be inconsistent, and to ignore any evidence that fails to harmonize with the verdict he proposes at all cost to support." Mr. Buckley's rhetorical "showboating" may impress some of your readers, but you may rest assured that those who have not declared intellectual bankruptcy will not be impressed in the least.

—JAMES E. HERRON, *Businessman*
Dallas, Texas

An Irrefutable Intellectual Treat?

The essay on "The Liberal Mind" by William F. Buckley, Jr., in your June issue is an intellectual treat—closely reasoned, beautifully written, irrefutable. For the very reasons he sets forth, it could have no real effect on the misnamed Liberals, were any of them to read it. They are by this time, alas, impervious to logic. But it is well that the rest of us should have a clear understanding of the mental and moral confusions of the breed.

I should like to contribute an episode to Mr. Buckley's documentation. It seems to me pertinent because it grew out of the J. B. Matthews affair, which Mr. Buckley dealt with, and involves Joseph Alsop, whom he cited at one point as an example of Liberal behavior.

The correspondence I proceed to sum up strikingly reveals not only Mr. Alsop's inability to think clearly where his emotions are engaged but, more serious, his cavalier attitude toward truth. His journalistic ethics appear shabby and cynical to an extraordinary degree, but his typically Liberal self-righteousness is so overwhelming that he does not hesitate to confess to a disdain for facts which, in anyone else, he would himself, I feel sure, recognize as immoral.

Back in July, 1953, when the Matthews story was on the front pages, a column by Joseph Alsop moved me to write a letter to the New York *Herald-Tribune*. I began by pointing out that "the kind of people and publications which howl in protest when an alleged Communist is 'smeared' not only have failed to rally to Dr. Matthews but have joined in know-nothing attacks on him." Then I came to "a shocking example of this gang-up":

I refer to the amazing statement by Joseph Alsop that "Mr. Matthews charged that 7,000 Protestant clergymen were secret agents of Moscow." This is misrepresentation so reckless, so unfair, so remote from what Dr. Matthews did charge that there is no polite word to describe it. Let Mr. Alsop, in deference to his conscience, point out where and when Dr. Matthews accused 7,000 clergymen of being "secret agents." The figure referred to Communists, fellow travelers, dupes, and secret agents—which is certainly a horse of another color. In the nature of the case only a few could have served secretly; the Matthews article, page after page, shows that far from acting secretly the clergymen in question gave their names and their energies to Kremlin causes openly. I submit that nothing in Dr. Matthews' article is as morally reprehensible as this wild falsification.

The letter, of course, was not published. The *Herald-Tribune* until recently found itself chronically short of space

where certain viewpoints were concerned. But Mrs. Helen Reid, then the publisher, advised me that she had forwarded my communication to Mr. Alsop. Since I was interested in pinpointing the columnist's misstatement *publicly*, her gambit, turning it into a private correspondence, was not exactly cricket. But the results were interesting, if not useful.

For in a few days I received an answer from Mr. Alsop. An incredible answer, coming from a journalist. The gist of it was in this paragraph:

The point you make is a distinction without a difference. I do not feel obliged to quote a man of the character of J. B. Matthews in extenso. I think what I wrote conveyed the exact sense that he intended to convey.

Mr. Alsop, believe it or not, not only stood pat on his palpable falsehood but he took the position that where anyone whose character he happened to disapprove was involved, he reserved the right to dispense with accuracy! I had not argued that he should quote Dr. Matthews "in extenso," but only that he was under a simple human and professional obligation not to misquote him, as he had so obviously done. Dr. Matthews, he admits in effect, did not say there were 7,000 clerical secret agents but it was, in Mr. Alsop's superior judgment, what he "intended to convey."

Nobody who read the Matthews article that touched off the fracas, or his other writings on the same subject, could agree with the Alsop judgment. Alsop, however, has a God-given right to be wrong. An honest procedure, therefore, would have been to say: Dr. Matthews does not write that the 7,000 clergymen were secret agents; in fact, he indicates that few if any of them operated secretly; but he can't fool an Alsop—I know that he wanted to convey the idea that they were all subterranean spies. That, at least, would have made honest nonsense. Instead of which he short-circuited the argument with a forthright assertion that Matthews had "charged that 7,000 Protestant clergymen were secret agents of Moscow."

Because my letter had been addressed to the newspaper, not to Mr. Alsop, I bypassed the gentleman and wrote once more to Mrs. Reid. Mr. Alsop's confession that he considers himself relieved of the need to write fairly and accurately about those whom he dislikes, I said, simplifies matters a lot. Let the columnist provide a guide-list of persons whose words he considers himself privileged to twist out of shape. If Mrs. Reid and his other publishers made the list public, their readers would be forewarned and in a better position thenceforth to estimate the veracity of Alsop reports.

That seemed to me, and still does, an

(Continued on Page 50)

Americans stand aghast at today's rising wave of youthful crime, sadistic "thrill-killings" and distressing misdemeanors—and ask, "Who is to blame?"; "What can we do?"

Upsurge In Juvenile



Child guidance authority Bertram Beck, in a REPORTERS' ROUNDUP interview sets forth his views on all phases of the problem—from spanking to slums—in answer to questions of veteran reporters Jack Doherty of the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS and Ken A. Gilmore of Newspaper Enterprise Association. Robert F. Hurleigh acted as Moderator.

(DOHERTY): Mr. Beck, do you believe that the nation's courts are sometimes soft-hearted and possibly soft-headed toward juvenile delinquents who come before them?

Well, I have heard a lot of people say that they are, but I have found that when you look into the individual instances, you find that it's really not the case. Now recently a judge on the criminal bench up there in New York City said that he had a youngster appear before him who had been before the Juvenile Court three times and nothing had happened, and he was up there in the Criminal Court on an adult charge.

JUVENILE COURTS LACK RESOURCES

When I looked into that one, I found that the youngster was an epileptic and that the Juvenile Court had been unable to find a place for him in the colony for epileptics in New York State. Often, rather than being soft-headed or soft-hearted, the real fact of the matter was that the community—that is, the taxpayers—haven't provided the Juvenile Court with the instruments to take the effective action they could take if they had the proper personnel and the proper resources to turn to.

(DOHERTY): Do you think the late Father Flanagan, who used to run Boys' Town out in Omaha, might have been right when he said there is no such thing as a bad boy?

I think he was right in a measure, that any youngster—certainly at the time of birth—has the potential to be a good boy, that he is not basically, inherently bad. But I think in the sense that most people use the word, certainly there are young hoodlums who cause an awful lot of damage and inflict an awful lot of harm and are awfully hard to reach; so in that sense I would not agree.

(DOHERTY): Well, the FBI backs you up in that. According to their latest figures from last year, 53.6 per cent of all auto thefts and 50.6 per cent of the crimes against property were committed by persons 17 years old or less. The FBI says there has been an abnormally high rate of juvenile misbehavior.

Now on that point of auto theft, there is something that any listener can do about that, and that is to stop leaving the keys in the car when he leaves the car parked on the curb or in his driveway. There is no answer to juvenile crime or

adult crime, but part of any answer is to try to avoid placing temptation in the path of the potential delinquent or criminal.

(HURLEIGH): But temptations are in front of all of us, sir.

Indeed they are, so that in order to arrive at some basic solution to this problem of delinquency, we have to make a two-pronged attack. On one hand we attempt to rear children who are less vulnerable to delinquency, and on the other hand we try to make our communities over so that there is less inducement to delinquency in them.

PUNISH PARENTS?

(GILMORE): Is one of the answers to this—as a lot of people have said—punishing the parents for the delinquency on the part of their children?

I think that depends entirely on the parents. I certainly don't subscribe to any theory that all parents whose children are delinquent should automatically be punished. There are instances in which children are delinquent in which I find it hard to see how the parent has had any direct relationship to the delinquency. There are, on the other hand, some parents who are wilfully negligent, and where that occurs—for instance, where a child commits property damage and the parent has been negligent—certainly the parent should be responsible for the acts of the child.

(DOHERTY): Do you believe that most of the juvenile delinquents come from underprivileged homes, broken homes?

Yes, I do believe that, although in the last four or five years we have had a growing number of delinquents in the suburbs and subdivisions and in the more favored neighborhoods. The statistical fact of the matter is that the hard core of our problem is where it always has been, and that is in the deteriorated areas of our cities, where we do find a great number of broken homes, destitution, poor housing, and kindred social evils.

(HURLEIGH): Would you say that we have more slum areas today than we had, say twenty years ago?

No, it is my impression that we probably have fewer slum areas.

(HURLEIGH): If we have reduced our slum areas, to

Delinquency

what do you attribute the upsurge in juvenile crime as reflected by FBI statistics?

To explain that, I think we have to go back to the nature of this problem and something that I said before—that is, that there are various degrees of vulnerability to delinquency among children, just as there are various degrees of vulnerability to physical disease. Now, what determines whether or not a child will be vulnerable? We have had pretty exhaustive studies of that question, and it has been fairly well determined that it is the early experience between the parents and the children—during the first six years. It's what they call the "under the roof" culture that makes the difference. Well, now, when the children leave their home and go into the community, whether or not they will become delinquent depends on what the community offers—the school system, the housing, the recreation, the church, the synagogue, and other neighborhood facilities.

LATCH-KEY CHILDREN

Now with that in mind, let's look at the period when the children who are now delinquent had those crucial experiences in the development of personality. These are usually children who were between the ages of one and six during World War II. They are children who through no fault of their parents were latch-key children because both parents worked, who did not have the father in the home, who suffered from the tensions and the high mobility, the moving from one place to another, that characterized life during World War II. So they are children who have a higher degree of vulnerability than do certain other generations. Hence, they react to the usual deprivations in our communities, the usual lacks, to a greater extent than did other generations. Hence, we have a higher rate of delinquency today.

(GILMORE): Could it be possible that this higher rate of delinquency today is due to the fact that our statistics today are better for determining delinquency?

No, I don't think so. When we use national statistics, we are usually using the statistics that are gathered by the Children's Bureau from Juvenile Courts that report to the Bureau. They refer only to those children who are actually brought before the court, not those children who are apprehended by the police and then handled in some other manner short of actual court appearance. The courts that reported the last ten or twelve years are the same courts using the same statistical methods. Hence, I find it doubtful that it is merely an improvement of statistics that gives rise to this problem.

(DOHERTY): Mr. Beck, do you believe that the use of alcohol and narcotics is a growing factor in the rise of juvenile delinquency?

I think that the use of alcohol is. With narcotics, most of the studies that have attempted to pinpoint that problem have found that among juveniles (that is, what are tech-



—Wide World Photo

Highway patrolmen captured these six Bakersfield, Calif., school-boys after a 90-mile-an-hour chase, during which at least ten shots were fired.

nically termed juveniles—in most states under 18 and some under 16) that there is not an extensive problem in the use of narcotics. I said that alcohol was, because one of the things we have found today is that youngsters seem to be growing up faster—not physically, but in the sense of indulging in experiences which usually were delayed until either very late adolescence or early manhood or womanhood—so that we have drinking as a problem in high schools today, whereas we didn't have it maybe ten or fifteen years ago, certainly not to the extent that we have it now.

(DOHERTY): Getting back to the six formative years you mentioned, do you believe in spanking?

Yes, I don't think that spanking should be ruled out by any manner or means. In fact, I think that the parents who attempt to always hold back their natural emotions when children are annoying (and certainly they can be annoying) may set up a worse situation than they would have if they just gave vent and gave a spanking and got it off their chest and got it off the kid's chest and went about their business.

(DOHERTY): Do you think spanking teaches the children to behave?

No, I doubt that it's the most effective way. Certainly it shows them that the consequences of doing something that mother or father thinks is not right are swift and sure and unpleasant. But I think that the basic training about how to behave comes through the child's identifying himself with his parents; and if they are people of character with the right kind of values, then the child develops as a person of character with the right kind of values.

SPANKING BREEDS HOSTILITY

(HURLEIGH): Do you feel that adult delinquency—in the sense that parents fail to chastise their children—is an important contributing factor in today's juvenile delinquency? As a Director of the Special Juvenile Delinquency Project for the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, do you know of any studies in that connection?

Let me tell you about a study that was done up at Harvard of 500 delinquents and 500 non-delinquents living in a deteriorated area, and they were trying to see why one group was delinquent and why the other wasn't. They found that roughly 70 per cent of the delinquents had experienced

two or three people merely for the thrill of it; they were all from very good homes in the Brooklyn section. I wonder why.

RICH CHILDREN ALSO VULNERABLE

Although I do believe—and I think it is a fact—that most of the juvenile crimes still come from the “blighted areas,” I also said that we had an increasing number from the suburban and favored areas. The causes of delinquency are not limited to poor people. A vulnerable child—to go back to that definition—can be raised in a home that has a washing machine, television, and everything else that you would want; this is due to deficiencies in parent-child relations. Likewise, a community can lack what it should have to keep children on the right line, even though it appears superficially to be very favored.

(GILMORE): How far should the federal government go in trying to combat juvenile delinquency?

The federal government's role at the present time is almost entirely one of giving consultation and advice to local communities and states that have problems such as: “How do we set up a juvenile court?”; “What kind of juvenile division should we have in our police system?” The federal government doesn't seek to actually develop programs for children in this particular field. This is the business of the states and localities. There are, of course, programs bearing on this problem by which federal funds go down to the states, such as the Child Welfare Act, and the National Mental Health Act that provides funds for child guidance clinics and the like.



—Wide World Photo
Boys in the reform school at Stringtown, Okla., find happiness and hope through the education and recreation program of the school superintendent, J. W. Wheeler, former football star.

SOLUTIONS FOR PROBLEM CHILDREN—(left) Highwood School at Baltimore, Md., provides wholesome activities and peaceful living for youngsters who do not adjust to normal school life and authority. At right are views of the George Junior Republic at Freeville, N.Y., haven for problem children for 60 years. Money paid for work performed (such as gathering hay for the dairy herd in top photo) is deposited in the bank (lower photo) which is run by the boys and girls. Money is minted and issued by the junior republic, a self-contained unit which has helped over 6,000 children through the years.

—Wide World Photos

quite severe corporal punishment from their parents; only 30 per cent of the non-delinquents had.

It seemed to indicate that the parents who over-used chastisement as a means of demonstrating what is wrong and what is right actually bred children whose idea of the world was one of hostility, that you had to fight to get along, and that physical aggression was the answer to any problem you met.

(DOHERTY): Speaking as a father of five, I am wondering if those delinquent children reacted as they did, not because the punishment was meted out for a crime, but because it followed no pattern—because sometimes it was just the parents expressing their own aggression against the world in general and taking it out on the kids?

That's exactly right. I didn't mean to infer that the only reason they were delinquent was because they were severely punished and actually, in elaborating that study, one of the crucial factors that they did determine was, just as you say, inconsistency of parents and the fact that the punishment arose, again as you have already said, not because of the child's needs but because of the parents' needs to get out of their own system their great anger and mixed-up feelings about the world they live in.

(DOHERTY): Mr. Beck, you said you believe most of the juvenile delinquency comes from “blighted areas,” but lately there seems to have been a rash of stories of not only moderately well-to-do, but actually rich children getting in trouble. In Washington, D. C., there was a group of youths from very well-to-do homes who were bombing places. Also, up in New York there was a ghastly crime by a group of young boys who killed

REPLIES TO “THE LIBERAL MIND”

(Continued from Page 47)

eminently sensible suggestion. But once more Mrs. Reid preferred to keep the matter private by relaying my proposal to Mr. Alsop. Instead of being duly grateful for an effective solution of his moral problem, Mr. Alsop became unreasonably mad.

He sent me a sputtering letter of hys-

terical abuse that would make a good laboratory piece for a psychologist. I was, among other things, a fool, a traitor, a lowlife. In short, he presented me with another sample of his edifying belief that he considered himself exempt from the ordinary journalistic obligation of truth-telling in dealing with people “of the character” of Matthews, Lyons and presumably Buckley.

The insult-packed letter had, from its writer's vantage point, the additional

virtue of evading the original issue. He not only assumed for himself the right to misrepresent a Matthews but the further right to refuse an explanation to traitors who had the ill grace to call the misrepresentation to his attention.

I submit that this exchange of letters-unimportant in itself, becomes significant in the context of Bill Buckley's analysis of the Liberal mind.

—EUGENE LYONS, Editor
Pleasantville, N. Y.

Dear Fellow Citizens:

Dear Editor:

To the Editor:

Attention of the Editor:

To Whom It May Concern:

Gentlemen:

Dear Sir:

Attention of the Editor:

The Truth You've Spoken

by Seven Anderton

UPON first learning of Facts Forum's effort to encourage citizens to write "Letters to the Editor," I was delighted. Here was a publication drumming up contributors and readers for its contemporaries—even competitors. Truly, I thought, this sincere effort to increase the volume of *vox populi* to the enlightenment and glory of the land is a good deed shining in a naughty world. I decided to give the project such help as I could.

My work leads me into the highways and byways over a wide Midwestern area—and occasionally beyond. I meet persons of all races and creeds in all walks of life. Other business concluded, I have asked each man or woman two questions:

First, *Do you read the letters to the editor in the publications to which you subscribe?*

Second, *Do you ever write letters to those columns?*

The answers were disturbing, enlightening, amusing, even astonishing. I will omit further pertinent adjectives, but the answers gave me pause. After pausing, I decided to dig deeper. This composition is the result of those excavations.

The sum of the majority of answers to the first question was: *I read them now and then; or, Not any more; or, Those letters are pap. It looks like only morons ever write one.*

To the second question I got: *I wrote one (or two) but I'll never write another.*

By asking why, I got: *They never printed it; or, My letter came out so changed and chopped up that it didn't say what I meant.*

Or this one, which at first I took with considerable salt: *The only thing they printed that I sent in was my name.*

I kept digging until these answers became monotonous.

Now I spent a quarter century as a member of the vaunted fourth estate. I was managing editor of one metropolitan daily newspaper and held down city, telegraph and state desks on scores of others—before becoming a free lance producer of fiction and newspaper features. I was loath to believe that newspapers had descended to what the answers to my questions indicated. I cogitated—painfully. I considered the

possibility that the letter writers I had questioned were not Chaucers or Huxleys. Neither am I, but I did spend many years in translating the ghastly product of school of journalism graduates into readability. So I thought, it may be possible that those who had complained to me were verbose, redundant, etc., and it had been necessary to edit their contributions. I did not convince myself very well, because many had produced for my benefit the carbons or copies of their letters, plus the published versions for comparisons.

(Also, I am aware that the fool killer has always been too busy to catch all the alleged editors by whom English composition is reckoned only in lines of type and column inches. I once sat in a copy desk slot on Lincoln's birthday when a make-up editor sent down a proof of the Gettysburg Address—with orders that the desk cut two lines out of it.)

Nevertheless, I had to be completely convinced. I sat down and began writing "Dear Editor, etc." Over a period of months, I wrote letters on matters of current public interest to dozens of papers from Denver to Chicago and from New Orleans to Minneapolis. I became convinced.

More than two-thirds of my letters were published. But of nearly two hundred such only two were embalmed in type exactly as written. Perhaps a dozen more were only slightly damaged by the editorial blue pencil. The rest were butchered, chopped, emasculated and distorted until, having read them, I truly understood Kipling's—"the truth you've spoken, twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools." I felt that a blue pencil had placed me high on the list of all-time morons.

I supply one example. Space will not allow more. This is neither the most nor the least horrible of those at hand, but it will suffice.

AS SUBMITTED:

Now Russia has given the Chinese Reds one hundred ships. Just a portion of what she borrowed from us and never returned. Inexpensive benevolence, what?

Nobody can accuse Uncle Sam of being a bully. When a neighbor grows belligerent he hands the foe a pair of brass knuckles and a blackjack and says, "Now I promise to keep one hand in my pocket and not double up the other fist. But if

you hit me I may shoot off an atom bomb—in Arizona."

Perhaps we can find solace in the old saw, "There is a special Providence which watches over fools." But we learn from the Bible that even Providence can grow disgusted.

Even if Uncle Sam has two heads and both of them two-faced, he must have long since run out of cheeks to turn. O gentle people! Read Jeremiah 6-11 and write to your congressmen.

AS PUBLISHED:

Uncle Sam Cheekless

Edgar, Neb.

Now Russia has given the Chinese Reds one hundred ships—just a few of those which she "borrowed" from us and never returned. Inexpensive benevolence, what?

Perhaps there is a special Providence which watches over fools, but we learn from the Bible that even the patience of Providence has been exhausted.

Even if Uncle Sam has two heads and both of them two-faced, he has surely run out of cheeks to turn.

Seven Anderton.

Is it any wonder that writers of letters to the editor grow discouraged—or rabid?

I cling fast to the opinion that there should be a medium for the true and uncensored opinions and ideas of all the people. But I am convinced it cannot be found in columns presided over by some eager blue pencil pilot whose first allegiance is to his pay check and the policies, business or political, of his publisher boss.

The voice of the people should be heard loudly and constantly. But when it comes gratis from the heart of a citizen, no matter by what motive compelled, and "goes in there" it should not "come out here" so badly garbled and twisted by editorial hanky-panky that it no longer conveys the idea, applause or criticism which its composer intended.

Editor's note: The author of the preceding article has more material ready on the same subject and is continuing his research. He has promised Facts Forum the further documented results of that research in future articles. He will appreciate any help from others who have encountered the problem—particularly in the form of letters published in mutilated form, together with copies of the letters as originally submitted. All communications must be signed and show the address of the sender. Mr. Anderton's address is P. O. Box 131, Edgar, Nebraska.

Part IV (Conclusion)

AFTER being told my wife and I would soon face Dr. Oppenheimer and his wife, forces went into action behind the scenes, and the planned hearings were called off.

Senators McCarran and Jenner stated last year that the evidence they had collected regarding Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was turned over to "government security agencies." That evidence, of course, included my testimony in executive hearings on May 8, 1951.

In June of 1951 the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities released its printed report with seventy-four pages devoted to the Oakland hearings where Sylvia and I had testified. This comprehensive report was carefully studied by people in all intelligence agencies and undoubtedly had an important influence on events to follow.

At one place (page 201) the California committee report said:

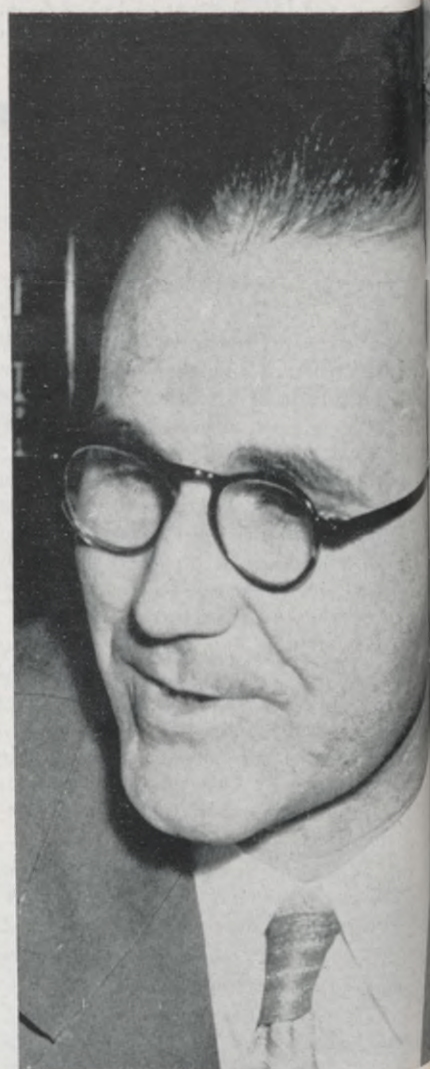
The committee realizes, of course, that descriptions of underground activities on the part of Communists sound very much like cloak-and-dagger hysteria to the average American layman who has no experience along these lines. The committee can only state in the utmost sincerity and with the hope that revelations in the field of espionage in this country will operate to make our people realize that such activities do go on in secrecy... that all of the material presented in this report can be completely and thoroughly documented by sworn testimony and duly authenticated documents in the committee's possession.

The next major development in the untold Oppenheimer story took place about one year later, in the spring of 1952. It was in connection with the indictment of Dr. Joseph W. Weinberg, the "Scientist X" of the House Committee reports. My wife and I had identified Dr. Weinberg as being present at the special section meeting in the summer of 1941, and as present at the Kenneth May housewarming party—held September 20 of that year according to documentation in possession of the government. At the housewarming, Steve Nelson, Dr. Weinberg, and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer had all been present and had talked with each other in my hearing. In May, 1949, Dr. Weinberg had denied this in sworn testimony before the House Committee, and he swore he never belonged to the Communist party or Young Communist League and had never met Steve Nelson in California. The House Committee recommended perjury prosecution of Dr. Weinberg, and for this purpose grand jury investigations were made in the spring of 1952.

Immediately before I went before the grand jury to testify, one of the government prosecutors remarked to me, "There is someone I want you to meet." I accompanied him to the office of Assistant U.S. Attorney William Hitts.

The Untold OPPENHEIMER Story

by PAUL CROUCH



—United Press Photo

Testifying in 1951 before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, Paul Crouch told the committee "that the United States has never had any atomic secrets not known to the Soviet government." He then went on to discuss the background of A-bomb Scientist Oppenheimer and his wife Katherine, adding, "If Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is anti-Soviet today, he should come forward with the full and complete details of his previous associations with the Communist movement—and his wife's connections. And he should publicly denounce the actions of his brother Frank, who refused to give information of vital importance to the country regarding his former associates in the party." The Senate committee planned a full scale investigation and told Crouch and his wife Sylvia that they would face Dr. Oppenheimer and his wife before the committee.

On entering the room I was rather startled to see Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Also present were Mr. Hitts, Mr. Cunningham of the Department of Justice, one or two FBI men, and two other men who appeared to be attorneys for Dr. Oppenheimer. As I entered Dr. Oppenheimer stood up.

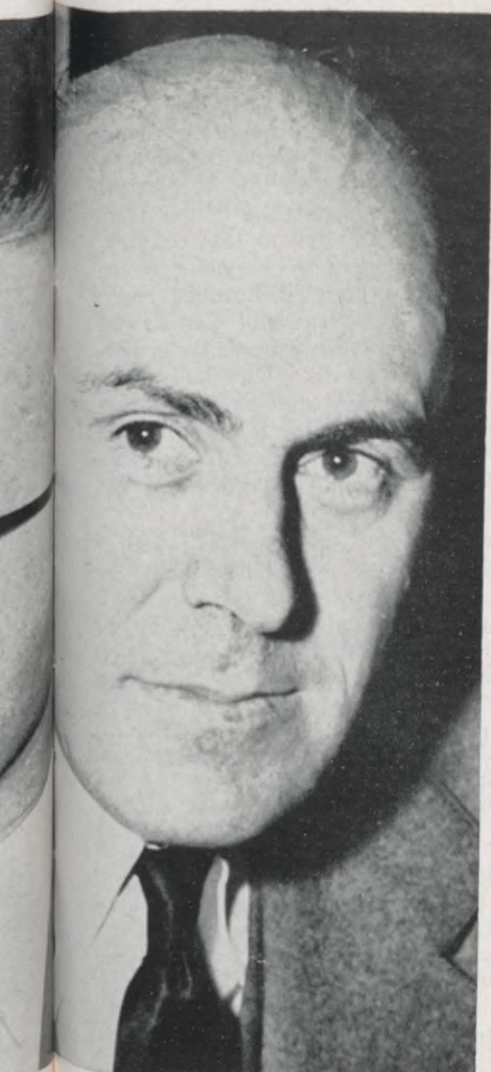
One of the government prosecutors said to me: "Do you know this man?" "What is his name?"

"Oppenheimer, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer," I said.

Dr. Oppenheimer remarked that he had read "with great care" my testi-

mony about the 1941 meeting, that he had "been unable to recall" it, and he asked me to give a detailed description and see if it would refresh his recollection. I did so, even going into minute physical facts about the house, including some minor remodeling in the partition between living and studio rooms in the interval between the two occasions I had been inside the house—in the summer of 1941 and about May 1, 1950. He agreed that in 1941 there had been some sort of "movable partition"

(Continued on Page 57)



—Wide World Photo

In Behalf of OPPENHEIMER

Testimony of
JOHN J. McCLOY

Among well-known witnesses who appeared before the AEC Personnel Security Board (Gray Board) to testify in behalf of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was John J. McCloy, chairman of the board of the Chase National Bank. In the summer of 1940, McCloy became a consultant to the Secretary of War and remained in that position for some months prior to his being named Assistant Secretary of War. He held this position throughout the war and left the War Department in the fall of 1945. He served on various special committees connected with the defense, including the President's Committee—along with Dean Acheson and General Leslie Groves—dealing with the question of control of atomic weapons.

Interrogator: Lloyd K. Garrison.

Q. Will you tell the board your contacts with the atomic energy program during the war and your acquaintance with Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. During the war I was very closely associated with Mr. Stimson. In the early days of the war, I had many conversations with him in regard to the menace of a possible German development of an atomic weapon....

I did not hear of Dr. Oppenheimer until well toward the end of the war. I can't exactly fix the dates in my mind, but I do recall that some substantial

period before we left for the Potsdam conference we learned of the real progress that had been made at Los Alamos, and the name of Dr. Oppenheimer was mentioned in that connection....

I do remember General Groves... saying that he did have some security preoccupations.... They were, as far as I can remember, confined to a concern that information that the English were getting from our atomic developments might be leaked to the French, where General Groves had real suspicions, particularly because of the association of

Dr. Curie with the atomic development in France. He referred somewhat to his security precautions and indicated to me that he had dismissed one or two or a few people from Los Alamos, but never was the question raised in any regard to Dr. Oppenheimer, nor did Mr. Stimson... have anything but great admiration and praise for the achievements that Dr. Oppenheimer was accomplishing.

Q. Did you come into contact with Dr. Oppenheimer at the time of the Acheson-Lilienthal report?

A. Yes. I would say there were three phases of my experience with Dr. Oppenheimer. The first... was the Stimson-War Department contact, and that was a very slight personal contact, but I knew him, and I knew his name, and knew what was going on in general.

The second was the Lilienthal-Acheson Committee report, and the third... was my association with Dr. Oppenheimer on the so-called Soviet study group, which is a group set up by the Council of Foreign Relations in New York City, which was erected in consultation with the State Department... that would quietly study this whole problem of our relations with the Soviet, to see if we could do anything that would be of benefit to the government or to general public opinion in that field.

Dr. Oppenheimer was a member of that group. He was selected primarily because of his outstanding reputation in the atomic field, and since the atomic element was important in the consideration of our relations with the Soviet, we felt that we should have someone on the board who was well equipped to advise us in that connection.

• • •

Q. Do you know anything at first-hand about his attitude toward Russia and the whole problem at that point of time?

A. Growing out of the concern we all had after the successful dropping of the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the great preoccupation... as to what we were going to do from here out, there were many discussions in Washington....

In connection with the committee's action... Dr. Oppenheimer was a member of the panel, and we looked to him for the technical expositions. Our technical questions were mainly directed to him. There was then a very intriguing problem of the possibility of denaturing this material so that it would not have an explosive or at least a lethal weapon effect.... That was gone into at some length, and Dr. Oppenheimer explained the limitations and possibilities of that.

...I gathered the impression at that time that he was quite alert to the interests of the United States in connection with this. The proposals that were made for international control were to be

hemmed about by certain provisions which we thought would secure the interests of the United States, as best we could consistent with the over-all philosophy of having an international control in effect. I generally am of the impression that Dr. Oppenheimer at that time was as sensitive as I should say anyone was in regard to the security interests of the United States.

• • •

...He was alert to the necessity of protecting, insofar as it was possible to protect the interests of the United States, as I say, consistent with the concept of international control....

[At this point in the testimony McCloy described activities in the Soviet study group, of which he was the presiding officer, and of which Dr. Oppenheimer was a member. He went on to tell how Oppenheimer went on a lecture tour abroad and gave the study group "a picture of where he thought we stood generally in relation to the Soviet in respect to atomic development."]

A. The impression that I gathered from him was one of real concern that although we had a quantitative superiority, that that didn't mean a great deal....

We were coming to the point where we might be, he used the graphic expression "like two scorpions in a bottle," that each could destroy the other, even though one may have been somewhat larger than the other, and he was very much concerned about the security position of the United States.

He pressed vigorously for the continued activity in this field and not letting down our guard, so to speak. Taking advantage of any opportunity that really presented itself that looked as if it was substantial, but if there was to be any negotiation, be certain that we were armed and well prepared before we went to such a conference. Indeed, I have the impression that he, with one or two others, was somewhat more, shall I say, militant than some of the other members of the group....

In the course of this, I think I should say that he was questioned by the members of the group from time to time. In a number of cases, he refused to reply, saying that he could not reply because in doing so that would involve some security information. His talk was generally in generalities, to some extent following the line that he took in an article which I saw later on, published in *Foreign Affairs*....

Q. Based on your acquaintance with Dr. Oppenheimer, and your experiences with him, would you give the board your opinion as to his loyalty and as to his security risk or want of risk?

A. In the first place, just to get it out of the way, let me say that there is nothing that occurred during the entire period of my contact with Dr. Oppenheimer which gave me any reason to

feel that he was in any sense disloyal to the United States. But I would want to put it more positively than that and also add that throughout my contacts with him, I got the impression, as one who has had a good bit of contact and experience with defense matters, that he was very sensitive to all aspects of the security of the United States.

I gathered the impression that he was deeply concerned about the consequences of this awful force that we had released, anxious to do what he could toward seeing that it was not used or did not become a destroyer of civilization. He was somewhat puzzled as to what form that would take and still be consistent with the interests of the United States....

I can't be too emphatic as to my impression of Dr. Oppenheimer in this regard. I have the impression of his being a loyal, patriotic citizen, aware of his responsibilities, and that I want to accent.

As to his security risk—to use the current phrase—I again can state that negatively certainly. I know of nothing myself which would make me feel that he was a security risk. I don't know just exactly what you mean by a security risk. I know that I am a security risk, and I think every individual is a security risk. You can always talk in your sleep. You can always drop a paper that you should not drop, or you can speak to your wife about something, and to that extent no human being is an absolutely secure person. I don't suppose we are talking about that.

I never heard of any of Dr. Oppenheimer's early background until very recently, and so that has never been an element in my thinking. I have only thought of him as being a figure whom I feel I know, and I feel I am somewhat knowledgeable in this field, and one I feel I know is as much responsible as anybody else, if perhaps not more than anybody else in this particular field of the weapon, for our pre-eminence in that field.

• • •

As I try to look back to that period, I think we would have taken pretty much anybody who had certainly the combination of those qualities—the theoretical ability, plus the practical sense, to advance our defense position in that field. In those days we were on guard against the Nazis and the Germans. I think we would have grabbed one of them, if we thought he had that quality, and surrounded him with as much security precautions as we could. Indeed, I think we would have probably taken a convicted murderer if he had that capacity. There again is this question of the relative character of security. It depends somewhat on the day and age that you are in.

I want to emphasize particularly this

affirmative side of it. The names we bandied about at that time included a number of refugees and a number of people that came from Europe. I have the impression—I may be wrong about it—but I have the impression that a very large element of this theoretical thinking did emanate from the minds of those who immigrated to this country, and had not been generated here as far as it had been in Europe. There were names like Fermi and Wigner and Teller, Rabi, another queer name, Szilard, or something like that—but I have the impression they came over here, and probably imbued with a certain anti-Nazi fervor which tended to stimulate thinking, and it is that type of mind that we certainly needed then.

We could find, so to speak, practical atomic physicists, and today there are great quantities of them being trained, and whether we are getting this finely balanced imagination which can stretch beyond the practicalities of this thing is to my mind the important aspect of this problem. The art is still in its infancy, and we still are in need of great imagination in this field.

In a very real sense, therefore, I think there is a security risk in reverse. If anything is done which would in any way repress or dampen that fervor, that verve, that enthusiasm, or the feeling generally that the place where you can get the greatest opportunity for the expansion of your mind and your experiments in this field is the United States, to that extent the security of the United States is impaired.

In other words, you can't be too conventional about it or you run into a security problem the other way. We are only secure if we have the best brains and the best reach of mind in this field. If the impression is prevalent that scientists as a whole have to work under such great restrictions and perhaps great suspicion in the United States, we may lose the next step in this field, which I think would be very dangerous for us.

• • •

A. ...I have been asked this recently in New York frequently: Do you think that Dr. Oppenheimer is a security risk, and how would I answer that? ...What do you mean by security? Positive? Negative? There is a security risk both ways in this thing. It is the affirmative security that I believe we must protect here. I would say that even if Dr. Oppenheimer had some connections that were somewhat suspicious or make one fairly uneasy, you have to balance his affirmative aspect against that before you can finally conclude in your own mind that he is a reasonable security risk because there is a balance of interest there....

• • •

A. ...I will say that as far as I have had any acquaintance with Dr. Oppen-

heimer, I have no doubt as to his loyalty, and I have absolutely no doubt about his value to the United States, and I would say he is not a security risk to the United States.

*Cross-Examination by Roger Robb,
counsel for the board*

Q. I would like to ask you a few hypothetical questions, if I might, sir. Suppose you had a branch bank manager, and a friend of his came to him one day and said, "I have some friends and contacts who are thinking about coming to your bank to rob it. I would like to talk to you about maybe leaving the vault open some night so they could do it," and your branch manager rejected the suggestion. Would you expect that branch manager to report the incident?

A. Yes.

Q. If he didn't report it, would you be disturbed about it?

A. Yes.

Q. Let us go a little bit further. Supposing the branch bank manager waited six or eight months to report it, would you be rather concerned about why he had not done it before?

A. Yes.

Q. Suppose when he did report it, he said this friend of mine, a good friend of mine, I am sure he was innocent and therefore I won't tell you who he is. Would you be concerned about that? Would you urge him to tell you?

A. I would certainly urge him to tell me for the security of the bank.

Q. Now, supposing your branch bank manager, in telling you the story of his conversations with his friend, said, "My friend told me that these people that he knows that want to rob the bank told me that they had a pretty good plan. They had some tear gas and guns and they had a car arranged for the getaway, and had everything all fixed up," would you conclude from that it was a pretty well-defined plot?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, supposing some years later this branch manager told you, "Mr. McCloy, I told you that my friend and his friends had a scheme all set up as I have told you, with tear gas and guns and getaway car, but that was a lot of bunk. It just wasn't true. I told you a false story about my friend." Would you be a bit puzzled as to why he would tell you such a false story about his friend?

A. Yes, I think I would be.

Q. (Chairman Gordon Gray) Have you read the letter of December 23 from General Nichols to Dr. Oppenheimer, and Dr. Oppenheimer's reply perhaps as they appeared in the press?

A. Yes, I didn't read them critically, but I know pretty much what is in them because I read them rather hastily.

Q. Is this the first knowledge you had of the reported associations of Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. No, I think I heard somewhere about a year ago, and I can't place where I heard it, that there was some question about Dr. Oppenheimer's early associations, that his brother or wife had been a Communist. It was within a year that I heard it.

Q. Mr. McCloy, following Mr. Robb's hypothetical question for the moment, let us go further than his assumption. Let us say that ultimately you did get from your branch manager the name of the individual who had approached him with respect to leaving the vault open, and suppose further that your branch manager was sent by you on an inspection trip of some of your foreign branches, and suppose further that you learned that while he was in London he looked up the man who had made the approach to him some years before, would this be a source of concern to you?

A. Yes, I think it would. It is certainly something worthy of investigation; yes.

Q. Now, Mr. McCloy, you said in referring to Dr. Oppenheimer that he more than perhaps anybody else is responsible for our pre-eminence in the field of the weapon. You are referring now to the atomic bomb?

A. Yes, the atomic bomb.

Q. Would you take a calculated risk with respect to the security of your bank?

A. I take a calculated risk every day in my bank.

Q. Would you leave someone in charge of the vaults about whom you have any doubt in your mind?

A. No, I probably wouldn't.

A. ... I don't think I can get the pat analogy to the bank vault man. But let me say, suppose that the man in charge of my vaults knew more about protection and knew more about the intricacies of time locks than anybody else in the world, I might think twice before I let him go because I would balance the risks in this connection. ...

A. One of my tasks in Germany was to pick up Nazi scientists and send them over to the United States. These Nazi scientists a few years before were doing their utmost to overthrow the United States government by violence. They had a very suspicious background. They are being used now, I assume—whether they are still, I don't know because I am not in contact with it—on very sensitive projects in spite of their background. The Defense Department has been certainly to some extent dependent upon German scientists in connection with guided missiles. I suppose other

things being equal, you would like to have a perfectly pure, uncontaminated chap, with no background, to deal with these things, but it is not possible in this world. I think you do have to take risks in regard to the security of the country. As I said at the beginning, even if they put ... anybody in charge of the innermost secrets of our defense system, there is a risk there. You can't avoid the necessity of balancing to some degree.

So I re-emphasize from looking at it, I would think I would come to the conclusion if I were Secretary of War, let us balance all the considerations here and take the calculated risk. It is too bad you have to calculate sometimes. But in the last analysis, you have to calculate what is best for the United States, because ... it is just as weak as the Maginot Line in terms of security.

Q. (Dr. Ward V. Evans) And you think we should take some chances for fear we might disqualify someone who might do us a lot of good?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. You think that there are very few scientists that could do Dr. Oppenheimer's work?

A. That is my impression.

Q. That is, you think he knows perhaps more about this, as you mentioned in your vault business, than anybody else in the world?

A. I wouldn't say that; no. But I would certainly put him in the forefront.

Q. And you would take a little chance on a man that has great value?

A. Yes, I would, particularly in the light of his other record, at least insofar as I know it. I can't divorce myself from my own impression of Dr. Oppenheimer and what appeals to me as his frankness, integrity, and his scientific background. I would accept a considerable amount of political immaturity, let me put it that way, in return for this rather esoteric, this rather indefinite theoretical thinking that I believe we are going to be dependent on for the next generation.

Q. That is, you would look over the political immaturity and possible subversive connections and give the great stress to his scientific information?

A. Provided I saw indications which were satisfactory to me that he had reformed or matured.

Redirect Examination by Mr. Garrison

Q. ... Is it your opinion that in the light of the character, associations, and loyalty of Dr. Oppenheimer as you have known him, that his continued access to restricted data would not endanger the common defense and security?

A. That is my opinion.

(Continued from Page 34)

SOUTH DAKOTA

Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	2:00 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

TENNESSEE

Athens	WLAR*			
Chattanooga	WDEF†	1370	Sun	6:15 p
	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Cleveland	WHUB†	1400	Thurs	9:00 p
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	6:45 p
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Harriman	WDEH*			
	WDEH†			
	WBHT*			
	WBHT†			
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Tues	9:45 p
	WTJS†	1390	Thurs	
	WDXI†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL*	910	Mon	7:30 p
	WJHL-TV*	11	Tues	6:00 p
	WJHL-TV*	11	Sun	3:00 p
Knoxville	WKXV*			
	WKXV†			
	WROL*	620	Mon	10:15 p
	WTSK-TV*	26	Thurs	9:00 p
	WTSK-TV*	26	Thurs	8:00 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*			
	WCOR†			
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGSN†	1450	Sun	2:30 p
Nashville	WSM*	650	Fri	10:15 p
	WSIX-TV*	8	Sun	5:00 p
Newport	WLK†	1270		
	WLK*	1270		
Oak Ridge	WOKE*	1290	Sun	7:00 p
Paris	WTPR†	710	Sun	12:30 p
	WTPR†	710	Mon	8:30 p
Pulaski	WKSX†	1420	Mon	7:15 p
Sparta	WSMT*	1050	Sun	1:15 p
Springfield	WDBL†	1430	Sun	2:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDT†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

TEXAS

Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
Beaumont	KBMT-TV*	31	Sun	8:00 p
	KBMT-TV*	31		
	KFDM*	560	Mon	9:15 p
Beeville	KIBL†	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL†	1490	Mon	7:00 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Bonham	KFYN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFYN†	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KSTB*	1430	Sun	12:45 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	7:00 p
Brownwood	KBWD†	1280	Mon	8:30 p
Bryan	KORA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
College Station	WTAW*	1150	Fri	8:45 a
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Wed	9:45 p
	KVDO-TV*	22	Sun	4:00 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY†	1290	Tues	1:00 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV*	4	Wed	10:30 p
	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA*	570	Mon	10:30 p
Denton	KDNT*	1440	Tues	7:45 p
Eastland	KERC*	1590	Sun	4:00 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	8:15 p
	KEPO†	690		
Freeport	KBRZ*	1460	Sun	1:00 p
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Gainsville	KGAF*	1580	Sun	12:45 p
Greenville	KGVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Kermit	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kilgore	KOCA*	1240		
Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	6:00 p
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:15 p
Levelland	KLVT*	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW*	1490	Sun	1:15 p
Longview	KLTI*	1280	Sun	3:00 p
	KLTI†	1280	Sun	12:30 p
	KTVE-TV*	32	Sun	6:15 p
Lubbock	KDUB-TV*	13	Sun	12:00 n
Lufkin	KTRE†	1420	Sat	6:15 p
	KTRE†	1420	Mon	8:30 p
Marlin	KMLW*	1010	Thurs	5:45 p
Midland	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:00 p
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960		
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
New Braunfels	KGNB*	1420	Sun	9:00 a
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Tues	7:30 p
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:30 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

We enjoyed very much the explanations about communism given over your radio program . . . by Dr. Fred Schwarz of Australia.

Would you be kind enough to send us a copy of both of his statements? These statements are short but very much to the point on many misunderstood angles of the Red menace. [see page 8].

THOUROT PICHEL, Editor
Crux News Service
Shickshinny, Pa.

I was very favorably impressed by your pro-con FACTS FORUM of a week ago. . . Mr. Smoot's discussion concerning the United Nations [see "UN Charter," page 15] . . . Facts Forum is marvelous! Keep it going!

HARRISON W. RHODES
1325 W. Elizabeth St.
Brownsville, Texas

Your program is invaluable. It is a refreshing relief to hear loyal Americans speak. Keep up the good work.

RICHARD FEE
P. O. Box 1314, Tacoma, Wash.

I listen to your program . . . with great interest and always feel amply rewarded. . .

ROBERT W. BOREMAN
P. O. Box 92, Middlebourne, W. Va.

. . . I received the article which I requested and it met my highest expectations. It's impartial discussion and readily accessible references makes it a valuable source of information.

RAYMOND C. KEISTER
AK3, 445-52-23
Supply Dept. Brks. N-54
N.A.S. Memphis, Tenn.

From my point of view its the most interesting magazine I've found to date. Hope the next editions are as interesting as your April issue.

MARY B. GRAFF, R.N.
Box 533, Fillmore, Utah

Please send me a copy of the talk-interview on communism by Dr. Schwarz. . . I enjoy the Facts Forum programs very much, and I thought the program I heard was exceptional. . .

FRANK MEYER, Managing Editor
Shawano Evening Leader
Shawano, Wis.

. . . This program [ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS] is very interesting and educational. I have been following it rather closely . . . and the information learned has been of great value to me.

MRS. MARJORIE ORR
P. O. Box 107, Ben Hur, Va.

Please add one year to my present subscription to the "book of knowledge," namely the Facts Forum News. . .

LAYSON B. ROBERTS
Route 1, Pleasureville, Ky.

TEXAS - Continued

San Angelo	KTXL-TV*	8	Sun	4:00 p
San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
	WOAI-TV*	4	Sun	1:00 p
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
	KRRV†	910	Sun	7:30 p
Snyder	KSNY*	1450	Sun	6:00 p
	KSNY†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	12:45 p
Sulphur Springs	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:45 p
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Taylor	KTAE*	1260	Sun	1:00 p
Texarkana	KTFS*	1400	To be announced	
Tyler	KLTV-TV*	7	Wed	10:00 p
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Waco	KANG-TV*	34	Sun	2:00 p
	KANG-TV*	34	Sun	3:00 p
Weslaco	KRGV*	1290	Wed	9:45 p
	KRGV-TV*	5	Sun	10:30 p
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV*	6	Tues	9:30 p

UTAH

Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Salt Lake City	KSL*	1160	Sun	2:15 p
Vernal	KJAM*	1340	Mon	6:00 p
	KJAM*	1340	Sun	3:00 p

VERMONT

Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN*	1340	Sun	8:30 p

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christianssted,	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Croix	WSTA*	1340	To be announced	
St. Thomas				

VIRGINIA

Arlington	WEAM*	1390	Tues	10:30 p
Bedford	WBTL†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Charlottesville	WCHV*	1240	Mon	7:30 p
	WCHV†	1240	Thurs	9:00 p
Fredericksburg	WFVA*	1230	Sat	7:15 p
Galax	WBOB†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Lexington	WREL*	1450	Sat	7:15 p
	WREL*	1450	Sun	6:30 p
Norfolk-Hampton	WVEC-TV*	15	Sun	5:00 p
Newport News	WACH-AM*	1270	To be announced	
	WACH-AM*	1270	To be announced	
	WACH-TV*	33	To be announced	
	WACH-TV*	33	To be announced	
Orange	WJMA*	1340	Sun	9:30 p
Roanoke	WSLS-TV*	10	Sat	2:30 p
	WSLS-TV*	10	Sun	2:30 p
Staunton	WAFB*	900	Sun	12:00 n
Suffolk	WLPM*	1450		
	WLPM*	1450		
Waynesboro	WAYB*		To be announced	
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p

WASHINGTON

Grand Coulee	KFDR*	1400	Sun	3:30 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	KSEM*	1450	Sat	8:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE*	1150	Sun	2:00 p
Seattle	KOMO*	1000	Mon	6:30 p
Spokane	KHQ-TV*	6	Sun	5:30 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p

WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield	WKQY†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Charleston	WCAW*	1400	Sun	8:00 p
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
New Martinsville	WETZ*		Fri	10:00 a
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV*	4	Sun	7:30 p
	WOAY-TV*	4	Sun	5:00 p
Parkersburg	WCEF*	1050	To be announced	
	WTAP-TV*	15	Wed	9:30 p
	WTAP-TV*	15	Sun	5:30 p
Wheeling	WKWK*		Sun	10:15 p
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	9:30 p

WISCONSIN

Appleton	WHBY†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon	8:30 p
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
La Crosse	WLTX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Madison	WMFC*	104.1	Sun	8:00 p
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	To be announced	
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	

WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Cheyenne	KFBC-TV*	5	Sun	6:00 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Tues	6:30 p
Lander	KOVE†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	7:30 p
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	7:30 p
Torrington	KGOS*	1490	Tues	7:30 p

*Facts Forum or Answers For Americans †Reporters' Roundup

The Untold Oppenheimer Story

(Continued from Page 52)

between the two rooms. At the end of my description he said: "I still cannot recall it." Then Dr. Oppenheimer asked about other occasions when I saw him in 1941.

I described the Kenneth May housewarming party.

"I may well have been there," said Dr. Oppenheimer.

Then I told about seeing him at several Communist-organized, fund-raising affairs in the fall of 1941, and said the last occasion was an affair to raise funds for Spanish Communists—the so-called "loyalists"—near the end of the year.

"I was at the Spanish fund-raising affair; it was the night before Pearl Harbor," Dr. Oppenheimer said.

During the conversation, Dr. Oppenheimer admitted that he had been at several Communist-organized affairs and gatherings during 1941, stating that one had been at the home of Haakon Chevalier, and that William Schneiderman had been present on that occasion.

From this unexpected meeting with Dr. Oppenheimer in Mr. Hitts' office I went directly to the grand jury room in the same building—the Washington, D. C., Federal Court.

The issue of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer overshadowed everything else, including the defendant himself, at the trial of Dr. Weinberg during the winter of 1953. My wife and I obviously could not testify about Steve Nelson and Dr. Weinberg being together at the housewarming party without mention of the others present, including Dr. Oppenheimer. We could not testify about the 1941 special section meeting without the fact being revealed in court that it was at 10 Kenilworth Court and that it has been learned that the house was then occupied by Dr. Oppenheimer; also that he was present at the meeting.

Dr. Oppenheimer or his attorneys are known to have indicated to the prosecution that if these things were revealed by testimony at the trial that he would take the stand as a defense witness for Dr. Weinberg.

Mr. Hitts and Mr. Cunningham, in charge of the government's case, well knew that such testimony by Dr. Oppenheimer, then holding positions of the greatest responsibility, would overshadow everything else and that they would face a real problem. A former Communist who had been at the May housewarming and saw Dr. Weinberg, Dr. Oppenheimer, and Steve Nelson among those present, was flown from California

to Washington for testimony at the opening of the trial. Richard E. Combs, chief counsel of the California state committee, was among other witnesses the government planned to call to support the testimony Sylvia and I would give.

As the trial opened, Mr. Hitts and Mr. Cunningham conferred daily with me and Sylvia. They told us that they had been given "very little" information by government intelligence agencies on Dr. Oppenheimer's past Communist activities and associations for use in cross-examination. Under these circumstances they made a last minute decision to try to convict Dr. Weinberg on the limited evidence that would remain after leaving out everything where Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's name might enter the picture.

"We do not have the slightest doubt of the accuracy of your testimony," they told us, "but Dr. Oppenheimer, with his personal prestige, would have tremendous influence with the jury."

If even half of the confidential information from government intelligence files that was made public in the 1954 AEC reports, had been supplied to Mr. Hitts and Mr. Cunningham, the situation would have been entirely different. They could have then told Dr. Oppenheimer he could go right ahead and be a witness for Dr. Weinberg, that his own record would be brought out on cross-examination. One of the mysteries yet to be solved in the Oppenheimer case is where responsibility should be placed for failure to make all files on the scientist available to the prosecution in the Weinberg trial. It should have been obvious to everyone from the first that there would be practically no possibility of obtaining a conviction in the Weinberg trial without having the full record of Dr. Oppenheimer ready if he decided to be a defense witness.

Because of the sudden change in strategy, dictated by realities of the situation, my wife, and the ex-Communist brought from California, Richard E. Combs, and other scheduled witnesses were not called. I testified in the trial, but only as an expert witness on party organization, and while I was on the stand Dr. Weinberg's name was not mentioned either by government or defense attorneys.

At the time I was inclined to agree with Mr. Hitts and Mr. Cunningham, believing the course they followed at that time was in the best interest of the country. Now, in 1955, I know they

were right. If they had brought Dr. Oppenheimer's name in without being ready for him on cross-examination, he would have posed as a "victim" of an attempted "frame-up," and the AEC hearings of 1954 would never have taken place. Dr. Oppenheimer would still have access to all information on the highest level.

Efforts to obtain a conviction of Dr. Weinberg with only a fraction of the available evidence ended in failure, as was to be anticipated. The judge expressed disagreement with the jury's verdict. But the jurors could make a decision only on the basis of the insufficient fragments of evidence placed before them.

Joseph A. Fanelli, of Washington, D. C., was attorney for Dr. Weinberg at the trial, and throughout all developments he is understood to have been in close touch with the attorneys for Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

The name of Mr. Fanelli should be remembered, for he is soon to play a leading role in a new chapter of this previously untold narrative of the Oppenheimer case.

A few months after the Weinberg trial I was called before an executive hearing of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Investigation. Senator Joseph McCarthy, the chairman, presided. I do not recall the exact date, but it was immediately after an article in *Fortune* magazine* had revealed Dr. Oppenheimer's opposition to making the hydrogen bomb. After my testimony dealing with Dr. Oppenheimer and with Communist activities in the atomic energy field, I was advised by the committee staff that a full investigation and hearings would be conducted. At the committee's request I spent several days dictating the facts I knew to staff stenographers. In a statement to the press during a trip to Havana, Senator McCarthy referred to a "pending investigation" as the "most important ever conducted by the committee." This, of course, was in reference to the planned investigations of Dr. Oppenheimer and of the entire field of Soviet atomic espionage.

Plans for the hearings suddenly were cancelled. I do not know what happened. During 1954, several press stories reported that in the summer of 1953, presumably around June, a meeting was held at the White House, attended by Senator McCarthy, Vice-President Nixon and others, and that Senator McCarthy agreed to call off the hearings with the guarantee that a prompt and thorough investigation would be made by government security agencies. I have no personal knowledge as to the accuracy of those press stories. I only know the scheduled investigation was called off.

I now know that a month or two after I testified about Dr. Oppenheimer, agents

*"The Hidden Struggle for the H-Bomb," May 1953 issue.

working with Joseph A. Fanelli went to almost every part of the country I have ever lived, engaged in fabrication of fantastic charges designed to attack my credibility as a key witness in the Oppenheimer investigations.

During the following eight or nine months I seldom heard the name of Dr. Oppenheimer and knew nothing either of the security investigations actively under way or of the simultaneous plans of Dr. Oppenheimer's friends for launching an unprecedented smear attack on me at the strategic moment. I was away from Washington during most of this time, first in Cuba on an important government assignment that was carried through with the active aid of the Batista government, then to the West Coast, and in December I was sent to Honolulu with my family for work in Immigration Service district headquarters.

In early April of 1954, I was in Philadelphia waiting to take the stand as the federal government's first witness in the Smith Act trial there. One day I was visited by two government security officials who confidentially advised me that loyalty hearings would soon start regarding Dr. Oppenheimer. I was asked if my wife Sylvia and I would be willing to testify in the closed hearings. They requested me to keep the entire matter strictly confidential except to advise my wife (who remained at our Honolulu home) and to see if she would be a witness. I replied I was ready to testify and that I was sure my wife also would be willing to come to Washington for testimony. (She confirmed this when she replied to my letter on the subject.)

At 6 p.m., Sunday, April 11, I was listening to Drew Pearson's network radio broadcast. I was surprised to hear my name and more surprised at the untrue statement with which it was linked. Mr. Pearson said, as I recall from memory:

"Paul Crouch, ex-Communist and consultant of the U.S. Immigration Service, has given an affidavit to government agencies identifying Representative Robert Condon of California as a member of the Communist party. However, it should be remembered that Paul Crouch is the man who tried to smear the great scientist, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, falsely accusing him of Communist affiliation."

I immediately turned to my typewriter and wrote an indignant letter to Mr. Pearson, telling him I had never given such a statement, that I had never heard of Mr. Condon when I was in the Communist party as far as I could recall, and that I knew nothing whatever about him except what I read in the newspapers. Two weeks later, Mr. Pearson read part of this letter on his radio program, leaving out the part where I referred to the "statement" as "having no existence except in Drew Pearson's imagination."

It seemed probable to me that the Condon story was only an excuse to bring in my name and the name of Dr. Oppenheimer and I suspected that some publicity stunt by Dr. Oppenheimer and his friends was pending, in spite of the government's emphasis on the confidential nature of the loyalty hearings. Two days later my suspicions were confirmed.

On April 13, Dr. Oppenheimer and his attorneys broke the story of the investigation, presenting his side of the controversy, through the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*. The leading page one story, under by-line of Joseph and Stewart Alsop, was more like a biased editorial than a "news" story, and it contained a violent and abusive attack on me, asserting that my testimony in California had "been demolished."

I immediately called in FBI agents and asked them to inform the Atomic Energy Commission that in view of Dr. Oppenheimer's publicity stunt and the fact that Joseph and Stewart Alsop clearly were to be his chief spokesmen, I would testify in the hearings *only in public or with right to release full transcript of my testimony* if false versions should be published of what I said. I told them that the Alsop column of January 18, 1953, had contained an untrue and distorted version of what I was alleged to have said in executive sessions of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security on another matter, and that I had no intention of letting them publish their version of my testimony in the Oppenheimer case.

In Honolulu, Sylvia issued a statement through the press associations stating that she would testify only in public and in Dr. Oppenheimer's presence. Her statement, as carried by the United Press and published in the *New York Herald Tribune* of April 19, said in part:

"I will be glad to testify if I can be sure there is going to be a thorough, complete, and fair investigation. I will insist that any testimony I give will be public and in the presence of Dr. Oppenheimer and that he will have the right to cross-examine me on anything connected with the investigation."

Although there were no public hearings, the only kind where we would testify after Dr. Oppenheimer's publicity moves on April 13, Sylvia and I cooperated actively with government intelligence agents throughout the April hearings. About May 1, while I was enroute to my home in Hawaii, FBI agents met the plane in San Francisco and took me to 10 Kenilworth Court for a new and thorough study of the interior.

Three days after Joseph and Stewart Alsop helped break the Oppenheimer version of the suspension and AEC investigations, the Alsop column of April 16 was devoted in its entirety to a violent attack on me, with one untrue charge

after another. After a three-day interval the Alsop brothers devoted their entire column of April 19 to another personal attack, and to more fantastic charges. Other such columns followed during May and June. All of this clearly was part of a gigantic and carefully timed effort to attack my credibility as a witness because of my role in the Oppenheimer investigations.

About June 22, Joseph A. Fanelli, formerly the attorney for Dr. Joseph Weinberg who had cooperated closely with Dr. Oppenheimer's attorneys during the Weinberg trial, and Harry I. Rand, well known to congressional committees as attorney for hostile Fifth Amendment witnesses, filed a document called the "Crouch Appendix" to the Jacob Burck Brief with the Board of Immigration Appeals. Copies were distributed to carefully selected press representatives; other newspaper men were unable to even see it. The document and press releases based on it contained a total of about two dozen charges. And what charges! Three of the most serious charges are typical of the entire two dozen fabrications.

I had testified on many occasions that in late 1947 I became editor of a weekly newspaper, *The Dade County News*, published in Florida. The "Crouch Appendix" charged that this testimony was perjured because it claimed there never was such a newspaper! The fact that *The Dade County News* was published in Miami Shores, Florida, with business and editorial offices in the Miami Shores Theatre Building, 9822 North East 2nd Ave., that the telephone number was 78-9543, and the masthead gave the name of PAUL CROUCH as editor was, of course, immaterial to Joseph A. Fanelli, Harry I. Rand, Joseph and Stewart Alsop, and others who took part in this smear campaign designed to destroy a witness in the Oppenheimer case.

The "Crouch Appendix" prepared by Fanelli and Rand charged me with perjury because I had testified that I had been the author of "a number of feature articles" when I was employed by the *Miami Daily News* in 1949! The well-documented facts again were immaterial to those who believed in making the wildest and most extravagant charges the imagination could conceive. On May 9, 1949, the *Miami Daily News* had published the first of twelve feature articles under the by-line "By Paul Crouch" on the front page, under an eight-column streamer in red. My picture appeared on the front page, an "editor's note" referred to me as the "author" of the series. I have a written contract with the *Miami Daily News*, dated May 9, 1949, witnessed by Managing Editor Hoke Welch, in which I am identified as the "author" of a series of articles to be published. Not only did the articles appear in the *Miami Daily News*, they were syndicated and reprinted in more

than thirty daily newspapers from coast to coast—all with by-line "By Paul Crouch" and most of them with additional line, "copyright *Miami Daily News*." These newspapers included the *Boston Globe*, *New York Journal-American*, *Minneapolis Star*, *Philadelphia Bulletin*, *Charlotte Observer*, *Nashville Banner*, *Kansas City Star*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and the *Los Angeles Examiner*. In the light of this evidence it would seem to be outside the field of sanity to charge me with "perjury" for testifying I had been "author of some feature articles" when I was with the *Miami Daily News*!

The third of two dozen equally amazing charges was the allegation I was guilty of "perjury" when I testified many times that I had been Florida state publicity director for the CIO and editor of the "official CIO newspaper," the *Union Record*. Again the well-documented facts were equally immaterial to the authors of the charges and to those who gave them national publicity to destroy my testimony about Dr. Oppenheimer. Bank records and cancelled weekly pay checks will show I was on state payroll of the CIO in Florida. Examination of copies of the *Union Record* can leave no doubt in the minds of anyone that it was the official CIO publication. The masthead not only carried the line "Endorsed by Florida State CIO Council" and my name as editor, but also showed that its editorial offices were in the state CIO headquarters at 730 West Flagler Street, Miami, and

(Continued on Page 60)

Senator Clarifies Position

PRICE DANIEL
TEXAS

COMMITTEES:
JUDICIARY
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 23, 1955

Hon. Dan Smoot
Facts Forum, Inc.
1802 Main Street
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Smoot:

I did not have the pleasure of hearing your "Status of Forces Treaty" discussion last night, but a mutual friend told me that you had listed me among those who had "abstained" from voting on this matter. This vote occurred while I was in Texas on my only trip during the session, and if you ever have an opportunity to make this clear, I would appreciate it. Had I been present, I would have voted no. You may also include me among those who favor amendment of the treaty to eliminate foreign jurisdiction over our own men for trial of criminal offenses.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Price Daniel

PD/mwb

CROUCH APPLAUDS DR. FRED SCHWARZ

HILO, HAWAII

GENTLEMEN:

Last night, when I plugged into radio earphone system of this tuberculosis hospital where I am now a patient, to listen to FACTS FORUM (Station KILA, Hilo), I received a real surprise. Dr. Fred Schwarz, your guest speaker, is a very good friend of mine. In my opinion, he is one of the world's best authorities on communism; and he is one of the very few who understand the outlook and mental processes of the Communists without having learned the hard way—as I did.

I know only too well that communism is a disease, exactly as Dr. Schwarz described it. I was one of its intellectual victims—for seventeen years (1925-1942). Neither hunger nor lack of a promising personal future made me a Communist. It was intellectual conversion to the philosophy of Marx and Engels. My father, incidentally, was a Baptist minister, school teacher, and farmer.

I fell a victim to Marxian ideology during actual childhood (joining Young People's Socialist League about the age of thirteen—before the Russian Revolution).

During my fifteen years as a leading full-time official in the Communist party I saw the terrific turnover of industrial workers in the party. I personally issued over a thousand Communist membership books to new members. More than three-fourths of the workers and sharecroppers who got books from me broke completely with communism. Some left in a few months; few remained over two or three years.

On the other hand, among the university professors I recruited or who belonged to party organizations under my supervision, I believe that less than two per cent have shown any evidence of a break with communism. I know of only ONE individual from that large group of professors who has actively cooperated with the government in exposing the subversive apparatus. (I refer only to those in units under my jurisdiction—North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Utah, Alameda County, California, including the University of California.)

Dr. Schwarz correctly stresses the fact that poverty and ignorance are not necessarily breeding fields for communism. For three decades two of the most powerful and efficient Communist

parties in Latin America were Uruguay and Costa Rica—the most literate nations south of the Rio Grande. Uruguay has an exceptionally high standard of living, and in Costa Rica real poverty and hunger are virtually unknown. In Latin American countries of real poverty—Bolivia, Haiti, Honduras, Paraguay, for example—the Communist movement is very weak.

Under the American flag, two areas where the Communist party is exceptionally well entrenched and powerful are California and Hawaii. In both places average living standards are very high. In Florida the party has its greatest strength among wealthy residents of Miami Beach.

Would it be possible for Facts Forum to publish Dr. Schwarz's interviews in pamphlet form or in *Facts Forum News*?* They would help materially in shattering illusions that prevent a correct approach to the fight against atheistic world communism.

Sincerely yours,
Paul Crouch

*In June, FACTS FORUM NEWS published the first interview with Dr. Schwarz, "Communism and Intellectuals." The second interview, "Coexistence," appears on page 8 of this issue.

that the editorial offices had the same phone number as the state CIO headquarters, 9-2776.

The authors of these preposterous and prolific charges clearly felt that I would literally be crushed under the profusion and that I would never have an opportunity to present the facts about them to the country. Even a superficial examination of the facts would show that this fate was planned for me because of my role in the Oppenheimer case, and it was carefully timed to hit the press at the height of the AEC investigations.

It was long after the press versions of the "Crouch Appendix" were published before I was able to see a copy of it. I found that the Alsop columns of April 16 and 19 were taken almost verbatim from it—and that was over two months before the document was "filed" about June 22 in the Jacob Burck de-
portation case.

The AEC hearings and the removal of Dr. Oppenheimer from access to confidential information took place only after long and strenuous efforts to block thorough and public study of the scientist's background and affiliations. If there had been any baseless charges against him it would seem that he and his friends should have been anxious for public hearings where he could expose and demolish them. But when we look back at the record, much of it revealed here for the first time, we find the most strenuous efforts have been made to block the investigations.

It is interesting to compare statements by two prominent writers as far apart politically as the poles.

Howard Rushmore, outstanding anti-Communist, writing in the *New York Journal-American* of Tuesday afternoon, April 13, said:

Suspension of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is the result of long investigations carried on since 1945 by undercover men of the FBI and the Atomic Energy Commission. . . .

Mr. and Mrs. Paul Crouch have been notified by the AEC that they will be called shortly to give testimony concerning their previous charges made before a California legislative public hearing dealing with the "father of the atomic bomb."

Crouch, a former member of the Communist party's national committee, and now an active anti-Red, gave similar testimony to the McCarthy Senate committee in Washington a year ago.

PROBE CALLED

McCarthy at the time had launched a secret investigation involving alleged delays in the production of the hydrogen bomb.

Crouch, who was to have been the key committee witness, testified at length in closed sessions regarding his knowledge of Oppenheimer.

The investigation was called off two weeks after it started at the request of Vice-President Nixon. Nixon several times has expressed his belief in the loyalty of Oppenheimer, particularly when the latter flatly denied the Crouch allegations of 1952, when Nixon was a Senator.

However, this reporter was told shortly after the first A-bomb explosion in 1945 by intelligence officers of Lt. Gen. Leslie Groves' Manhattan Project that Oppen-

heimer had been under surveillance almost from the beginning of the A-bomb's construction.

On the other side of the political globe is Carey McWilliams, identified with dozens of Communist fronts. He has been one of the most active supporters of Dr. Oppenheimer. Writing in the pseudo-liberal and increasingly leftist *Nation* of May 1, 1954, McWilliams said:

... In May, 1950, the Tenney committee in California heard the testimony of the informer Paul Crouch and his wife Sylvia that Oppenheimer had been present at a "closed" meeting of the Communist party held in his Berkeley home in 1941. . . . On this occasion the House Committee on Un-American Activities stepped in, unraveled Dr. Oppenheimer's former left-wing connections, and through the ranking Republican member, Representative—now Vice-President—Nixon, temporarily checkmated the Tenney committee. Then the McCarran committee began to prepare an investigation, only to be dissuaded by Mr. Nixon. Again the matter was dropped, not to be resumed until 1953.

(I didn't know the House Committee "stepped in," as alleged by McWilliams. So far as I knew they took no action whatever.)

The investigations and AEC hearings last year regarding Oppenheimer scratched the surface and revealed many serious but rather isolated facts about the famous scientist and some of his intimate associates. Not enough has been brought out to put all the pieces of the puzzle together, and so much is yet untold that the Oppenheimer case remains an enigma to the average citizen.

Among the facts that should be revealed are the long-continued efforts to hush up the matter and prevent open and public inquiries on a subject so vital to the security and continued existence of our nation. Together with this is the organized effort to fabricate fantastic and untrue charges against a key witness and to hit the press with them at a moment carefully timed to silence his testimony on matters relating to Oppenheimer and Communist activities in the field of atomic energy.

A full understanding of the controversy around Oppenheimer has been made more difficult by constant efforts to block thorough investigations of his entire background and associates, and by failure to go back far enough for the facts that would illuminate more recent events. Very few people know the full chain of events and circumstances, and

Urge your friends to ask for **FACTS FORUM NEWS** at the newsstand, or get extra copies there for them. If your news dealer does not have **FACTS FORUM NEWS**, tell him it is now easy to get and easy to sell.

most of the few are—like Steve Nelson—still loyal to the Kremlin.

As bizarre as the knowledge already revealed about Dr. Oppenheimer may be, it may pale into insignificance when the future lifts the lid on long-suppressed truth.

DO YOU APPROVE OF ATLANTIC UNION?

(Continued from Page 37)

because our forefathers stumbled upon a vast, rich, and vacant continent; and that we ought, therefore, to share our good luck with less fortunate people.

Such a conclusion is an outgrowth either of a deliberate lie or of abysmal ignorance. America's growth and power are attributable principally to the concept of limited government which made it possible for individual human beings to exercise their individual genius and utilize their individual energies without the dead hand of government regulations stultifying their every effort.

Every government in Europe—specifically including those which we call "free nations" and "democracies"—are built on the concept that government must have unlimited power.

In altering our Constitution to join an Atlantic Union with these European nations, we would give up the basic American principle which accounts for our own greatness, and in that one act we would write an end to the great American experiment which stood for a century and a half as proof that free men can govern themselves.

We might, in the initial phase of dividing up and distributing our wealth throughout the Atlantic Community, raise the living standards of others a little, while lowering our own a great deal; but in the end we would cause a general decline in the living standards of all. In destroying the American system which produced the highest level of general prosperity ever known, we would destroy the goose that laid the golden egg.

How about Red China? Our principal European allies have recognized Red China and are exerting great pressure to get us to do it. If we join a union with them, they can compel us to do what they want by the simple device of outvoting us.

They can also pauperize us and drag us down to and below their own level by voting to spend the savings of Americans for European welfare.

The American Constitution is the only effective instrument ever devised to protect human beings against the tyranny of government.

If the Constitution is ever set aside or basically altered to permit our participation in an international union of any kind, the cause of freedom is doomed.

CONTEST RULES

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS:

Write letters of 150 or less words to your favorite paper about any subject of national interest. If you need more than 150 words to express your views, divide the material into two or more letters. Letters must have been published in newspaper or magazine, and clipping sent for entry. First award, \$25 cash plus 75 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS for persons specified by winner; second award, \$10 cash plus 50 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, 30 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS, with a token award of 5 records containing 10 Dan Smoot talks, for all other letters which Facts Forum publishes. Decision of judges will be made four days prior to closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month.

SECOND HALF OF 1955 CONTEST:

The letters submitted by you for the monthly contest will be held in competition for the half-year contest ending December 31, 1955. A judging committee different from the monthly contest and not used heretofore will be selected for this contest. First award, \$200; second, \$100; third, \$50.

SLOGAN:

An award of \$10 will be given for the best slogan adopted for use the following month. Closing date is four days prior to the closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month. Each person is invited to keep one slogan only in this competition. Entries may be changed at any time.

POLL QUESTIONS:

Do you have questions regarding subjects of national interest which you feel would be suitable for use in our monthly Poll? Facts Forum offers a prize of \$10.00 for each question selected by our judges for such use. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces, so as not to exceed one line on the Poll Card. **EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN THE CONTEST.** Questions will be judged for their current interest, fairness and conciseness. Keep questions "unloaded." Questions must be worded so that they can be answered Yes or No.

SUBJECT FOR PROGRAM:

Send questions to be discussed on the FACTS FORUM programs to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. Those who send questions which become the subject of a broadcast will receive a U.S. savings bond.

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTERS' ROUNDUP:

Send questions for this program to REPORTERS' ROUNDUP, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The best three questions submitted will receive Cyma dual-purpose clocks.

PROVOCATIVE PROSE:

Send quotations worth reading and remembering. Be sure to list authors and sources. Persons sending in excerpts printed in FF NEWS will receive one-year subscriptions to FF NEWS. If winners are already subscribers, they may in turn designate someone whom they want to receive the award subscription. In case of duplication of entries, the one with the earliest postmark will be used.



Award Winners



LETTERS to the EDITORS

1st Award

EXPLANATIONS OF COMMUNISM WASTE TIME

To *Fortune Magazine*:

With all due respect to the late Russell W. Davenport, born of my many years of reading *Fortune*, I feel that his preoccupation with interpretation of the diseased minds of Marx and Engels has been a waste of time and intellect.

Actions speak louder than words: the actions of Communists since the rise to power of Lenin and his jackals present a more accurate blueprint of their aims and mental processes than anything the late Mr. Davenport or any living "explainers" can possibly offer to explain communism.

As for myself, I want no explanations of communism; I merely wish to oppose, fight, and combat everything it represents.

Aloysius Schuszler

2346 South Overlook Road
Cleveland Heights 6, Ohio

* * *

2nd Award

DIGNITY OF U.S.

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

I listened to Bishop Sheen a few nights ago and heard him decry the cult of fear in this country.

About the same time I read that the Daughters of the American Revolution had denounced the spies' nest on the East River, miscalled the United Nations.

It is tragic that the responsible leaders of the country have left the dignity of the United States to be proclaimed only by a churchman and an organization of women.

J. W. Hassell

738 Gibraltar Life Building
Dallas, Texas

* * *

3rd Award

RAPS MORE SUBSIDIES AS BRITISH WIND UP YEAR A BILLION AHEAD

To the *Houston Press*:

The British government has just closed its fiscal year with a cash balance of one billion, two hundred million dollars.

This seems to explode the myth of the sorry plight of the brittle British and makes Uncle Sap look sappier still for his continuing subsidy of a nation now firmly on its own feet.

Our annual huge handouts of billions for the British may now be slightly harder to sell to our taxpayers, currently licking their wounds after their yearly bout with the Internal Revenue

Commission.

However, the well-known team of Sir Winston Churchill and our Dulles witted State Department will prevail in the end as always. No longer premier, winsome Winnie will be here often to win some more of the stuff that makes the world go round while the U.S.A. goes flat.

Donald M. Vance

8569 Ridgepoint Dr., Houston 24, Texas

* * *

4th Award

CONGRESSIONAL ECONOMY

To the *Manchester Union Leader*:

The congressional pay boost for its members suggests that the M. C.s' idea of economy still runs in familiar channels. It could be expressed as follows:

"The budget can't be balanced yet,

This country's heavily in debt;

The promised tax cuts have to go,

We're sorry that it must be so.

But cheer up! This is what we've planned,

We'll raise our salaries Ten Grand."

E. McLean Johnson

222 8th St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

* * *

5th Award

CORSI'S DISMISSAL

To the *New York Herald Tribune*:

The dismissal of Mr. Corsi may have been caused by lack of team work. Mr. Corsi wanted to speed up admission of refugees, while the rest of the team were cautious to avoid flooding the United States with refugees to an extent that might create a more serious housing problem and aggravate, also, the labor problem. It is up to the public to evaluate. Which side is the best for America? The side pulling for a speedy flooding of America with thousands of refugees or the side that is more cautious with a view of avoiding aggravation of housing and labor problems?

The most ridiculous assertion that has been made is that "it will cost the Republican party millions of Italian votes." I am of Italian extraction—admitted to citizenship in 1898—and have never considered mine anything but "an American vote." It's time to throw hyphenated citizenship in the ash can.

Vincent Zavatt

214 Lawrence Ave.

Lawrence, L. I., N. Y.

* * *

6th Award

FIRMNESS

To the *Long Beach*

Independent-Press-Telegram:

What, do you think, would have re-

sulted to freedom in the world if our forefathers of 1776 had so feared war that they would have failed to face the British tyrant with everything they had, and stop him?

How can our people now feel much pride of nation if our government so fears war that they fail to force the release of our unlawfully imprisoned airmen, but would belittle themselves by sitting down with the dishonorable, brutal Red Chinese to discuss reducing tension in the Far East when there would be no tension there but for them?

How can the infamous Chinese Reds have anything but contempt for us when our leaders are so ready to give them the chance they propose to trick us again with their deceitful doubletalk, instead of stopping them with force, or the stern threat of it?

Walter W. Strong

5801 Garford Street
Long Beach 15, California
* * *

7th Award INTO GREENER PASTURES

To the *Tulsa Tribune*:

Now that we believe polio to be conquered it is time some genius found a cure for "Progressive Education," sometimes called "American brainwashing." Surely the child's mind is as important as his body.

When this great cure is found, then Johnny will be able to read, as well as spell and write. He will also know the salient facts of American history and certainly be made to understand that this country is a Republic, not a Democracy.

C. T. Richardson

P. O. Box 281, Kirkland, Washington
* * *

8th Award THE DEAL WITH CHOU

To the *Boston Post*:

Chou En-lai has proposed direct negotiations with the United States, to ease tension in the Formosa area, but says that Peiping will not give up its rights to "liberate" the island.

The United States no longer demands that the presence of a representative of Nationalist China be allowed at such a conference.

These developments can mean only one thing to the Chinese Nationalists. Even if the United States does not take it on themselves to dispose of any territory openly, the effect will be the same. We are withdrawing our support of Chiang piecemeal. This proposed meeting may well be the straw that breaks the back of Nationalist Chinese morale.

Chou may free our 15 airmen if we "play ball," but what about the hundreds of other Americans being held prisoner? And what will the future hold in store?

You can't win in a deal with the devil.

Thelma D. Lopez

78 Gardner Street
Arlington 74, Massachusetts
* * *

9th Award REUTHER, PLEASE NOTE

To the *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph*:

Should we abolish the Constitution and establish a socialistic state? This is a familiar question, although at the present time it is masked in the guise of "Should we have a guaranteed annual wage?"

The old union argument of a guaranteed wage is the old Marxist philosophy that the best way to achieve wealth is not to produce it, but to try to get it from someone who has already got it. Russia tried the perfect society with the guaranteed wage—and today the Russian worker gets less than the man in the U.S. who lives off unemployment insurance.

If Reuther and his unions really wanted better wages for their workers, they would want increased capitalism instead of increased socialism.

Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr.

Sonora, Texas
* * *

10th Award SHE STRONGLY FAVORS BRICKER AMENDMENT

To the *Atlanta Journal*:

Your editorial "Taps for Bricker Amendment" hits wide the mark! You say, "...faced by obvious dangers from without, the country is concentrating on its safety, rather than haggling over presidential powers in treaty making."

Let me give you Secretary Dulles' opinion of "treaty law."

"The treaty-making power is an extraordinary power liable to abuse... Under our Constitution treaties become the supreme law of the land... treaties... can take powers away from the Congress and give them to the federal government or to some international body, and they can cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights."

How much "safety" is there in that?

The very "dangers from without" which "we the people" are concentrated on forestalling is just that power to make executive agreements which sell our birthright. You cannot let any human being have such powers! The Bricker Amendment is must legislation.

Marion C. Reed

821 Clemont Dr., N.E., Atlanta 6, Ga.
* * *

11th Award CHALLENGE TO AMERICA

To the *Dallas Morning News*:

True charity sets no value on humanity—no point at which it stops giving. So long as need exists it continues on into the realm of sacrifice. The widow

who threw in her mites, which were her living, outlined the unlimited character of charity.

With half of the people of the world going to bed hungry every night, it is a sorry sight to see American politicians crying over food surpluses and seeking to curtail production.

We now have a test that will prove whether America is really Christian. It is said that the American food surplus would last the hungry people only a few days if they could get it. CARE is offering to send 28 pounds of this surplus to the starving for only a dollar.

With this bargain in charity, if the heart of America were truly Christian, the food surplus would be wiped out overnight.

J. Wesley Edwards

Route 2, Sunset, Texas
* * *

12th Award BROADEN TAX BASE WITH MORE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

To the *Omaha Evening World-Herald*:

There are three good ways to broaden the tax base.

First, sell the billion dollars of no-tax-paying property owned in common in Nebraska to private ownership where it will pay taxes.

Second, leave private ownership a larger share of yearly earnings so it will invest more in private production and pay taxes on more private property.

Third, stop levying the high taxes that now enable government to go into every conceivable kind of business that should be left to private industry. Such government operated businesses now extend from repair shops to roasting coffee, building power dams and generating electricity. Generally, private ownership does a better job 40 per cent cheaper.

Leftwingers talk of a "broader tax base" but always mean levying more kinds of taxes to put more politicians into business competing with private ownership.

What such leftists want is more tax superstructure on the present narrow tax base.

Edwin F. Myers

Box 616, Broken Bow, Nebraska
* * *

13th Award ONE-WAY REUTHER

To the *New York Mirror*:

It may be perfectly proper for the UAW-CIO to assess their membership \$5 per month to accumulate a strike fund of \$25,000,000 in preparation for their guaranteed annual wage demands. But Mr. Reuther, president of the Auto Union and the CIO, tells us it is entirely wrong for industry to raise a similar sum to fight the union demands.

In fact, he hastens to criticize the NAM in claiming they are sponsoring

such a fund, even though they officially denied having done any such thing.

Michael Walpin

1726 Davidson Ave., Bronx 53, N. Y.

* * *

14th Award

REDS QUITTING AUSTRIA CALLED FLIGHT FROM PERIL

To the *New York World*

Telegram and Sun:

No one behind the Iron Curtain will be happier than the Kremlin to lift the occupation forces out of Vienna. The mere presence of Soviet peasants' sons and workers' lads in civilized surroundings is the most demoralizing factor for the Red Army.

Returning home, these boys compare living conditions in the miserable hovels, under the most oppressive taskmaster in the world, with the Austrians. No political commissar could make them believe theirs the land of "plenty," the "land of happiness."

The easiest way out is to get the hell out of there as speedily as possible. Not so in Eastern Germany. There the Communist regime of a few German traitors rests exclusively on Soviet bayonets. Remove them and the East German puppet would crumble.

This and only this is the reason for the Kremlin's odd face in its stubborn resistance to liberating the Austrians

from the yoke of occupation.

J. Anthony Marcus, Pres.

Institute of Foreign Trade

11 W. 42nd St., New York 36, N. Y.

* * *

15th Award

GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE

To the *Christian Science Monitor:*

Both proponents and opponents of the Guaranteed Annual Wage seem oblivious to the amazing corollary of the innovation. It is a guaranteed annual demand.

As Henry Ford's original five-dollars-a-day wage worked most because it built into the economy something more than a \$5.00 demand for its goods and services, so GAW in conjunction with the time payment plan and the pension fund, will build into the economy a guaranteed annual demand.

The useful corollaries of that situation are a guaranteed annual profit, a stable and expanding economy, with the immediate result that GAW shall be the very thing that shall most guarantee itself.

Karl Haartz

High Plain Rd., Andover, Mass.

* * *

16th Award

TAX REDUCTION

To the *Dallas News:*

The *Daily Worker* recently griped about poor efforts for the tax reduction

advocated by the "Democrats" (?) Those advocating tax reduction before they achieve a balanced budget are right in line with the *Daily Worker*—spokesman in the U.S.A. for the Lenin line to bankrupt the United States.

F. G. Swanson

Box 1020, Tyler, Texas

* * *

17th Award

WAY TO INSURE PEACE

To the *Fort Worth Star Telegram:*

I wish to submit a proposal I know will ease world tension and will insure peace for a good while. The first step is to give the Chinese Reds Hong Kong and Malaya. We should then give them Formosa, Hawaii, California, Arizona, and New Mexico.

After that, the rest of the country can give Texas to them.

We can mouth a lot of drivel about "holding the line," but it cannot be done. The American 6 per cent of the world's population will become slaves if we do not liberate those of the 94 per cent already enslaved. Every time we play the coward we lose some more friends that we badly need and will need worse. I hope we don't win half a war and quit, like in Korea. If so, we will, like in Korea, have two halves of a war to fight.

Corporal Don Lindley

Route 4, Hico, Texas

COEXISTENCE

(Continued from Page 11)

sample statement is made: "The American imperialists propose to conquer and enslave the world." No vestige of evidence is given in support of this statement, but it is repeated and reiterated like a radio singing commercial, until it becomes axiomatic in the Communist mind, unquestioned and unquestionable—the basis for planning and counteraction. On every page we find it: "By the enslavement of the peoples of the world by one imperialist country, America, imperialism has assumed an unprecedented scale."

And again: "Even during the second world war, the American imperialists had made their plans for plundering and oppressing all the nations of the world. All these activities stemmed from their ambitious and aggressive plans. In order to put their plans for the enslavement of the whole world into operation, the American imperialists..."

"In order to put their plans for world domination into operation, the American imperialists..."

And so it goes on, once or twice every page, until it becomes a refrain of the unconscious mind and the basis of conduct and behavior.

When you have cancer, temporarily it may be more comfortable to ignore its presence and coexist with it. But most people believe that it is the refuge of insanity, and it is certainly the pathway to doom. To ignore the central fact that 900 million people are in the iron grip of the world Communist party dedicated to the concept and consummation of the class war is likewise the pathway of insanity and doom. We can but acknowledge their ideas, their program to implement those ideas, and intelligently recognize their assaults. We must protect ourselves and the survival of human liberty.

To accept Communist coexistence at its face value is insanity. The term coexistence was coined by the Communists. The Communist idea of coexistence was disseminated by the Communists as an instrument for the consummation of the class war in Communist conquest. William Z. Foster, Chairman of the American Communist party, writing in *Political Affairs*, indicates that the idea of coexistence in no sense contradicts the inevitability of Communist conquest, but is a weapon directed toward that end. Coexistence means to

the Communists that phase of the dialectical class struggle before the critical point has been reached where the war is waged to give a steady program of advance rather than rapid annihilating change. During this period, every technique of propaganda and slander is used against the American people. Every artifice to sedate and to confuse is scientifically prepared. And coexistence is merely the cornerstone of Communist conquest.

SMOOT: Dr. Schwarz, I must confess that I have heard people call you an alarmist.

SCHWARZ: I confess it without shame. I am alarmed that American aircraft can be shot down with impunity; that the sons of American mothers, clothed in garments of honor, the uniform of their country, carrying with them the prestige and dignity of this mighty land, are today in Communist prisons—and the protests of this country are laughed to scorn. I am alarmed that Japanese school children learn English from Communist textbooks. I am alarmed that every Chinese school child attends mass executions as a portion of his education. I am alarmed that, beginning with seventeen in 1903, conquering Russia with forty thousand in 1917, the Communists today have conquered 900 million. And I am alarmed that well-meaning and intelligent people do not appear to be alarmed.

Opinion Forum

The following are taken from the
"Remarks" on or accompanying
Facts Forum Poll Cards

Asiatics interpret yielding of Matsu and Quemoy as abandonment of all Asia and a complete collapse of nation after nation into Russian orbit would result.

Luther F. Meyer
220 E. Jefferson St., Fort Wayne 2, Ind.

In regard to the last question—not all labor but only those industries where a skilled or semi-skilled labor is used, when seasonal layoffs are involved.

Thomas Bushnell
1809 7th St., Troy, N. Y.

Soviet officials would certainly control that wheat and the humanitarian motives of the donor would then all but disappear. Is America incapable of understanding this?

John Johnsson
Rt. 1, Box 28, Eureka Springs, Ark.

I would say "Yes" to giving wheat to hungry Russians if we could be assured they would know it was a gift from the American people.

Mrs. V. A. Richey
1008 E. Main, Atlanta, Texas

No. 7—The poverty-stricken will grasp at any straw, no matter how rotten.

T. L. Mitchell
824 Caldonia St., Rossville, Ga.

Who can or ever would guarantee an average annual sales volume? The answer is: no one ever could or would offer such a guarantee.

M. A. Flannery
Latham, N. Y.

We should continue to hold conferences with Red Russia—only under a more watchful eye and more diligent procedures.

Alvin Hall
Sioux Falls, S. D.

The planned meeting... at the "summit" is the summit of disgrace and dishonor.

Mrs. Daisy Heising
4110 Hammerly, Dallas, Texas

We've had propaganda about UN and all—but not facts. It is imperative that treaty power be curbed.

Mary Mastin
Box 519, Flagstaff, Ariz.

I observe that most of the Communists in the U.S. come from the so-called "intelligensia"... They haven't turned up a poor one yet!

Eugenie Howard
2056 E. 12th Pl., Tulsa, Okla.

It's unfortunate that we even became involved in Asia but now that we are, we should act like a great, strong nation should and stop appeasing Red China.

Mrs. Edith M. Stanfield
16392 Micheltorena, Los Angeles, Calif.

Progressive education too broad. Many fine teachers—good Americans using progressive methods. Definitely had in some instances.

Mrs. Byron Ising
319 Jackson Dr., Oshkosh, Wis.

I spent months on Quemoy as Military Advisor to Nationalist China. These islands are vital to defense of Formosa.

Senator A. B. Ewing
441 Florence Ave., Sheridan, Wyo.

We should adhere to Monroe Doctrine and Washington's Farewell Address. Foreign entanglements weaken our nation.

Erle E. Howe
1026 Blaine, Los Angeles, Calif.

Progressive education means to me to keep in step with the best educational practices.

J. E. Miller
710 22 St., Canyon, Texas

No. 12—Not unless capital is guaranteed an annual income!

Mrs. Adele K. Miller
So. Beach Rd., Oconomowoc, Wis.

Some form of world government might be possible with national sovereignty assured, but it is not probable—not when we see what happens to state sovereignty under federal government.

Spencer Allen
517½ E. Pikes Peak
Colorado Springs, Colo.

No. 11—Nothing is indispensable.

Paul Price, Jr.
Rt. 1, Box 98, Anthony, N. M.

I don't think NATO is indispensable to our security, but it helps.

Paulist Circulating Library
614 Grant Ave., San Francisco, Calif.

No. 1—But do we want them? It seems best to me that we keep out of some of the foreign affairs.

Norma M. Gilpin
503 Woodland Ave., Van Wert, Ohio

Cruel, greedy, self-seeking, dictatorial people exploit poverty to promote communism for their own self-advancement.

James I. Crockett
2749 Woodley Pl. N.W.
Washington 8, D. C.

The UN is nothing but a blank check for

LAST MONTH'S POLL RESULTS

% YES

- 11 Should we let the Communists take Quemoy and Matsu?
- 62 Is progressive education a tool of communism?
- 88 Should the U.S. use sterner measures to liberate our boys from China?
- 12 Is U.S. policy of generous gifts abroad winning many friends?
- 72 Does UN membership limit our constitutional rights?
- 15 Has the U.S. ever gained anything from conferences with Red Russia?
- 73 Does poverty aid in the spread of communism?
- 33 Is it possible to promote world government and be loyal to U.S.?
- 76 Do we need Bricker Amendment to protect Constitution from UN treaties?
- 13 Should surplus wheat be given to Russia to alleviate food shortages?
- 30 Is NATO indispensable to the security of the U.S.?
- 15 Should labor be granted an annual wage?

Annual wage is a question. It might make for more stable economy, but it in my opinion also promotes socialism which is a forerunner of communism. Definitely would lower initiative.

V. J. Elson, M.D.
Paola, Kansas

Use any or every means now to liberate U.S. Army prisoners. If we have lost our honor, naught else is worth preserving.

Alden W. Cavender
4124 Sanger Ave., Waco, Texas

UN membership should not limit our constitutional rights, but those in power are interpreting it to that effect. Misuse of treaty power without legislation is unconstitutional and contrary to law.

Maryesther Williamson
6402 Broadway, Indianapolis, 20, Ind.

No. 8—Possible but hard to reconcile as the theory supports yielding our nationalist character to a world rule. It certainly is a thing to fight against at every turn.

Fielding Haas
3401 Browy, Great Bend, Kansas

...am convinced our educational system is suffering greatly in regard to Americanism and fundamental principles of education.

Mrs. Neil Patrick
Box 19, Lake Providence, La.

tyranny, and little nations are doomed.

Eugene Teahan
Ellsworth, Kansas

We should get out of Asia and turn the whole mess over to the UN.

C. J. Connolly
1306 Fitchland Ave., Toledo, Ohio

In regard to liberating the boys from China. I am going along with Ike as he knows what is going on and I do not. Same goes for the Bricker Amendment.

Robert Inkster
Box 527, Buffalo, Wyo.

World government is only answer eventually, but it must be predicated upon a true awareness of necessity. No tariffs; no economic advantages.

Fred K. Flanagan
3806 Gilbert Ave., Shreveport, La.

Education is in need of revision to combat communism. Our gifts abroad, when handled properly, do win friends; unwisely, enemies.

Eleanor Franklin
511 W. 71 St., Chicago, Ill.

No. 7—Poverty of itself does not aid in the spread of communism. Among the ignorant and uninformed, it might. Every Communist nation is a monument to poverty.

Rev. William H. Spencer
360 W. State, Jacksonville, Ill.

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes August 10

Yes No

- ☐ ☐ Should trade be increased with Communist countries?
☐ ☐ Are public schools educating for good American citizenship?
☐ ☐ Should each state be allowed to decide its segregation issue?
☐ ☐ Has the Supreme Court overstepped its constitutional functions?
☐ ☐ Should foreign aid be continued while the U.S. is heavily in debt?
☐ ☐ Is there Communist propaganda in today's schoolbooks?
☐ ☐ Should the U.S. control distribution of the Salk vaccine?
☐ ☐ Is Eisenhower's proposed ninety cents an hour minimum fair?
☐ ☐ Should the Bricker Amendment be enacted into law?
☐ ☐ Are newspaper monopolies impairing our freedom?
☐ ☐ Should Pearl Harbor, Cairo, Teheran, and Potsdam papers be released?
☐ ☐ Is the U.S. losing the propaganda cold war?
☐ ☐ Should subversive suspects have constitutional right to face accusers?
☐ ☐ Should the U.S. cut economic aid to countries who trade with Red China?

Remarks

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)	NO. AND ST.	CITY AND STATE
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☐ Bill me for \$2.00 for 1 yr. subscription to Facts Forum News.

* To receive regular Facts Forum Poll card each month, already addressed and with postage paid, simply write your request once to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas.

* You or your friends may write in your votes by listing your answers on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which you have no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.), and mailing to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). Your votes will be counted the same as if they were entered on a ballot.

POLL QUESTION WINNERS

FOR AUGUST, 1955

An award of \$10.00 each has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1st: MRS. LOUISE T. RENICK
202 Moore Street
Newark, New York | 8th: MRS. T. AKANA
P. O. Box 788
Brooklyn, New York |
| 2nd: MRS. FRED L. DAVIS
1242 Highland Terrace
Richmond Heights 17, Missouri | 9th: J. E. BATES
210 North Kellogg Street
Elsinore, California |
| 3rd: LOMA ANDRUS
Box 408
Huntsville, Arkansas | 10th: EVANGELINE S. McALLISTER
Bayard, Nebraska |
| 4th: MISS DAISY McCUTCHEON
400 Fourteenth Avenue
Dillon, South Carolina | 11th: RONALD W. BLACK
1516726 USMC, H&A-9
3rd Mar. Div., F.P.O.
San Francisco, California |
| 5th: LESLIE E. DUNKIN
P. O. Box 117
South Bend 24, Indiana | 12th: GEORGE DURST
P. O. Box 61
Jamaica, New York |
| 6th: VERA L. PRAAST
Box 299
Anaconda, Montana | 13th: JAMES H. COCKERILLE
1225 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia |
| 7th: DON C. BENTLEY
7519 Greenville Street
Houston 20, Texas | 14th: JAMES E. WALLACE
2529 Jane Street
Pittsburgh 3, Pennsylvania |

This Month's Slogan:

AMERICANISM is GOOD BUSINESS

Submitted by
HARRY KRUG

1832 E. 47th Terrace, Kansas City 30, Missouri

FACTS FORUM NEWS, August, 1955

What they're saying . . .



about **FACTS FORUM**

Your broadcast and magazine have earned so much respect across the country that any poll you take on public opinion has value. I heard that one of the local papers recently reprinted a poll you took on questions. . . .

ALICE C. GALE
8737 Holloway Drive
Los Angeles 46, Calif.

Facts Forum News is one magazine that should be in every American home and in schools, too. You are doing a wonderful job. Keep it up and more power to you.

MRS. T. R. ANDRUS
Huntsville, Ark.

...I know no secular publication which I regard more highly than Facts Forum News. Be assured I shall do all I can to aid and advance it among students and friends. . . .

MRS. CHARLOTTE M. HIGLEY
68 Highland Ave.
Bridgeport 4, Conn.

...would like to compliment you and further wish you success in all efforts you may exert toward the direction of furthering the aims of democracy in America.

A. E. WADE, IV
511 South Sixth St., Louisville, Ky.

Your publication will go far in effecting the return of the majority of Americans to an appreciation of all that America means, and a return to the principles and ideals that have made our country great. . . .

STEPHEN F. SMETLANA
505 Ninth Ave., Munhall, Pa.

...I was particularly interested in the discussion on communism as we have been devoting a great deal of time to this subject in the school that I am attending. . . .

A great number of the officers here at Maxwell AFB listen to your program, and we get a lot of ideas from both yourself and your guests with which to further our own discussions. Keep up the good work!

W. H. BUTTERFIELD, Lt. Col. USAF
Box 88, Command and Staff School
Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.

I sure appreciate the wonderful magazine . . . of news and timely and important issues that are very vital to America.

REV. J. P. STEVENSON
Paducah, Texas

Facts Forum News is like a call to thinking arms of everyone of us, reminding us that without eternal vigilance we can easily become as the Romans, so enchanted with selfish pleasures that we forget that we are the authors of our liberty.

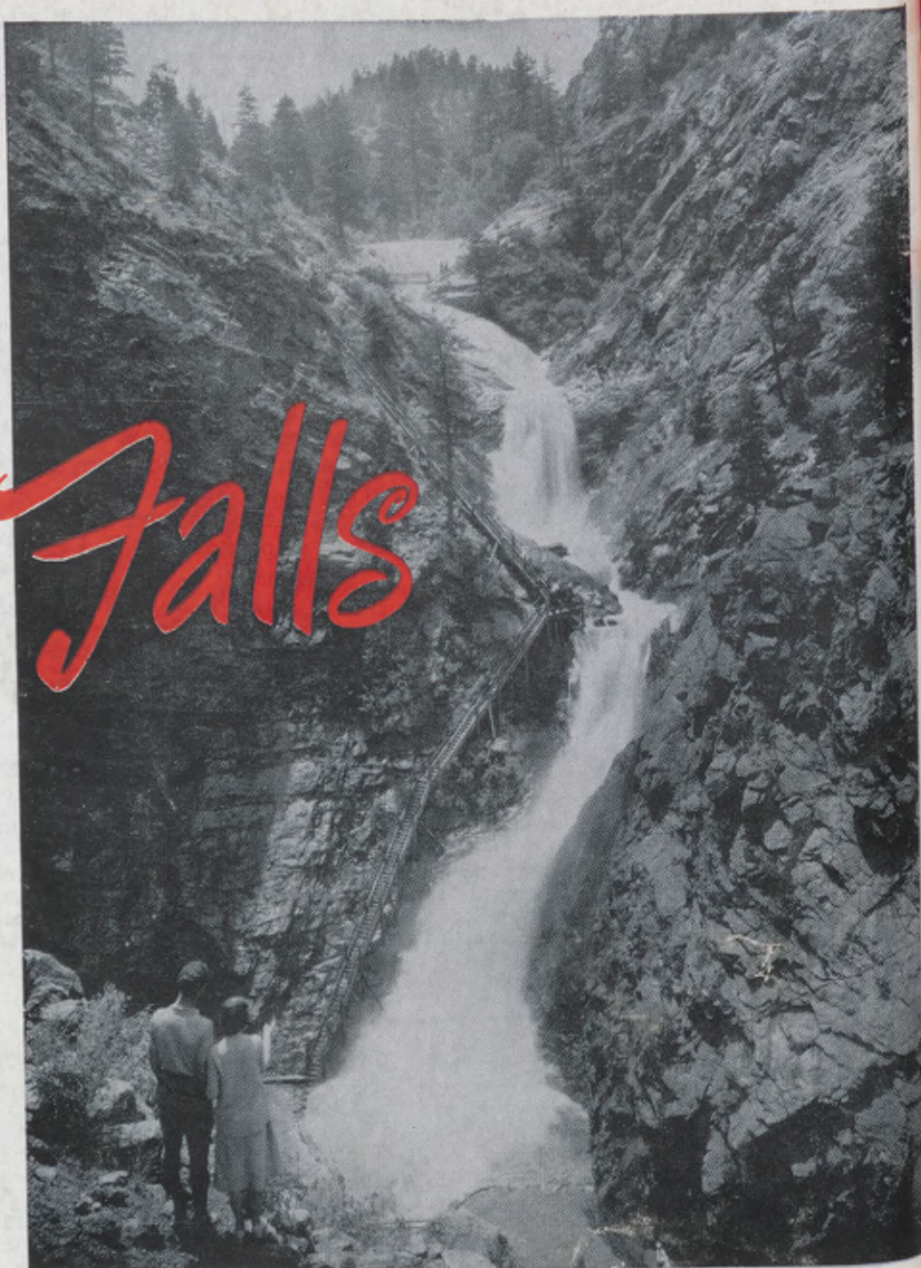
WILLIAM G. SLADE, YN2 USN
Director of Training Office, PRNC
U.S. Naval Gun Factory
Washington 25, D. C.

"Peace in Our Time" by Freda Utley in the April issue of Facts Forum News should be read again and again by every American.

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