

# FACTS FORUM

NEWS

*Makes the Public Interest of Interest to the Public*



SEABORN P. COLLINS  
National Commander of American Legion, 1954-55

## Who Is Right About The Fund for the Republic?



ROBERT M. HUTCHINS  
President, The Fund for the Republic

Also in this Issue . . .

**Will McCarthy Come Back?  
America's Purse Strings**

# Provocative Prose

*"Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever."*

—POPE PIUS XI

*"Karl Marx in the library is not half so dangerous as a Liberal preacher in the pulpit and a Socialist teacher in the lecture room. Their subtle tactics and sometimes winsome propaganda may rob us of our freedom."*

—REVEREND ROBERT P. SHULER  
The Methodist Challenge

*"Every man has a right to his opinion, but no man has a right to be wrong in his facts."*

—BERNARD M. BARUCH

*"I believe we shall need for some time yet to live as a nation that is imperiled."*

—JOHN FOSTER DULLES

*"Nothing is politically right which is morally wrong."*

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

*"The Scripture passages that bother me most are the ones I understand."*

—MARK TWAIN

*"No public man can be just a little crooked. There is no such thing as a no-man's-land between honesty and dishonesty. Our strength is not in politics, prices, or production, or price controls. Our strength lies in spiritual concepts. It lies in public sensitiveness to evil."*

—HERBERT HOOVER

*"America is not a mere body of traders; it is a body of free men. Our greatness is built upon our freedom—is moral, not material. We have a great ardour for gain; but we have a deep passion for the rights of man."*

—WOODROW WILSON

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

## Readers Report

### Read, Read, Read!

The *Omaha World Herald*, under the heading "No Substitute For You," states that "the weapon to defeat all collectives is INDIVIDUALISM. . . . If you are tired of following the intellectual leadership of someone else and would like to do your own thinking for a while, these books can help to get you into the right kind of habit." The subject-indexed list of books which follows the newspaper article is available through the Do You Know Company, P. O. Box 13351, Houston, Texas, as well as the books themselves. Among the headings shown are "The Communist Idea," "Communism in the U.S.A.," "World Communism," and "Failure of Communism," as well as other anti-collectivist subjects.

### The Kingmakers' Republicide

Comment received from E. F. W. Wildermuth of 181-23 Dalny Rd., Jamaica 32, N. Y., is thought-provoking. He writes as follows: "I note that your letterhead recites that FACTS FORUM 'dispels apathy.' It is my opinion that professional politicians have, in their own selfish interests for ease of self-perpetuation as kingmakers, dubbed the apparent lack of public interest in government as 'apathy,' thereby giving the outward semblance of justification for their existence, and at the same time placing the blame for high taxes and lack of honor and integrity in government upon the people.

"However, the fact is that we suffer from 'voter frustration' because the professional politicians have, for all practical purposes, denied us the right to vote upon issues and the right to select candidates for party nomination to public office in competitive primary elections. . . . The frustrating result is that on Election Day we make a choice, those of us who bother to vote, between the lesser of two evils, by placing our stamp of approval upon one or the other of the candidates hand-picked for us by kingmakers who themselves were not elected by the people. What do you think?"

### Civic Pride Created

"Since becoming a FACTS FORUM reader some three years ago," writes ex-detective John G. Whelan of No. 4, 700 Broughton Street, Vancouver, B. C., "I have acquired the habit of looking around to see what was going on in our town. After a quick glance into Bluebeard's chamber, I decided to do something about it. In the storehouse of my memory I held the efficacy to force an open investigation into conditions existing in our town, and in collaboration with a fearless reporter, Ray Munro, we set in motion the most powerful weapon in existence, public opinion.

"Under the able council of a learned member of the bar, Neil Fleishman, we took on gangland, the Police Department, the Police Commission, the Athletic Commission, the Mayor, the City Council and Non-Partisan Association, the former provincial government, and the vice syndicate in our city.

"The wheels of justice are now in motion, and a direct blow has been struck on the grip of political control in our community. By

## Of, by, and for Facts Forum News readers

acquiring the realization that I was a fellow traveler on the death train of our civilization, I obtained the ability to strike a blow for freedom . . . from the bonds of political chicanery which are grinding us down into the ground.

"In the hope that others may gain the courage from your efforts which I did, I remain . . ."

Front page headline news stories accompanying Mr. Whelan's letter indicate that a special four-man team of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has been assigned to probe criminal aspects of the inquiry following a dramatic series of events which included:

1. Publication of a series of articles by Flash magazine, a Toronto tabloid, charging graft in the Police Department, prepared by reporter Ray Munro in conjunction with former city detective Jack Whelan.

2. Filing of a libel suit by Police Chief Walter Mulligan, who had been linked with Vancouver's criminal element through this information, against Munro and Flash magazine.

3. Blaming of city police laxness for city's narcotics problem by a special Senate narcotics investigating committee investigating Canada's drug problem.

4. Attempted suicide of Detective Sergeant Len Cuthbert, former head of the gambling squad, named in Flash magazine as involved in the Department scandals to the extent that he and Police Chief Mulligan were parties to a plot to split Vancouver in half between two gambling syndicates, who were willing to pay \$5,000 a month for a "good deal" from Mulligan and Cuthbert.

### Today's Youth — Tomorrow's Leaders

This constructive suggestion from Robert Hardgrave, Jr., of Sonora, Texas, for a "Youth Speaks" feature:

"Once a month you could pick two youths — one conservative, the other liberal — and have them do research and write a debate for their side on given subjects. It would certainly not be one-sided and would have appeal to the readers of *Facts Forum News* since the youth of today will be the leaders of tomorrow."

### No Substitute for Americanism

From L. E. Whitney, Chicago, Ill.:

"Mr. Phillips of the *Borger (Tex.) News-Herald* sent me a copy of a letter they received from a young student wanting to know how American youth are to recognize Communist teachings. I know of one sure way — through the VFW we are distributing our four patriotic recordings to public schools, and the various posts who donate the records follow up with an essay contest to make certain the recordings are used. There is also a flag pageant in which the history of our flag is reviewed with the various symbols in replicas displayed.

"A bank teller is able to identify the counterfeit because he knows the real, and as truly a patriot will have no trouble with any pretended substitute for Americanism."

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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 opposing 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.

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Robert M. Hutchins—Wide World Photo

**COVER:** Central figures in the controversy raging over the activities of The Fund for the Republic are the president of the Fund, Robert M. Hutchins, and the immediate past president of the American Legion, Seaborn P. Collins. The recent alert issued by Collins to all Legionnaires regarding The Fund for the Republic centered the national spotlight on the controversy.

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I have been following your publication since the very first issue, and it is with pride indeed that I watch it grow bigger and better with every number. Eventually, it will be on all the drugstore stands across our beloved land. It must.

P.S. Judge Medina's article is the finest thing I have ever read. What a wonderful patriot. [October, 1955, issue]

MRS. J. CLARKE WALDRON  
1907 N. Roosevelt  
Arlington, Virginia

I am making up my Christmas gift list and I think there would be nothing nicer than a gift subscription to your wonderful paper. Every patriotic citizen should get behind your paper and see that it is placed in every school library and public reading room over the nation. I for one am going to do my part. Send material for getting business friends interested in adding patriotism to their ads.

MISS MARY GALLAGHER  
3709 Clarke Street  
Fort Worth, Texas

Although I subscribed only recently to *Facts Forum News*, I can frankly say that it now ranks first with me in comparison with the thirteen other magazines that are now mailed to us regularly. . . . the main reason is because its study provokes righteous thinking: the kind that inspires us to stop and think before making a definite decision on any important problem.

BEN. H. FERRELL  
R. R. No. 1  
Jamestown, Indiana

I find it extremely difficult to refrain from being a bit boastful of your truly outstanding patriotic publication, *Facts Forum News*. Your pro and con presentation of vital controversial issues is to be highly commended.

G. MARVIN FOURMAUX  
2621 Rousseau Street  
New Orleans, Louisiana

You are helping to build a more intelligent America. Keep it up.

REV. ANDREW KUNKEL  
Clyde, Missouri

We do enjoy *Facts Forum News* and believe it is helping focus the danger spots. We all in America must be patriots to win in this so-called cold war.

CLARA E. LITZINGER  
Corvallis, Montana, RFD 1

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.... "The Fund for the Republic is threatening and may succeed in crippling the national security," states Seaborn P. Collins, American Legion National Commander, 1954-55.

# Who Is Right About The Fund for the Republic

- .... "Fund For Which Republic?" asks Russell Turner in an article by the same name.
- .... "Beware These Big Foundations!" warns Aidan Mackey in *Candour, The British Views-Letter*.
- .... Testimony of Igor Bogolepov that the Soviet Foreign Office disseminates pro-Soviet ideas through American foundations.

## ALERT ISSUED TO AMERICAN LEGION

ON September 12, 1955, American Legion National Commander Seaborn P. Collins called on the nation's nearly three million Legionnaires to "avoid any identification with activities sponsored by The Fund for the Republic."

Commander Collins declared:

"I am issuing this alert to our membership because it appears that The Fund for the Republic, headed by Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, is threatening and may succeed in crippling the national security.

"Study of projects and activities financed by The Fund for the Republic has convinced me that Hutchins and his associates are trying to propagandize Americans into believing that:

"(1) communism never has been and is not now a serious danger to this country;

"(2) sinister forces under the pretext of fighting communism are the real danger and threaten the civil liberties of all Americans;

"(3) security measures are un-American and are being used to harass and persecute innocent people;

"(4) intelligent and educated people are aware of these things, but are opposed by the ignorant who are being misled by evil demagogues."

Many of the fellowship awards and other projects supported by the \$15 million Fund, Collins said, give the impression that the organization is battling

what it terms "witch-hunt" and "vigilanteism."

"On the contrary, it seems to us that the effect of this constant, loaded criticism of congressional and administrative efforts to resist Communist infiltration is bound to be the encouragement of a form of intellectual vigilanteism which would be a far more dangerous problem."

Collins said he hoped American Legion elements at the state and local levels "will have no truck with" Fund for the Republic enterprises.

### MAY CRIPPLE NATIONAL SECURITY

"If American Legion posts and departments (state organizations) are offered financial aid by the Hutchins group to carry out the group's programs, I sincerely hope they will decline." Noting that The Fund for the Republic was granted \$15 million by the Ford Foundation when established in 1952, The American Legion chief asserted:

"The American Legion has consistently advocated and fought for a strong and united nation. By shrewd grants and expenditures, The Fund for the Republic is threatening and may succeed in crippling the national security. One apparent line of attack is to attempt to persuade Americans that communism is not, and never has been a serious threat to the United States.

"This propaganda is considered by The American Legion to be as dangerous as it is untrue, but we recognize that even such propaganda as that being disseminated by The Fund for the Republic can be sold to many Americans when millions of dollars are behind the sales effort."

Collins said the record of Hutchins'

stated opinions on the subject of Communist subversion supports the belief that he is "peculiarly unsuited" for the responsibility of administering a multi-million dollar opinion-moulding campaign.

"This man has made statements publicly which seemingly reflect his contemptuous attitude toward our legally constituted government. Because the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the Smith Act outlawing the Communist party, he blasted our highest tribunal, saying the decision 'indicates that we are at last up against a crisis in this country.'

"Only a couple of years ago he made a sneering reference to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, stating: 'Today we are cursed by a tremendous glorification of the FBI. The only people we will believe are confessed spies and traitors.'

"Hutchins is entitled to an opinion that Communists should be given jobs in teaching and in government. He is entitled to his evident opinion that the Supreme Court, lawmakers and the FBI are evil when they are intolerant of Communists.

"By the same token, Legionnaires are entitled to know and be alerted against an operation directed by Hutchins which, in our judgment, will not serve the cause of American unity and strength."

Collins said he is "quite certain" that activities of The Fund for the Republic will be closely scrutinized by delegates to The American Legion's annual National Convention at Miami, Fla., Oct. 10-13.

Collins declared:

"The Fund for the Republic in a press release of January 10, 1955, de-

(Continued on Page 4)

.... "The determination of the Trustees of the Ford Foundation to establish the Fund seems justified by the work it is doing," states Robert M. Hutchins, President of The Fund for the Republic, in a report dated May 31, 1955.

# ... of the Republic?

.... American Legion criticism termed "misinformation" by Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of The Fund for the Republic. "The function of the Fund is to help every American understand the Bill of Rights."

## FUND ANSWERS LEGION CHARGES

THE Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic is concerned that the Commander of the Legion should be misinformed, and should misinform others, about the purposes and program of the Fund.

Since its inception the Board has regarded the sphere of the Fund as including the entire field of freedom and civil rights and has taken as its basic charter the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. From the beginning the Board has held that the major factor affecting civil liberties today is the menace of communism and Communist influence in this country. Coupled with this threat is the grave danger to civil liberties in methods that may be used to meet the threat. The Fund has financed research on a large scale into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace and its effect on our community and institutions. We hope to make a contribution to the better understanding of effective procedures for dealing with the Communist menace, while at the same time strengthening the American traditions of liberty and freedom.

The areas on which the Board has long since decided to concentrate its attention are:

1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom.
2. Due process and equal protection of the laws.

3. The protection of the rights of minorities.
4. Censorship, boycotting, and black-listing activities by private groups.
5. The principle of guilt by association and its application in the United States today.

The Board has steadily pursued the objects that it announced at the time of its organization. The report of the Fund, which has been widely circulated since its publication last month, sets forth in detail the measures that have been taken by the Board to effect its stated purposes.

This Board reaffirms its faith in those purposes. It will continue to conduct the educational work in which it is engaged, on the lines that it has laid down.

## REPORT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

May 31, 1955

by Robert M. Hutchins, Pres.

THE Fund for the Republic was authorized by the Trustees of the Ford Foundation in October, 1951, and a million dollars was appropriated for it at that time. The basis of the action of the Trustees was contained in a statement of their plans published in 1950: "The Foundation will support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United

States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension."

The Trustees of the Foundation said: "Basic to human welfare is general acceptance of the dignity of man. This rests on the conviction that man is endowed with certain unalienable rights and must be regarded as an end in himself, not as a cog in the mechanism of society or a mere means to some social end. At its heart, this is a belief in the inherent worth of the individual and the intrinsic value of human life. Implicit in this concept is the conviction that society must accord all men equal rights and equal opportunity. Human welfare requires tolerance and respect for individual social, religious, and cultural differences, and for the varying needs and aspirations to which these differences give rise. It requires freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, and freedom of association. Within wide limits, every person has a right to go his own way and to be free from interference or harassment because of non-conformity."

The Trustees of the Ford Foundation decided that the freedom of Americans was too important to be dealt with as part of the general program of the Foundation. They concluded that a separate, independent corporation should be established with directors chosen because of their interest in civil liberties and their ability to make a contribution to increasing understanding of these basic rights. The Trustees determined that if the directors of the new corporation presented, in general terms, a program calculated to achieve the re-

(Continued on Page 10)

## ALERT ISSUED TO AMERICAN LEGION

(Continued from Page 2)

scribed itself as a 'non-profit organization, devoted to the promotion of principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights... established in 1952 to support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights.'

He continued:

"That may well describe the hope of the Ford Foundation when it established The Fund for the Republic. Unfortunately, it seems to us that, with Hutchins at the helm, the Fund is tending in exactly the opposite direction—toward the elimination of restrictions on those who apparently seek to destroy our freedoms."

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor, University of Chicago, was named as a member of the Commission for Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions in the September 13, 1948, issue (page 6) of the Communist newspaper, *Daily Worker*. He was listed as a sponsor of a conference held by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, October 9-10, 1948, in the leaflet "To Safeguard These Rights..." which was published by the Bureau on Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. The National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in House Report No. 1954, April 26, 1950 (page 2).

Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins testified before the Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, State of Illinois, 1949 (Volume II, page 17, of the Commission's Report). "Hutchins turned the tide of the entire state witch-hunt as he declared before the Illinois Subversive Activities Commission (See Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, page 299):

"As is well known, there is a Communist club among the students of the University (of Chicago). Eleven students belong to it. The club has not sought to subvert the government of the state. Its members claim that they are interested in studying communism, and some of them, perhaps all of them, may be sympathetic toward communism. But the study of communism is not a subversive activity."

The *Daily People's World*, West Coast organ of the Communist party, in its issue of April 17, 1950 (page 2) re-

ported the following: (See Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, page 299).

Chancellor Robert Hutchins, former head of the University of Chicago, has informed the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill he has filed a statement with the House Committee on Un-American Activities denouncing the Mundt-Nixon Bill as foolish, stupid and dangerous. The Hutchins statement follows:

"I should like to be recorded as among the numerous citizens of all political parties and all points of view who are united in believing that the Mundt-Nixon bill is foolish, stupid and dangerous. I hope that Congress will display its intelligence, and its faith in freedom and democracy by overwhelmingly defeating the measure."

### MORE RED HERRINGS

On November 25, 1952, Dr. Hutchins appeared before the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations (House of Representatives). The following is quoted from his testimony (pp 263-298 of the printed hearings):

The Chairman... "I had put in my hand some days ago a document which consisted of evidence taken by a select committee set up by the Legislature of Illinois investigating communism in certain schools, and in the body of that report I find testimony that you gave...

"I quote from what purports to have been your testimony given in that investigation, and here you are quoted to have said..."



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Walter Gellhorn, Columbia University professor, who has a record of membership in organizations cited as subversive and/or Communist. Professor Gellhorn has been given a fellowship by The Fund for the Republic in connection with the 1956 Edward Douglass White lectures.

"The fact that some Communists belong to, believe in, or even dominate some of the organizations to which some of our professors belong does not show that these professors are engaged in subversive activities. All that such facts would show would be that these professors believe in some of the objects of the organization, and so forth."

"... I am wondering if since 1949 your thinking has undergone any sort of a change as regards what we should do in an endeavor to combat the spread of this Communist ideology in our own country?..."

Mr. Hutchins... "My testimony in this case was directed to the proposition that members of the faculty whom we knew, who had worked loyally for the university and for the country, many of whom had been cleared by government agencies, were not disqualified to be members of the faculty by reason of membership in this organization..." (See Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, pages 299-301).

Professor Robert E. Cushman of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, is a current consultant to The Fund for the Republic. In 1934 Cushman was a contributing editor to the subversive periodical *New Theatre*, which was the official organ of the League of Workers Theatres, "a Communist project." According to the testimony of Walter S. Steele before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1938, Cushman was identified as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Moscow University Summer School. (See Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, page 36; HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, page 143; and Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, page 264).

Cushman sponsored a reunion dance under the auspices of the New Theatre League on April 18, 1941. This organization has been cited as a Communist-front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities and the California Committee on Un-American Activities. In 1949, he was listed as a sponsor of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, which was held in New York City under the auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. Both organizations were labeled as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951. (See HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, pages 82, 90 and 101; and Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, page 264).

According to the Report of The Fund for the Republic of May 31, 1955 (page 40) Professor Walter Gellhorn of the

## FUND FOR WHICH REPUBLIC?

asks Russell Turner, staff assistant to Fulton Lewis, Jr.

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School of Law, Columbia University, New York, was given a fellowship by the Fund for "research assistance in preparing the 1956 Edward Douglass White lectures." Gellhorn was a member of the Committee on Administrative Law and Agencies of the National Lawyers Guild. The Guild was cited as a "Communist-front which is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist party, its front organization, and controlled unions," by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1950. (See HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, page 85; and Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, page 288).

Gellhorn was listed as a member of the National Committee of the International Juridical Association, which was a



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Walter S. Steele, whose testimony identified Professor Robert E. Cushman of Cornell University, Consultant to the Fund for the Republic, as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Moscow University Summer School.

"Communist-front and an offshoot of the International Labor Defense." The International Juridical Association has been cited as an "organization which actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist party line." He was a member of the Board of Sponsors of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights in 1940, and was a member of the Non-Partisan Committee for The Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio. Both organizations have been cited as subversive and Communist by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities and the California Committee on Un-American Activities. (See HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, pages 63, 83, and 91; and Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, page 288).

ACCUMULATING evidence of the ultra-liberalism and blatant anti-anti-communism of the \$15,000,000 tax-free Fund for the Republic has spawned a new gag line appended by some to any mention of the organization's name: "Which Republic?"

The evidence, accumulated during the Fund's two and a half years of actual operation, shows conclusively that its true objectives are to convince gullibles that the domestic Communist menace is and always has been a myth, to stop any effective investigations of Red operations and influences, and to smother anti-communism wherever it may crop up.

The evidence is that it would put an end to every form of personnel security program, in or out of government; that it would have the country accept at face value the self-appraisal of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as simply a domestic political movement, despite legislative, executive and judicial findings that it is a subversive conspiracy directed from Moscow and designed to overthrow our government.

Officials of The Fund for the Republic say its purpose is to determine, and report to the people on, the status of civil rights and liberties guaranteed them by the Constitution, and to seek the removal of any restrictions on those rights and liberties.

### PROOF OF THE PUDDING

But the proof herein lies in deeds, not in platitudinous protestations. And the freewheeling, oftentimes devious deeds of the Fund's officials with its fifteen million tax-free dollars do not jibe with their words.

Many of the deeds are listed in the recently-issued Report of Fund President, Robert Maynard Hutchins, with carefully-chosen, high-sounding descriptions. The glamor disappears, however, when the page is lifted for a look under the surface.

Two of its most enlightening sections are its list of grants, and its list of "books, articles and other materials" which has been distributed by The Fund for the Republic.

It is here, for instance, that is found evidence of the Fund's faith in Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and its refusal to accept the thrice-tested verdict that he is not a good security risk. Proudly, it

tells of distributing, widely, film prints of the controversial Edward R. Murrow's biased TV interview effort to present the physicist as a kindly, benign, unfairly-wronged individual whose sole purpose is to improve the lot of mankind. With equal pride, it tells of purchasing and distributing 25,000 copies of a special issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists—an issue devoted entirely to defending Oppenheimer, who by coincidence was chairman of the Bulletin's own board of sponsors, and to attacking the loyalty-security program in general.

Here, too, is noted the Fund's distribution to lawyers and judges throughout the country of 35,000 copies of "The Fifth Amendment Today," by Erwin N. Griswold, Harvard Law School Dean, who by another coincidence is a director of The Fund for the Republic. The book is a thinly-disguised propaganda argument that any witness is entitled to invoke the Fifth Amendment without having any inference drawn of possible hidden guilt.

Last month, the *Fordham Law Review* printed an article by C. Dickerman Williams, one of New York's more highly esteemed attorneys. Specifically taking issue with the Griswold thesis, it advances the traditional legal concept that no witness can properly invoke the Fifth Amendment unless he honestly fears his testimony might incriminate him, and that any witness pleading the Fifth Amendment therefore can properly be assumed to have something to hide.

### ATTACKS LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAM

The Fund, always anxious to hide its complete one-sidedness and thus protect its prized tax-exempt status, and having purchased 35,000 copies of the Griswold opus, bought the munificent total of 1,000 reprints of the Williams article. The ratio would be about par for the Fund: thirty-five parts anti-anti-communism, one part anti-communism.

Aside from one article having to do with racial segregation in housing projects, each of the 17 works listed as having been distributed under Fund for the Republic aegis represents an attack on some phase or facet of the over-all loyalty-security program. It lists, for example, 25,000 reprints of a *Harper's* magazine article by Richard H. Rovere titled "The Kept Witnesses" which, as its name implies, castigates the use of

former Communists as witnesses in loyalty-security proceedings; 25,000 copies of "Faceless Informers and Our Schools," by Lawrence Martin, a scare-some piece intended to show that teachers are too intimidated to teach properly; and other items of similar ilk.

Anent the Report's list of grants, a fuller knowledge of the unreported background is essential to comprehension of its full significance. As an example, there is listed an innocuous-sounding item of \$25,000 to the Stanford University School of Law "for an analysis of testimony of witnesses in proceedings relative to communism."

This one is a project which the Fund tried to peddle to several highly-respected Eastern universities, including Georgetown here in Washington, but without success because the universities apparently realized the true purpose of the project. That purpose is to do a discrediting job on ten of the more prominent reformed Communists, including Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley, who have talked freely about their past Red associates and associations.

**FUND TO CONTROL STANFORD PROJECT**

The Stanford arrangement finally was concluded with the law school's Dean, Carl B. Spaeth, who as you might expect, is widely known as an ultra-liberal. Another coincidence: Spaeth for two years was a high official of the Ford Foundation, itself the sire of The Fund for the Republic through its no-strings-attached \$15,000,000 grant.

The Fund itself will have effective control of the Stanford project, since it is to be directed by Herbert Packer, a Fund payrollee who worked for several months earlier this year on the highly-questionable Yarmolinsky report on individual loyalty security case histories, another Fund project.

The Association of the Bar of the City of New York has been granted \$100,000 "for a study and report by the Special Committee on the Federal Loyalty-Security program." The Fund's liaison man with this special committee, who in effect will supervise its work, is Walter Millis. In a televised debate on September 11, Millis said flatly that it was not the procedures of the loyalty-security program to which he objected, it was the entire program. The Fund intimates the forthcoming report will be unbiased and objective.

Under projects is listed a \$200,000 appropriation for a television series comprising a once-a-week news commentary by Herbert Block, the *Washington Post's* notoriously prejudiced cartoonist. Just what qualifies "Herblock" to be a

commentator eludes me, but the affinity of the Fund for the ultra-liberal philosophies expressed in his cartoons over the years is obvious; the TV show will be a nice financial token of its esteem.

Space limitations do not permit further detailed examination of the report but the cited examples are quite typical of the tenor of all grants and projects. However, one further item should be noted: a \$50,000 grant to the American Heritage Council, a somewhat dubious Chicago setup which trades on the good name of the estimable American Heritage Foundation, for "a two-year program dealing with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, in cooperation with the Illinois Department of the American Legion."

**FUND ATTEMPTS TIE-IN WITH AMERICAN LEGION**

In this one, the program actually is praiseworthy, assuming proper administration, but the effort of the Fund to tie itself in with the American Legion and use the Legion's good reputation is something else again. It develops that the project never has been approved by the Illinois Legion's convention or even its Executive Council, but rather was a purely personal gimmick of the Legion's publicity-seeking then State Commander, Irving Breakstone. It almost was repudiated at the State Convention early this month, and probably will be by the new administration elected then.

This instance undoubtedly was one of the things which prompted the vigorous denunciation of The Fund for the Republic by the Legion's National Commander, Seaborn Collins, in which he urged that all Legion units avoid any association whatsoever with the Fund or any of its projects.

Many other activities of the Fund have contributed to the swelling chorus of criticism of it, such as its special \$5,000 award to Plymouth Meeting, Pa., for hiring and refusing to fire its Fifth Amendment librarian, Mrs. Mary Knowles; disclosure that it presently is shopping around and offering financial inducements for someone to conduct twin Fund-style "studies" of the American Legion itself and of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and its infiltration, approaching virtual capture, of the

so-called Hennings Senate Subcommittee which also is investigating the status of civil rights.

It is likely that the average American wonders what causes an organization like The Fund for the Republic to follow such questionable and suspect courses. The answer may be found in the character and background of its three top officials.

**DO-GOODERS, LEFTIST THINKERS CONTROL**

Number one is the Chairman of its Board of Directors, Paul Gray Hoffman, Chairman of Studebaker-Packard, long known as an internationalist do-gooder who delights in personal publicity furthering his reputation as a liberal.

Number two is its president, Robert M. Hutchins, who hardly needs an introduction, because of his 25-year record of controversy. *Human Events* already has recalled to mind his 1949 testimony before an Illinois legislature committee which was investigating subversive influences at the University of Chicago, of which he then was Chancellor; how he blandly said he did not believe communism represented any "clear and present danger," did not believe the Communist party was subversive, was not concerned about possible Red influences on his faculty.

Since Hoffman brought him in to head the Fund in June, 1954, Hutchins has spent most of his time at the palatial swimming-pool-equipped Pasadena, California, mansion originally purchased by the Fund for use as its headquarters. Money being no object, however, its main administrative offices since have been transferred to New York, where day-to-day operations now are conducted.

That move has served to raise the relative importance of official number three — the Fund's little-known Vice President, 44-year-old W. H. "Ping" Ferry, who actually controls most of the Fund's operations and conjures up projects which he ultimately presents to the Hutchins ivory tower in Pasadena for perfunctory approval: the process necessitates much cross-country travel, but again, money is no object. "Ping" Ferry is the son of the former Board Chairman of the Packard Motor Company who still regards his leftist-thinking offspring as an errant problem child about whom he does not quite know what to do.

A Dartmouth graduate, "Ping" worked on newspapers and as a teacher; with the notorious International Labor Organization and then with the unlamented OPA. In 1945, he became pub-

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lic relations director for the late Sidney Hillman's CIO-PAC, which soon died of asphyxiation from its self-generated noxious odors.

Then, with a New York public relations firm, he became speech writer for Henry Ford II and, as *Time* magazine once put it, did "think" work for the Ford Foundation. Hutchins brought him into the Fund a year ago, and he is reported to have told several friends that he considers his primary task there to be to convince the public that there never has been any Communist menace domestically, that the whole threat is a myth dreamed up by reactionary elements.

This, then, is the man who for practical purposes is spending the Fund's tax-free \$15,000,000—dollars which supposedly are being spent for the public welfare, for philanthropic educational purposes.

## FORD FOUNDATION MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY

The Fund is vulnerable because of its involvement with the name "Ford." Ford Motor Company officials and all members of the Ford family have the quaint notion that it is a fine thing if the company makes profits; to do so, it must sell Ford cars. The Ford Foundation says that having made its \$15,000,000 grant, it has no further connection with The Fund for the Republic; but the Fund is the Foundation's baby, and in the public mind the Foundation must assume a parent's responsibility. If the chorus of Fund criticism and resultant distaste continues to swell, it might well reach the point of a substantial refusal to buy Ford products.

This possibility is a definite worry to company officials, and they are reportedly seeking to persuade Henry Ford II to make some sort of public statement specifically repudiating, or at least disassociating himself from, the Fund. Such action, still not agreed to by Ford, would go far toward discrediting the Fund, as a parent's disowning of a wayward child discredits the child.

The day before the Foundation's huge grant to the Fund was announced in February, 1953, the House of Representatives appropriated \$300,000 for its Un-American Activities Committee. The 24-hours-later announcement prompted one House member to comment ruefully: "We appropriate \$300,000 to fight communism, they appropriate \$15,000,000 to fight us."

History has shown the reality of his frustrations, a feeling shared by millions of Americans.

## BEWARE OF THESE BIG FOUNDATIONS

By Aidan Mackey

from *Candour*, *The British Views-Letter* 8-15 April, 1955

IT HAS BEEN obvious for a long time that the organizers of the international propaganda for World Government have been able to command huge reserves of money and almost limitless facilities for the employment and control of the scholastic and cultural world. The explanation of this is now becoming apparent.

Under American state law, foundations and like bodies, having for their declared aim "charitable" objectives, are exempted from payment of federal income-tax, gift tax and state tax, and the donors of monies to such bodies are themselves permitted large tax deductions on such monies. As these huge foundations, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Ford Foundation and the Twentieth Century Fund, handle astronomical sums of money, it follows that a greater burden is laid upon the ordinary taxpayer because of this exemption, and that the foundations operate on public money.

The problems which must arise automatically from the very existence of these foundations are matters of concern primarily for the people of America. What is of urgent concern to Britain and the whole world is the way in which these foundations, with their world-wide fields of influence, are being manipulated to further the ends of international planners, and the means by which their controllers have attained a position from which they can direct the fields, methods and "slant" of the scientific and social research of the world's universities and study centers. In Britain, Oxford, Cambridge, London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow universities have all been given funds in return for the carrying out of specific work. The London School of Economics, that fountain-head of Fabianism, was lavishly endowed and supported by the Rockefeller Foundation.

## UNIVERSITIES NEED FOUNDATION GRANTS

Because the foundations are active in all parts of the world, because they give fervent support to UNESCO and to any group designed to work for World Government, and because they wield quite fantastic powers, the fact that some have often been captured for Communist pur-

poses is the vital concern of all who abominate the threatened new world order. The fact that a man like Alger Hiss could become President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is, alone, sufficient reason to justify the special committee of the House of Representatives which was set up to investigate tax-exempt foundations and comparable organizations, and which has just issued its report, (83rd Congress, Union Calendar No. 926). This committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. B. Carroll Reece, of Tennessee, has uncovered, in the face of fierce minority opposition, some amazing details about the influence of the monster foundations and their satellites:

"A great foundation can often exercise heavy influence over a college or university, sometimes to the extent of suborning it to its own ends. The privately-financed institutions of higher learning have had a distressing time; the inflation of the past decade or so has increased to the point of desperation the problem of keeping a college going. In these circumstances foundation grants are so important a source of support that it is not uncommon for university or college presidents to hang upon the wishes of the executives who distribute the largesse for foundations. Most college presidents will frankly admit that they dislike receiving restricted or labelled grants from foundations—that they would much prefer direct and unrestricted grants to their institutions; or, if a purpose must be attached to the grant, that the university be permitted to construct and direct the study as it wishes. But they will also admit that they hesitate to turn down any grant, however restricted, from a great foundation. After all, if they get on the wrong side of these sources of support they may be stricken from the list of beneficiaries.

"As academic opinion today is the opinion of the intellectuals of tomorrow and will very likely be reflected in legislation and in public affairs thereafter, the opportunities available to the foundations to influence the course of society through grants to institutions of higher learning are far-reaching. That such influence has been exerted is beyond question."

# TESTIMONY OF IGOR BOGOLEPOV RE AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS

Excerpted from the Hearings of the Select Committee to investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and comparable organizations: House of Representatives, 82nd Congress, 2d session on H. Res. 561—

*Mr. Keele.* Mr. Bogolepov, will you state your name for the record and the spelling of it, please, for the reporter.

*Mr. Bogolepov.* My first name is Igor, I-g-o-r, and my last name is Bogolepov, B-o-g-o-l-e-p-o-v.

*Mr. Keele.* How long have you been in this country, Mr. Bogolepov?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* Since last April.

*Mr. Keele.* Where were you born?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* I was born in Siberia in 1904.

*Mr. Keele.* Did you ever hold any office under the Soviet government or with the Soviet government?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* Yes, I did.

*Mr. Keele.* What was the office or offices, and during what period of time?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* Well, after graduating from the University of Petrograd in 1923, I served the Soviet Foreign Office, in the Soviet Foreign Office, and I was with this organization, with some interruption for the Red army missions inside and outside, until 1941 . . .

*Mr. Keele.* What was your work in the Soviet Foreign Office?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* In the Foreign Office I was mostly concerned with legal matters, international law, League of Nations, disarmament, security, and the last position before my transfer to the Baltic was the counselor of the Foreign Office. We have had two counselors, one for political affairs, and the second for legal affairs. I was for foreign affairs.

*Mr. Keele.* Will you just tell us a bit more about that. As a counselor, what were your duties, and what rank did that place you within the Foreign Office, and who were your superiors at that time?

### FIFTH RANKING IN FOREIGN OFFICE

*Mr. Bogolepov.* Well, my superior was the Foreign Minister. I was directly under him, and if you take, as a foreign minister or commissar, as he was called at that time, he has deputies, which were four in all. I held the fifth position in the Foreign Office.

*Mr. Keele.* Who was the Commissar for the Foreign Affairs at that time?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* I worked first under

Litvinov, then under Molotov for a while.

*Mr. Keele.* Under Litvinov and under Molotov?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* That is right.

*Mr. Keele.* When did you first become aware, Mr. Bogolepov, of the American foundations, such as the Rockefeller and Carnegie groups? When did you first learn of them or hear of them?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* I can't give you a precise date, of course. It was approximately in the end of 1920 when, in the library of our Foreign Office, I got the publications of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace relating to the investigation of the origin of World War I . . . only later in approximately 1935, 1936, I became informed about the existence of these foundations ex officio.

Starting with this time, in correspondence with the Soviet Embassy in Washington, which I read in my capacity as counselor, and Vice Deputy Director of League of Nations Division of the Foreign Office in Moscow, more than often I saw mentioned the name of Carnegie Endowment, and Rockefeller Foundation, in the reports, as I said, of our Embassy in Washington . . .

### SOVIETS GAVE ASSIGNMENTS TO FOUNDATIONS

Each Soviet Ambassador abroad is supposed to send the reports, regular reports, to the Foreign Office, and monthly reports, quarterly and yearly reports about his activities, and I read about this foundation, these foundations, mostly in the report of the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, when he said what kind of people he or his officials meet from these foundations in this period of time, what kind of assignments they gave to these people or through other people to these foundations or to these foundations through American Universities or publishing houses, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera. He gave the names of the people whom his agents met, and unfortunately I can't give any names because I didn't pay any attention to his name, and it was such a big amount of names that really I became confused. I just registered in my memory the fact that with every

year the number of mentions of these foundations became more and more numerous, and the people involved in this machination of the Soviet Embassy in this country became also greater and greater.

*Mr. Keele.* Do I understand that you mean that in connection with the reports that Oumansky made, the Soviet Ambassador to Washington, that he mentioned the names of people whom he or his officials or agents had contacted, who had some connection with the Rockefeller or the Carnegie Foundations, and that he reported what they said with reference to publications or projects or other ideas favorable to the Soviet Union; is that correct?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* That is right, or I can even specify, in my testimony before the McCarran committee this spring I told on the questions of Senator Ferguson that the majority of subversive operations in the field of infiltration of ideas, and which were favorable for the Soviet Union, the money which was paid for such services rendered was not Soviet money but American money.

### UNIVERSITIES INFESTED BY SOVIET SYMPATHIZERS

*Mr. Keele.* How did they manage to get American money for the propagation of ideas favorable to the Soviet Union?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* That is, I guess, the reason why they were—became interested in the foundations, for foundations have money, and they put their people in these foundations or connected the people who were sympathetic to communism in these foundations, and they got the money for the right man outside these foundations, and in some universities, like Columbia or Yale or Stanford, which are known to me, mostly infested by Soviet sympathizers, and so the Soviet Embassy itself was not obligated to spend much money.

*Mr. Keele.* You have mentioned the names of three American universities—Columbia, Yale and Stanford.

*Mr. Bogolepov.* That is right.

*Mr. Keele.* Did those names appear also in those dispatches, the names of those universities?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* Yes, sir; more than often . . .

*Mr. Keele.* Was there a time on occasion when you yourself were offered assistance by one of these foundations?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* Yes sir, it was one time in 1928 or beginning of 1929 when I was in Geneva as a secretary general of one of the Soviet delegations, of one of the international conferences held in Geneva under the auspices of the

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League of Nations. I attended a lunch given by a lot of foreign lawyers in the field of international law, and then some of my foreign acquaintances introduced me to a man—I don't remember his name, unfortunately—who asked me whether I am interested to come to Paris and get a fellowship in a Paris organization of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Before this came to talk, I told him that I read a lot of publications of this endowment and I appreciate the big and valuable work done by this endowment in the field of—it started at the origin of World War I, et cetera, et cetera, and evidently in answer of my interest and appreciation he asked myself perhaps I would be interested. I said, "Yes," and to say the truth I have completely forgotten the whole conversation.

## CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FELLOWSHIP FUND

*Mr. Bogolepov.* When I come back to Moscow, perhaps in two or three months, in my office came an official invitation from Carnegie Endowment proposing me to come to Paris and get a fellowship for one year's work in the field of international law. I was extremely glad to get away from the Soviet Union, of course, at least for one year, and, on the second hand, I was interested in the international law and the possibility of studying it in this organization, so I immediately answered, saying, "Thank you, and in due time I will inform you whether it is possible for me or not to accept your invitation"; and I reported the whole business to my superiors, to Foreign Commissar Litvinov.

They discussed it evidently in some quarters, this proposal; I did not know anything about it, and then I was informed that I had to write a letter to Carnegie Endowment in Paris thanking them for kind invitation and saying that my duties make it impossible for me to leave Moscow right now, but I would recommend warmly a friend of mine, the employee of the same Foreign Office, a certain Mr. Hershelman.

*Mr. Keele.* Let me get the spelling of that name.

*Mr. Bogolepov.* H-e-r-s-h-e-l-m-a-n. I don't remember his first name.

I knew this Hershelman, and I met him in the Foreign Office, but, as a matter of fact, he was not an employee of the Foreign Office, but, of the Soviet Political Intelligence, which is known now under the name of MGB, the secret police, and with the foreign administration of this MGB, which is in charge of the Soviet spy activity abroad.

So this man was assigned with this

mission of going to Paris and to study international law with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

From the reports which I later saw from our Ambassador in Paris, this mission of Hershelman was again in connection with the same operation infiltration which I reported to you when I had spoken about the American matters.

## IDEOLOGICAL SABOTAGE OF AMERICA AND FRANCE

I have to specify that in Europe, France, an infiltration into the French intellectual circles, universities, scientific societies, and foreign administration was one of the most important tasks which the Soviet government, the Communist government, put before itself, so there were two major points of application of all efforts of infiltration and, as I call it, ideological sabotage: The first one was America, and in Europe it was France.

... after a graduation from this Paris endowment he came for a short time to Moscow just in order to get a high assignment in the League of Nations. It was a time in 1934 when the Soviet Union was admitted to the League of Nations, and Hershelman became Deputy Secretary General of the League of Nations, and in this connection he was organizing the same business inside the Geneva organization, putting the Soviet agents and Soviet sympathizers in all important positions inside the League of Nations...

*Mr. Keele.* At the time Hershelman's name was submitted to the Carnegie

Foundation, Carnegie Endowment, did you write the letter in which you recommended Hershelman's name when you declined to become a fellow or to receive the scholarship? Did you name Hershelman?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* No, I did it through the Paris Embassy. They got the order that was for them to say that "Mr. Bogolepov can't take your kind—accept your kind invitation, but he recommends such and such a man," and there was no trouble. Hershelman left Moscow pretty soon after I was obliged to decline my own invitation.

*Mr. Keele.* Do you know of your own knowledge whether or not the name submitted was that of Hershelman or was another name submitted.

*Mr. Bogolepov.* No, sir; that I don't know. If I have written letters myself certainly I should, I would have known the name. But with this business, delicate business, you know, they never trust people to approach directly. They mostly use the organization like embassy to inform that.

*Mr. Keele.* In other words, you did not actually write the letter; it was written through the Soviet Embassy in Paris?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* That is right; in Paris.

*Mr. Keele.* Has the Soviet government been instrumental in getting fellowships for Latin-American students of their choosing from the foundations?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* Yes.

*Mr. Keele.* Will you tell us a bit about



Igor Bogolepov, former Soviet Foreign office employee who left Moscow in the 1940's and is under death sentence by the Kremlin.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

that and how they work in that respect.

*Mr. Bogolepov.* In some of the top-secret letters we received in Moscow from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, I remember reading the report about the assignment which was given to the Soviet Embassy in Washington to use its influence with foundations I mentioned before in order to get into this country, I mean the United States, some members of the Communist parties of some Latin-American countries which otherwise were unable to get American visas. The list of the students was forwarded to the Soviet Embassy, evidently—I don't know quite how the operation was done—evidently through the Comintern people—perhaps through the American Communist party or through the Soviet representative in South America countries—I don't know how it was done, but anyhow the Soviet Embassy was in charge to try to influence the American government, through the foundations, to give fellowships to the people from Latin America, which were members of the local Communist party and, of course, trained Soviet agents. That is known to me from our secret files how this operation was—

*Mr. Keele.* That was part of it, I take it, the program which was worked out—

*Mr. Bogolepov.* That is right; yes.

*Mr. Keele (continuing):* Which was worked out in Moscow?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* That is right.

*Mr. Keele.* Did you have any opportunities other than the one invitation to become a fellow or receive a scholarship? Did you receive any other opportunities to talk to or talk with or address societies, American societies or societies that had branches in America?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* During my work for the Soviet government, you mean?

*Mr. Keele.* Yes; during that time.

#### BROOKINGS INSTITUTION HELPFUL

*Mr. Bogolepov.* Yes. For example, I was working on a project connected with the German reparations and allied debts, and I know that one of the reputed American scientific organizations in Washington was also working in the same field. It was the Brookings Institution, so I have written a letter in my capacity of a member of the Soviet Foreign Office asking them for giving me the documents they have, and immediately I received in a very polite form and very promptly all I need, a bunch of documents and papers. They were not, of course, any secret documents. I would tell you, that were sent. There was official publications, a re-

sult of the American research of the problem.

All I want to say is that in my capacity as a member of the Soviet Foreign Office I always meet a very kind and receptive answer from the American organizations which I addressed from time to time. That is just one example.

After I was able to desert the Soviet cause, and when I came to the West after the end of the war, I make myself some effort to contact the same organizations, Carnegie Endowment, and Rockefeller, and Brookings, and Guggenheim, and a lot of others, whom I have written in rather a naive mood that now I am not under duress and pressure, now I am again myself, without an obligation to help with the knowledge I have about the Soviet Union, its subversive activities, real aims, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

I started to make my applications and appeals in 1946, 1947, writing the letters. The result was always negative...

*Mr. Keele.* To what do you attribute that, Mr. Bogolepov? I am talking now about the resistance that you find to any attempts to work with the same organizations which invited you to work with them at the time when you were with the Soviet government. What is the cause for that or the reason?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* What is the cause? I am much afraid that what is happening with me and with hundreds of other Russian refugees from the Soviet Union is just a kind of revenge for the work which I have done myself when I was with the Soviet government.

*Mr. Keele.* Revenge on the part of whom? I mean, who is taking out this revenge?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* So to say, I am hit by myself, for while working for the Soviet government I was obliged against my will—I was obliged to help the infiltration of the pro-Communists and pro-Soviet ideas in the brains of the Western people, and when I come here myself I just meet the results of this work. What I didn't know, what amazed me—

*Mr. Keele.* May I interrupt you for a moment? You mean by that, as I understand it, that having helped carry out the plan of infiltration when you were with the Soviet government, and that plan having succeeded, to some extent, now when you come here and try to work with those organizations you are met by the resistance from those who have been infiltrated through your previous efforts?

*Mr. Bogolepov.* That is right; that is exactly what I meant, yes...

## REPORT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

(Continued from Page 3)

sults the Foundation had in mind, the Foundation would make a large lump-sum appropriation for its support. It was understood that, within these general terms, the directors of the new corporation were to feel free to work out their own policies and to make such grants as they thought proper, without further reference to the Ford Foundation.

Pursuant to these decisions, The Fund for the Republic was incorporated with a Board of Directors of its own in December, 1952. In February, 1953, the Ford Foundation appropriated \$14,000,000 additional for the Fund. At that time the Fund assumed a completely independent status. The Fund has not asked the Foundation to approve the policies of the Fund; the Foundation has not sought to exert influence over the Fund. The relation of the Fund to the Foundation is the same as that of any other independent beneficiary of the Foundation.

In May, 1953, Clifford P. Case, a member of Congress from New Jersey, was elected president of the Fund. Mr. Case took office in August, 1953. He resigned to accept nomination to the Senate April 1, 1954. I succeeded him on June 1, 1954.

#### GENERAL POLICIES

The Fund for the Republic was established to deal with problems that exist today. It expects to spend its principal as fast as this can be judiciously done. It is not engaged in the support of long-term research. It is not interested in scholarship as such. Nor is it concerned with general education. Its efforts are focused on the immediate issues of civil liberties. When it engages in research, or sponsors it, the Fund is seeking to obtain answers to questions that are pressing now.

The object of the Fund is to advance understanding of civil liberties. The Board of Directors believes that the rights of Americans should not be compromised or lost through neglect or confusion. It believes that the citizen should know what his rights are and what is happening to them. This is the reason why the Fund has used all the media of communication—radio, television, newspapers, magazines, records and books—to arouse an interest in

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civil liberties and to encourage debate about them.

The Fund for the Republic is a kind of fund for the American Dream. This dream undoubtedly has economic aspects; many people came to this country in the hope of getting rich. But the essence of the dream is and always has been freedom, the escape from tyranny—political, religious, economic, social—into a free country where a man could work out his own destiny in his own way. The Fund for the Republic is dedicated to reminding Americans of this essential quality of the American Dream and to reporting on the state of freedom today.

There has seldom been a time at which these matters have not deserved attention. But it must be admitted that the Cold War has thrown the whole subject into unusual disorder. A political party in this country has been identified with the "enemy." Those associated with this party have therefore come under suspicion as an imminent danger to the state. In view of the weapons now available and of the examples of subversion that other countries have offered, the danger has seemed great, though often mysterious and intangible. It has appeared that the peril to the country could be dealt with only by methods that drastically departed from those which have characterized Anglo-American jurisprudence.

The range of suspected persons has been enormously extended by resort to guilt by association. The evidence offered to show that a man is a danger to American institutions has often been farcically remote. The treatment accorded suspected persons in congressional investigations and administrative hearings has not always been that contemplated by the Sixth Amendment. A kind of continuous propaganda and social pressure has been kept up that has tended to suppress conscientious non-conformity. Political advantage has accrued from claiming that others were indifferent to the threat of communism. The result has been that governmental officers, university presidents, and ordinary citizens have felt it necessary to exhibit inordinate anxiety on this score.

The Fund for the Republic takes no position on these matters, beyond affirming its faith in the principles upon which our government is founded, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The Fund does believe, however, that the American people, who must take a position on these matters, should pay attention to them and be adequately informed about them. The object of the

Fund is to help supply the requisite information.

## CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

At its first meeting the board authorized a grant for the work of the special committee of the American Bar Association on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security. This committee decided to study congressional investigations as its first subject. The recommendations of the committee which are printed in the Appendix\*, were adopted by the American Bar Association by an overwhelming vote in August, 1954. The administration of congressional investigations has improved since that date. One of the factors in the improvement has undoubtedly been the influence of the Bar Association.

## AMERICAN LEGACY

Another early action taken by the board was the creation of a study committee on the American Legacy under Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library in Chicago. In late 1953 this committee presented a series of recommendations, a number of which have since been adopted. Among these was a recommendation for a study of the groups on the extreme right in this country. The Fund has since commissioned several pilot studies on this topic.

## THE COMMUNISTS IN AMERICA

Since most of the pressure on civil liberties has resulted from fear of the Communists in America, the Fund financed a study of the official records bearing on Communist activity by a committee under the chairmanship of Professor Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School. The committee is listed in the Appendix\*. Mr. Sutherland's group has prepared a digest of the principal judicial and administrative hearings in which the Communist party has been involved, together with a full bibliography. These volumes have been distributed to university, research, and public libraries. Microfilm records of the leading court cases on Communist activities have been placed in a few large libraries throughout the country.

In order to discover what the attitudes of the American people toward Communists and radicals were, the Fund made an appropriation for a national opinion survey by a committee under the leadership of Professor Samuel A. Stouffer of Harvard University, which has resulted in a book, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*.

Mr. Stouffer shows that the American people, at the date of the study, were remarkably intolerant of minority views. The most encouraging aspect of his findings was that young people, better educated people, and "community leaders" were more tolerant than the cross-section of the population. The members of Mr. Stouffer's committee appear in the Appendix.\*

Many public actions have been taken and many political reputations have been built on assumptions about what the Communists in the United States have been able to accomplish and what they are doing at the present time. It has seemed useful to make some effort to discover whether or not these assumptions are well-founded. The Fund has made an appropriation to enable Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University to carry out a definite study of what the Communist party has amounted to and what it amounts to now. Mr. Rossiter and his associates will seek to show what the successes and failures of the Communists have been in various important segments of American life. It is expected that the investigation will take two or three years. The members of Mr. Rossiter's group and the topics on which they are working appear in the Appendix.\*

## ANALYSIS OF TESTIMONY RELATIVE TO COMMUNISM

The accepted view of Communist activity in the United States rests in a large part on evidence given in various contexts by a small number of witnesses. There has never been a sustained and rigorous analysis of the sum total of this material. Indeed, the material has never been collected in one place.

The School of Law of Stanford University has received a grant to assemble the statements of the most important of these witnesses and to make an objective analysis and critical summary of them. The study will be conducted under the direction of Herbert Packer of the New York and Supreme Court Bars, who will work in Washington until January 1 and join the Stanford law faculty on that date.

## THE LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAM

One immediate response to the alarm about the activities of American Communists was the loyalty-security program of the federal government, under which all government employees have to be cleared. This has aroused much controversy. It is alleged that the rights of individuals have been sacrificed to the

\*See Editor's Note on Page 14.

demands of national security, that these demands are fantastically excessive, and that national security has not in fact been promoted by the measures adopted in its name. There have been frequent calls from many quarters for a private committee to make a dispassionate appraisal of the program. The Fund for the Republic has undertaken to finance such a committee under the auspices of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. In its appointments the association has included lawyers resident outside of New York. [A complete list of these appointments are included in the Report.]

The Fund has felt that one way to present the operation of the loyalty-security program was to compile the facts of individual cases. Adam Yarmolinsky of the District of Columbia Bar was asked to obtain such records as he could from defense counsel in these cases. His efforts have been productive beyond all expectation; his report will present abstracts of upwards of three hundred cases, a selection of which will be published. The members of Mr. Yarmolinsky's Advisory Committee are listed in the Appendix.\*

Lawyers defending employees who have become involved in the loyalty-security program have been handicapped by the lack of compilations of laws and

regulations and by the absence of the kind of legal reference service that is available in other branches of law. The Fund obtained from Professor Ralph S. Brown, Jr., and Sandra Weinstein of the Yale Law School a statement of the laws and regulations. It has entered into an agreement with the Bureau of National Affairs, a publishing company in Washington, whereby the company will start a reference service that will note the changes in the laws and regulations and keep track of the decisions of courts and administrative tribunals.

The policy against retaining persons in the government service who are regarded as disloyal or as security risks has been extended to those private corporations which have government contracts. Some industries in which there are no government contracts have taken it upon themselves to institute comparable procedures. The Fund is conducting a study of blacklisting in the industry in which the practice has had the longest vogue, the entertainment industry. The director is John Cogley, formerly executive editor of *Commonweal*. Mr. Cogley's principal assistant is Michael Harrington. Their report will be published early in 1956.

It is widely believed that teachers in schools, colleges, and universities have been intimidated by pressure groups and

by the atmosphere resulting from the Cold War. The Fund asked Professor Paul F. Lazarsfeld of Columbia University to find out whether this is so. His investigation will first deal with the attitudes of college and university teachers and then with those of high school teachers. The first part of the work will be completed in the autumn of 1955. Louis Harris, a partner of the Elm Roper organization, is co-director of the study. The committee advising Messrs. Lazarsfeld and Harris is shown in the Appendix\* of the Fund for the Republic Report.

#### FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

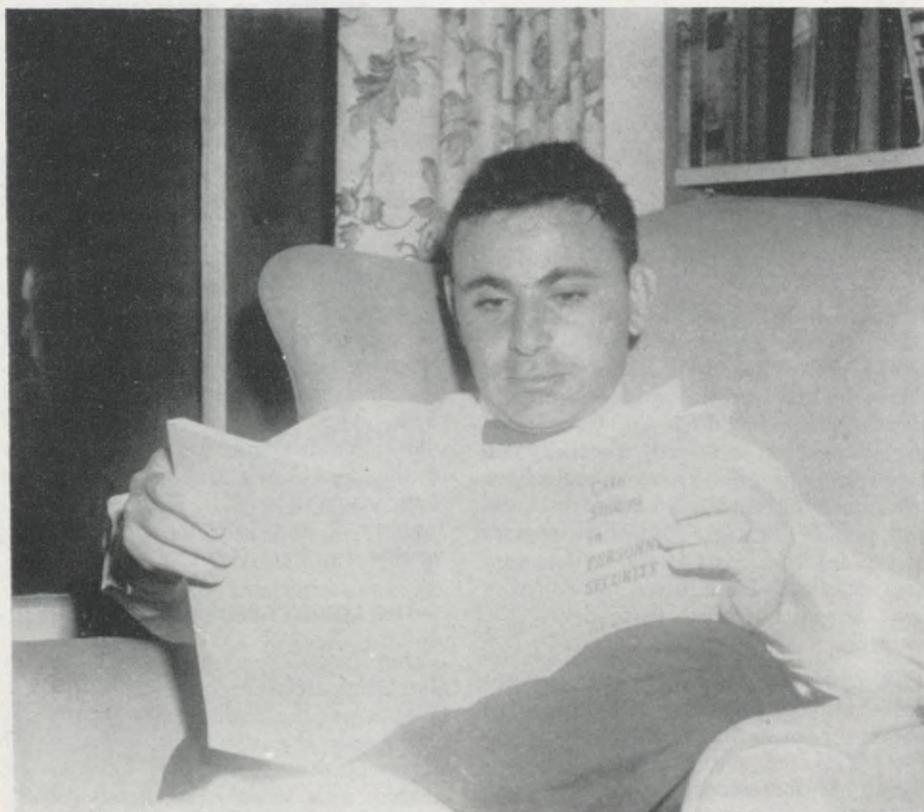
One of the difficulties of teachers in colleges and universities is the widespread ignorance of the laws and practices affecting their rights. The Academic Freedom project of Columbia University has been given funds to make a pilot study in California, Illinois, and Pennsylvania of the acquisition and termination of tenure in the higher institutions of these states. The co-directors of the project will be Clark Byse, Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania, and Louis Joughin, assistant director of the American Civil Liberties Union. The hope is that the study will not only assist teachers to understand their own position, but will also improve the understanding of tenure on the part of administrators, trustees, regents, and the public.

The Fund has cooperated with various national organizations in reporting and analyzing attacks on freedom of expression. It has supported the American Library Association's Newsletter of Intellectual Freedom and an exploratory study of the limits of free expression by the National Book Committee. It is assisting an effort under the leadership of J. Russell Wiggins, executive editor of *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, whereby representatives of all the media of communication that use the printed word may make a concerted attack on the problem of censorship.

The authority of the Post Office Department to interfere with freedom of expression is very great, and the Department has lately shown a disposition to exercise it. The Fund believes that an objective analysis of the powers and conduct of the Department with reference to freedom of expression is called for. The Fund has undertaken to finance a study of this subject.

An obviously important aspect of civil liberties is representation by counsel. This involves more than the defense of

\*See Editor's Note on Page 14.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Adam Yarmolinsky, Director of Advisory Committee for Case Studies in Personnel Security for The Fund for the Republic here shown with his report, in which a group of lawyers describe what happens to some employees accused under the various federal loyalty-security programs.

# FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC?

the accused; it involves also the adequacy of the litigation in defining his rights and those of others who now or in the future may be similarly situated. If an individual is not properly represented, he may not receive fair treatment. In addition, precedents may be established that perpetuate injustice. Among those who suffer from unusual legal difficulties are those who conscientiously differ with prevalent practices and policies. The conscientious objector to military service does not fare well in this country; nor does the person who conscientiously objects to taking an oath or to telling about the unpopular activities of his acquaintances. In order to assist conscientious non-conformists and to help to establish their rights, the Fund has made a grant to the American Friends Service Committee, which will use it to obtain legal representation in cases of conscience, to litigate dubious points in the law, and to provide economic assistance to defendants in certain instances.

The Fund is framing a general program of cooperation with bar associations in assisting defendants to obtain counsel, particularly in cases in which civil liberties are involved. Meanwhile, it has made grants to the Voluntary Defenders Committee, Inc., of Massachusetts and to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc. Under the latter grant a committee is aiding unpopular defendants.

## IMMIGRANTS AND ALIENS

The difficulties that beset immigrants and aliens in the United States appear to have been growing more numerous and more serious since the war. The legal assistance that is required is specialized and hard to find. The Fund made a grant to the Common Council for American Unity for the purpose of enabling it to go to the rescue of aliens and immigrants caught in the machinery of the law. In May, 1955, the Fund made a second grant that will permit the Common Council to assemble and describe a large number of the cases with which it has dealt. This report should help the people to understand the operation of the laws affecting aliens and immigrants.

## RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

In view of its stated purposes it is natural that the Fund for the Republic should be concerned about racial discrimination. Its largest grant was made to the Southern Regional Council to strengthen its headquarters in Atlanta and to staff twelve state affiliates with full-time professional personnel. The



**J. Russell Wiggins, Executive Editor of The Washington Post and Times Herald, tells a Senate subcommittee that the government should provide penalties for too much, as well as too little, use of the secret label.**

Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago has received funds to help it to mitigate the acute racial tension that has developed in Trumbull Park, Chicago. The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, was given a grant to support its efforts to solve problems arising in the border states out of the decision of the Supreme Court declaring segregated schools unconstitutional. The American Friends Service Committee, with the aid of the Fund, is working on the economic situation of the Indians in the Southwest, of Negroes in Dallas, Texas, and Greensboro, North Carolina, and on difficulties in the schools of Washington that have followed the decision of the Supreme Court.

The Public Education Association of New York City, at the request of the Board of Education, is studying racial segregation and educational discrimination in the schools of the city. The Fund is helping to finance this investigation. It is the only one of the sort now being conducted in a northern community. It will seek to answer such questions as: Is there a deliberate attempt to segregate children in city schools? Are Negro and Puerto Rican children given the same educational opportunities that other children in New York City receive? What can be done to promote integration? The Board of Education has appointed a commission to examine the results of this inquiry and to make recommendations for action.

No comprehensive survey of housing for minority groups has ever been made. There is a general impression

that minorities, particularly Negroes, encounter serious obstacles in finding places to live or in building new homes. It is thought that they pay more and get less than other sections of the population. The Fund has established a Commission on Race and Housing to look into these questions.

[A complete list of the commission members is listed in the Report.]

## POPULAR EDUCATION

The Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund has enlisted the interest of the members of the League of Women Voters and many other organizations in a project known as "Freedom Agenda." The object of this program is to involve all the groups in a community in a continuing discussion of the basic rights of Americans. Five hundred communities are now taking part. The Fund has made a grant for the support of this activity.

The Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches is pursuing a similar object. It is seeking to stimulate debate about civil liberties among the members of its affiliated churches. The Fund has made a grant to the Council for this project. Grants for the same kind of educational work have gone to the Universalist Service Committee, for a program being conducted jointly with the Council of Liberal Churches; to the YMCA, and to the YWCA.

The Illinois Department of the American Legion, in cooperation with the American Heritage Council of Chicago, has adopted a plan of popular education centering around the discussion of the basic documents in the history of the United States. Irving Breakstone, commander of the Illinois department, calls this educational effort a "positive approach" to communism. He has expressed the hope that the program will spread throughout the departments of the Legion. The Fund for the Republic has made a grant to the American Heritage Council to enable it to assist in this enterprise for two years.

The Fund has made arrangements with the Audiobook Company for the manufacture of four records that will present selections from the classics on freedom. The company has developed a process of putting books on 16 r.p.m. records that makes it possible to sell a recorded book at a retail price comparable to the cost of a printed volume.

In the effort to arouse interest in civil liberties, to explain their import-

\*See Editor's Note on Page 14.

What they're saying . . .



## about FACTS FORUM

Thank you for your fine talk [Senator John Sparkman] on the Facts Forum program. It is good to know that there are men in the leadership of our country who can see and think clearly, and speak up decisively.

MRS. FREDERICK C. MAIER  
16 W. Stanton Avenue  
Baldwin, Long Island, N.Y.

I can't imagine a finer honor than to have one's words appear in this great magazine. Facts Forum has become the voice for patriotic people all over America who have been denied the privilege of expressing their pro-American sentiments in so many of the papers and periodicals in our country today.

ELIZABETH LIPPITT  
2414 Pacific Avenue  
San Francisco, California

We feel that a study of both sides of controversial issues is particularly essential for teachers. Facts Forum will simplify and vitalize that task for us.

SISTER M. EDELWALDA  
Alverno College  
3401 South 38th St.  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

I have been looking for a publication of this nature for a long time.

MRS. ALBERT IRION  
Box 267  
Fallon, Montana

You must be bitterly maligned for the stand you are taking against socialism and communism, and you must get terribly discouraged sometimes. But, for goodness' sake don't give up the fight . . . there's too much at stake and you are doing too much good.

MRS. W. H. DENHAM  
1841 Chestnut Street  
Abilene, Texas

Past history has taught us many things but Facts Forum really keeps one informed as to what is happening in our world and country at present. For instance, I really wasn't adequately informed as to what the Bricker Amendment meant to all the people in this country. Since reading the September issue I really know now and thanks to *Facts Forum News*.

MRS. H. L. CURLEE  
4519 Alabama Avenue  
Lynchburg, Virginia

I had my own private laugh the other day and would like to share it with you. I had attended a meeting where world affairs were discussed and I expressed my opinion as much and as often as discretion permitted. The next day an acquaintance called and expressed surprise at how "well informed" I was. It was a pleasure to tell her that *Facts Forum News* was the source of my information and to loan her some back issues. I realized that your magazine covered most of the important issues, but even I was surprised that it showed up in my conversation.

MRS. E. M. YOUNG  
304 N. 11th Street  
Ponca City, Oklahoma

(Conclusion)

## Who Is Right About

# The Fund for the Republic?

ance, and to describe their condition at the present time, the Fund is working with labor unions; it has helped to finance the radio programs of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools and of the American Friends Service Committee; it has made an expanded version of the television film of Edward R. Murrow's interview with J. Robert Oppenheimer available to educational institutions and groups concerned with public affairs; it has assisted Columbia University in the film and publication program of its Bicentennial, the theme of which was "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." The Fund has also assisted in the distribution of many publications. A list of these appears in the Appendix.\*

In order to turn the attention of scholars to problems of special concern to the Fund and to aid those already working in the field, the Fund has established a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid. Thirteen such awards had been made by May 31. The names of recipients and the subjects on which they are working appear in the Appendix.\*

To dramatize the progress made in upholding civil liberties, the Fund gives prizes to persons, organizations, and communities that have distinguished themselves by the stand they have taken. It made two up to May 31, one to the University YWCA of Westwood Village, California, for the maintenance of an open platform in the vicinity of the University of California at Los Angeles; and the other to the town of Waverly, Iowa, for the efforts of the community on behalf of a Negro Air Force captain and his family.

Two competitions in the field of television have been inaugurated. The first, which was announced in February, called for new scripts on subjects of interest to the Fund. The Fund will try to have the best of them produced in 1955-56. The other competition will honor those television programs during the coming season that deal with civil liberties in the most effective manner.

The Fund has employed television in a small experiment on the Pacific Coast, where short motion pictures of events in the current history of freedom are supplied to television newscasters, who appear to welcome them. This venture has been so successful that the Fund is planning to extend it to other parts of the country.

In the fall, Herblock, the cartoonist of *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, will be presented in a fifteen-minute weekly television series with the aid of the Fund.

### THE FUTURE

A majority of the projects mentioned above were started within the last twelve months. Many of them are just getting underway. Some have not even reached that stage: they were approved by the Board of Directors at its meeting this month. Only two or three completed tasks can now be pointed to as indications of the kind of work the Fund will do and the degree of success it may be expected to have. By the time of the next report appraisal should be easier.

I can say after one year in office that the determination of the Trustees of the Ford Foundation to establish the Fund seems justified by the work it is doing. No other organization appears to have the flexibility or the resources to make the impression in the field that the Fund should be able to make.

Although in some particulars the atmosphere is better than it was five years ago, the misunderstanding of civil liberties, the indifference to them, and the violations of them, to which we too easily grow accustomed, are still such as to give cause for alarm. These hard-won rights are the distinguishing characteristic of the Western tradition; they are the deepest values in American life. America would be unrecognizable without freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, freedom of association, and the freedom to differ; without due process of law and the equal protection of the laws; without the conviction that all men are created equal and are entitled to equality of opportunity. Without these there would be no hope for the American Dream. The Fund for the Republic stands for these fundamental freedoms. It is a symbol of the vitality of these freedoms and of their significance today.

\*EDITOR'S NOTE: The tables which accompanied Mr. Hutchins' Report, showing grants, projects, and financial statements, along with the Appendix listing consultants to the Fund, study project committees, persons receiving fellowships and grants-in-aid, distribution of books, articles, and other material, and the recommendations of the American Bar Association on the subject of congressional investigative procedure may be secured by writing direct to The Fund for the Republic, Inc., 60 East 42nd St., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

# The Importance of Scientific Education

by **ROBERT E. WILSON**

Chairman of the Board, Standard Oil Company (Indiana)

*Delivered at 93rd Annual Convention, National Education Association, Chicago, Illinois, July 7, 1955.*

**E**DUCATION in this country has been a vital factor in making the American dream come true. Our forefathers postulated that man has individual dignity and worth; that men are created free and equal, possessed of certain inalienable rights. Since the choice of his own destiny rests with each individual, the mind must be trained to choose wisely and well, the spirit should be molded to act nobly and in the common good.

So our forefathers reasoned, and time has proved them right. A nation of free men cannot survive without education. A nation of slaves cannot survive with it—provided we define education in its true sense to include not only technical competence but the ability to evaluate and make sound judgments. Free men pursue truth; the enslaved are not allowed to pursue it, for the dictator knows that if man's mind is free to learn the truth, he will tear off his chains.

I believe that today more than ever before our young people need the opportunity, through education, to become men and women with the broad outlook—with a sure grasp of their intellectual heritage, mentally and morally disciplined, and trained to evaluate data and events and arrive at sound decisions in all aspects of life.

Henry Thoreau once said, "... so with a hundred 'modern improvements.' There is an illusion about them—there is not always a positive advance . . . Our inventions are wont to be pretty toys, which distract our attention from serious things. They are but improved means to an unimproved end."

I want to emphasize at the outset this need for educational balance because most of the rest of my address will be devoted to scientific matters and the need for more and better-trained scientists and engineers. We must take care, however, that our emphasis on scientific education does not become so overpowering that we find ourselves neglecting cultural and spiritual matters and busily constructing a myriad of what Thoreau called "improved means to an unimproved end."...

## SCIENCE AFFECTS EVERYONE

We Americans live in a scientific world. We use scientific and technological developments to reduce back-breaking labor, to gain shorter working hours and higher pay, to raise our living standards to the world's highest.

That is why the scientist's job concerns everybody vitally. Today's pioneer does not wear a coon-skin cap or shoulder a rifle. More likely, he is wearing a laboratory apron and wielding a stirring rod. He continually finds new lands to explore in his test tubes. His hunting is done with the microscope. He seeks new horizons in the cyclotron.



—JEAN RAEBURN PHOTO

Scientists and engineers may well take pride in their work and their pioneering heritage. For it was the engineer, working with the businessman, who tamed the wilderness with steamboats and railroads—who provided harvesters to cut the prairie grain and feed a growing nation. Engineers harnessed the power of rivers and coal, discovered and developed hidden reservoirs of oil—and helped give Americans high-quality, mass-produced goods. And our scientists have found new ways to ease pain and lengthen lives. The recent development of a serum which bids fair to make our children safe from the ravages of polio represents just one more outstanding milestone in scientific achievement. As one doctor said of our many new antibiotics, we now have remedies for which there is no known disease!

In the past half-century of amazing development and change in this country, one of the most dramatic shifts has been in the sources that supply our expanding needs for energy. At the turn of the century the statistical information was none too accurate, but best estimates are that the burning of coal provided about 70 per cent of the energy supply of the nation. The burning of wood provided about 20 per cent. The remaining 10 per cent of the energy market was divided between oil, gas, and water power.

By the end of World War I, oil and gas had grown to about 15 per cent of the total. Today, they supply close to 60 per cent of the country's energy. Coal's percentage has faded, and wood has been almost eliminated. Although we have a larger population than in 1918 and use much more energy per capita, the country's coal tonnage has actually decreased.

Now we are entering what is widely heralded as the Atomic Age. The release of atomic energy is probably the outstanding scientific achievement of the century, though its practical applications will come more slowly than many newspaper stories would indicate.

## RESEARCH RESPONSIBLE FOR PHENOMENAL SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

What is the cause of the tremendous acceleration of scientific progress in the past thirty or forty years, after so many centuries of relatively static civilizations? The main factor has been scientific research, carried out on an expanding scale. The expansion has been particularly marked in the case of applied research by industry. In the early lifetime of many of us, industry—at least in the United States—did practically no research. True, there were some pioneers in this field before 1920. General Electric, DuPont, Eastman, and a few others had already organized outstanding laboratories, which were largely responsible for making these companies so prominent. But

most industrial progress up to 1920 resulted from the work of individual inventors. The telephone was developed by a teacher of the deaf, Bell; the telegraph, by a professor, Morse; radio, by another professor, Marconi. Edison and Steinmetz were regarded as freak geniuses, of whom we could expect to have only one or two in a generation.

However, the great success of the pioneer industrial research laboratories, and also the success of the Chemical Warfare Service in World War I, finally awakened industry to the fact that it could hire people to invent, and could make money by doing so. That was really an important discovery. And American competitive capitalism has made far better use of this new tool than has any other system.

Since the end of World War I (or roughly the period I've been in industry) the number of men engaged in applied or industrial research in the United States has increased fiftyfold! Both government and industry are now spending more each year than the total spent in all the years prior to World War II! Applied research is in many ways the most remarkable development of our generation. It has had profound effects upon our life and times. It has made many companies and industries go ahead, and conversely lack of it has retarded the progress of others.

#### HOW APPLIED RESEARCH BENEFITS INDUSTRY

In order to help you visualize just how research grew into importance and to appreciate its wide and often unexpected ramifications, I should like to review briefly the results of applied research on a single petroleum process. The pioneer who initiated that research was Dr. William M. Burton, who died only a few months ago.

About 1909 Dr. Burton decided that the country's rapidly growing number of automobiles would soon require more gasoline than could be distilled out of crude oil. He therefore put the entire research staff of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) on the problem of converting heavy oils into lighter, more volatile materials. While that research staff was probably the best and largest in our industry, it actually consisted of only two chemists!

Here we see several factors that favor research. First, there was a need; second, there was intelligent analysis of the problem; and third, Dr. Burton was free to put the research staff on work of his choice. I might add that Dr. Burton enjoyed this freedom despite the fact that the top management was skeptical.

Fortunately, the research was successful. The resulting Burton process of cracking doubled the amount of gasoline obtainable from a barrel of crude oil and also resulted in gasoline of unusually high antiknock quality.

Cracking brought about many incidental benefits too numerous for me to discuss fully here. I will only point out that the by-product gases from cracking are the raw material for our vast petrochemical industry and for plastics, synthetic rubber, synthetic fibers, and hundreds of other new products.

Remember, I have been talking about only a *single* line of research in a *single* industry. These advances represent only a tiny fraction of the benefits the country has derived from applied research. Almost every industry could offer outstanding examples of more recent date.

#### PROBLEMS FACED BY INDUSTRY

In view of the acceleration of research and of technical progress during the past few decades, many people begin unconsciously to assume that progress is certain and more or less automatic. Unfortunately, that is not the case. There are today serious threats to the future of applied research, and therefore to the continued rapid increase in our standard of living. Even a moderate slowing down of research would have tragic effects on our domestic economy. In addition, it might well cost us our freedom, since our enemy

has discovered, and pressed into his own service, this great contributor to our success.

In view of the many public benefits, it seems surprising that there should be clouds on the horizon of applied research. Some of these threats are indeed amazing, because they are so unnecessary. Other problems are inherent; we can hardly expect a permanent rapid acceleration. As the Chinese say, "Trees do not grow into heaven." I think it would be helpful to educators to know some of the problems industry faces.

#### 1. INCREASES IN RESEARCH COSTS

The first threat is the rapid increase in costs. Research today is expensive business. In the past ten years our research costs at Standard Oil have increased 300 per cent. Practically no other numerical index connected with the company has increased that much. To date we believe the high costs have been more than justified by results. But some time the law of diminishing returns will begin to operate, and industry after industry is likely to be forced to flatten off its rate of research spending. Prospective profits will not always justify the increased expense and risk.

#### 2. HIGH TAXES

A second very serious threat to applied research has been high taxes, especially on industry. If, like a corporation, you had to pay 52 per cent tax on your earnings, how would you feel about spending money on anything so risky as research? Especially if you face the prospect that success would require major new investments and that the profits, if any, would again be taxed at the rate of 52 per cent. The necessity to conserve cash has had to dominate much corporate thinking. Last year's tax bill gave some relief, but some of the provisions designed to encourage business expansion and research are still under political fire.

#### 3. GOVERNMENT RESEARCH

As a third threat, we are beginning to see the adverse effects of government competition in applied research. I am by no means opposed to all government activity of that sort. In a number of fields the government is the logical agency to foster research. The most conspicuous of these is atomic energy—though even here it would be unhealthy for the government to have a monopoly.

It is practically necessary that the government take the lead in fields like agriculture and forestry, where the overall public interest is large, and where no private concerns exist that could do all the needed research. Also deserving of increased government support is the field of public health. The government is still spending far more on fundamental studies of animal and plant diseases than it is on human diseases.

There are many fields, however, in which government competition is not desirable. They are the areas in which private industry is able and willing to carry out adequate research at its own expense. Is it not significant that, out of a list compiled by the Patent Office of the eighteen most important American inventions, *not a single one was made in any of our government laboratories?*

I believe the National Science Foundation is a constructive influence, through its efforts to minimize duplication and to concentrate government efforts on basic science.

#### 4. SOCIALISTIC TENDENCIES

Another threat to research, and to our whole system of free enterprise, is the growth of socialism in the form of more and more government control of business. Socialistic controls and projects are nibbling away our heritage of freedom.

Freedom is the one thing we must have in this nation if our progress is to continue. Freedom to undertake new

projects, freedom to seek capital and build plants and facilities, freedom to earn profits with which to finance expansion and maintain our credit. We must even cherish the freedom to go broke, or how will we know when we are not being efficient, not serving the public well?

It is in this atmosphere of freedom that our research can best flourish. I do not know of any closely-regulated industry that is famous for its research.

This trend toward socialism seems to be slowed down just now, but I would not say that the pendulum has swung very far in the other direction. For example, a year ago the prices received by independent producers of natural gas were put under the control of the Federal Power Commission. This automatically stopped a lot of exploration aimed at finding more gas. New gas discoveries have already dropped substantially below levels of earlier years.

If peace-time price control is imposed on a competitive commodity, such as natural gas, there is no reason why it should not be imposed on other commodities, such as coal, oil, wheat, or anything else. With each step down the road of government domination we move farther away from the wellsprings of our genius—from the initiative and daring that have widened our intellectual horizons and inspired our actions as well.

#### 5. THREATS TO THE PATENT SYSTEM

Another cloud on the horizon of applied research—and this one does seem to be dissolving—has been the threat to our patent system. All of us in industry hope that the attacks of the 1930's and 1940's will not recur, especially when high research costs need greater, rather than lesser, incentives.

#### 6. THE SHORTAGE OF TRAINED MANPOWER AND SOME OF THE CAUSES

A sixth major threat to applied research, and one on which educators can help greatly, arises from the shortage of trained scientists and engineers. This shortage has been recognized by practically everyone who has really studied it. It is due in part to changes in the environment of our youth and in part, I believe, to certain inadequacies in our educational system, especially at the secondary level.

One environmental change has been television, which tends to make us a nation of spectators instead of participants. Too often the bright young boy who used to play with a homemade crystal radio or a chemical kit is now twirling the knobs on a TV set, watching questionable programs that distract him from constructive activities. Instead of reading really educational magazines for boys like the *Scientific American* and *Popular Mechanics* of our day, he is attracted by comic books and lurid science fiction, which tend to make the true facts of science seem pale by comparison. It will be too bad if true science, having produced in television one of the wonders of all time, is then unable to use this great new medium to tell its own fascinating story with the aid of scientists and science teachers.

Without decrying the importance of pedagogy, I think many of our public school systems place too much emphasis on *how* to teach, and not enough on the teachers' thorough understanding of, and enthusiasm for, *what* they teach, especially in the fields of science. And there has been an ominous drop of 50 per cent since 1950 in the number of men and women adequately trained in science who are willing to enter secondary school teaching. Inadequacy of salaries for science teachers in comparison with what industry offers is, of course, the main reason for this. The shortage of scientists is resulting in an even greater shortage of science teachers and thus starting a vicious circle. To these factors is added the tendency of many high school students to avoid the hard disciplines of mathematics. As a result, many of them enter college without either the neces-

sary prerequisites or a vivid interest in science. So they miss the rewarding careers they might otherwise have.

It is also unfortunate that many of our secondary schools fail to encourage and speed along the really superior minds, either in science or other fields. In my day a bright boy frequently skipped two or three grades. He was stimulated by association with his intellectual equals. Freezing him in his age group tends to deaden his interest by holding him back to the learning pace of the dullards. Today's public school systems are too often built around the mythical average student. In many schools skipping grades is either discouraged or actually prohibited, with adverse effects on the nation's most valuable raw material, our potential leaders in all fields of knowledge.

I confess that, while I have made these points to groups of scientists and engineers, I hesitated to say them directly to teachers, who are so much more familiar with the present situation than I am. However, I was encouraged to do so by a letter recently received from a Midwest teacher, who had read a report of my comments before the American Chemical Society on this failure of many schools to encourage and speed along the superior minds. He writes:

"My wife and I, teachers for about a dozen years each and holding five degrees from teachers' colleges and schools of education, cannot agree with you enough. The professors of education, the school administrators, and the classroom teachers, by and large, simply don't have any use for the superior mind. Most cannot even recognize the superior mind. Many see in the non-conformist aspect of the superior mind nothing but heretical tendencies. Is it any wonder then that the superior student soon learns to like comic books?"

"My wife, a superior first grade teacher, is all the while being told by her superiors to be less superior. Only last fall she was told by her principal that she could no longer have her first grade students collect non-native rocks, and that she could no longer get reference books from the public library so that these interested students could try to look their rocks up in these books and find their names, uses, etc. Why? The principal said, 'The sixth grade teacher has complained to me that what you are doing is supposed to be done in his grade level.' The principal added, 'If you do this sort of thing in the first grade, what will there be left to do in the upper grades in science?'"!!!

Can you imagine science running out of interesting things at the sixth grade level? I sincerely hope and believe that that is not a typical situation, but it is the observation of one of your number. However, the growing number of science fairs and special science projects shows that many schools have a much more forward-looking attitude. Also, the National Science Teachers Association is sponsoring numerous activities along constructive lines.

I am glad to note that a new attack on the problem of the gifted student is now receiving much attention from certain private schools and suburban high schools. The proposal is to allow a few selected high school students to take college level courses in science, with the understanding that if they complete such courses satisfactorily and can pass a comprehensive examination, they will receive college credit and not have to repeat their elementary science courses. This seems to me to be a major step forward in both saving valuable time and encouraging gifted students, and I hope it will be more widely adopted.

Another waste of potential scientists is involved in the fact that many able young men feel they have neither the time nor the money to go beyond high school. While vocational high schools are an excellent thing for many students, I think both students and teachers too often assume that the decision of these students not to go on to college is an irrevocable one. Many of them develop real intellectual

promise and should be encouraged to take scientific courses and go on to college.

While scholarships and fellowships are growing rapidly in number, we have pitifully inadequate means of discovering on a nationwide basis the high school student of really high promise, and making it possible and attractive to them to go through the long grind involved in modern scientific training. Russian education has many defects, but I venture to guess that their system seldom makes that mistake. They are putting on new steam just when our output of scientists seems to be slowing down.

Fortunately, some very influential individuals and organizations are working on this problem of uncovering real talent, wherever it is, and I believe will come up soon with a very promising and well-financed program.

But merely sending the promising student to a college or university by no means insures the development of his scientific interests. Institutions that seem comparable in other respects may differ widely in the proportion of their graduates who go on for higher degrees in science. Advanced teaching, too, may be excellent at one institution, uninspired at another.

#### 7. DRAFTING AND WASTEFUL USE OF YOUNG SCIENTISTS BY THE ARMED SERVICES

Under circumstances of serious shortage, it is important that we make good use of the scientists and technologists we have. I am sorry to say that the armed services have seldom used the best judgment in their handling of scientists and students of science. Actually, the armed services ought to be more interested than anyone else in conserving and increasing our supply of technical men. Modern warfare and the production of needed supplies are both highly technological. "Selective Service" should be really selective, making sure that men are assigned to work that will utilize their abilities most effectively in the national interest. We must resist the pressure to insure our safety for the next five years at the expense of leaving ourselves weak ten or twenty years from now. Proper use of our technical manpower needs as careful examination as our over-all defense budget itself.

In fairness, it must be admitted that the military are not the only people who waste technical manpower. Some shortsighted industrial concerns hire good research workers and engineers and then fail to give them adequate facilities and the nontechnical help needed to permit effective use of brains and ability. Such policies, however, have become less common in recent years.

#### 8. INADEQUATE SUPPORT OF FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH

The eighth and final threat to applied research is the fact that research of this type has been tending to outstrip fundamental research, especially since the great German research organizations were destroyed in Hitler's attempt to conquer the world. We should remember that during the first forty-five years of Nobel Prizes in physics, chemistry, and medicine, only twenty-four were awarded to the United States, while Europe received one hundred twenty-three. Germany alone was awarded thirty-six. And German scientists were responsible for the discovery of the basic potentialities of atomic fission.

We in America have long been a nation of inventors, but only in recent years have started to become a nation of scientists. We are gradually learning that progress in applied research draws continually upon a reservoir of basic knowledge. This reservoir, so largely supplied in the past from Europe, must now be largely maintained by what is done here in America.

To provide the basic scientific knowledge on which technology rests, fundamental research in the universities must be supported by industry, by private philanthropists, and in part by the government itself. Support by all three is

essential, to make certain that no one influence will dominate, and that the necessary freedom will prevail.

Can business afford to support work which is abstract, which does not have immediate practical consequences, and which does not lead to a product that can be put in a package and sold at a profit?

Can business afford it? The real question is: Can business afford *not* to support such work? Certainly without it we will have lost the seed corn from which applied research grows.

#### POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Having set forth the numerous basic problems involved in maintaining the pace of scientific development, it is time to come to grips with the \$64 question. In terms of its importance to the country, the question we face is the \$64 million question. That question is, what can we do about the need for education in science? I would like to suggest several possibilities.

1. We can cooperate in getting better pay and facilities for our teachers, and particularly for good science teachers. I understand that one school system had forty times as many qualified applicants for the job of teaching English and history as for jobs teaching science. This supply-demand situation cannot be ignored in setting salaries.

2. We can cooperate in setting up good educational TV centers in our larger cities and making the programs both interesting and informative. It should be an excellent way to interest many youngsters in science and its methods.

3. We can cooperate in informing our young men and women about the opportunities in science and engineering. The National Association of Manufacturers has an excellent booklet on scientific careers, available for distribution in high schools. We should encourage our high school students, before it is too late, to take the mathematics and other subjects they should have as prerequisites for later scientific study.

An appreciation of science—its aims, its accomplishments, its potential—needs to be developed early in the school years. If we are to have an adequate supply of scientific personnel, we must recognize the fact that mathematics is the language of the scientific worker. Mathematics preparation must begin long before college; yes, it probably should start well back in the grades.

4. We can cooperate in educating the public, both young and old, as to the function and necessity of research and of incentives like our patent system and opportunities for profit, both of which are essential for encouraging research and progress toward continually higher standards of living.

5. You, as educators, can help discover, encourage, and push along the really superior minds in our schools; and we, as businessmen, can make more scholarships and other educational opportunities available to such individuals, who are our nation's most valuable asset.

6. And finally, we can all work toward better understanding of our mutual problems instead of giving voice to uninformed criticism. By recognizing that both educators and businessmen are vitally interested in the development of our young people into good and capable citizens, we can more readily profit from one another's viewpoints. Through cooperation we can accomplish more than by separate efforts toward similar goals.

One thing we can certainly agree upon. Our nation's stature in the years ahead depends in large part upon what takes place in your classrooms, and that is especially true in the field of research and technology. The rate of scientific progress can only be in proportion to the ability of man's mind to search out and fathom new truths, to evaluate wisely, to think creatively. Without the tools you provide, the mental disciplines, the background upon which to build, and the study and work habits you inculcate, tomorrow's scientists will be poorly equipped to play their important and exacting role. . . .

END

Will Current  
Prosperity Hold Up?

Is There Serious  
Danger of Inflation?

# America's Purse Strings

INTERVIEW OF SEN. WALLACE FOSTER BENNETT (R) OF UTAH . . .

● Americans are watching closely for inflationary trends in the national economy growing out of zooming expansion of public and private credit. Just recently, the Federal Reserve Board, reflecting government concern over expanding credit, raised the interest rates on money it loans to banks.

● Senator Bennett, of Utah, member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and the Senate Finance Committee, answered questions regarding the economic outlook for the United States on a recent Facts Forum REPORTERS' ROUNDUP. He was interviewed by L. Edgar Prina of the *Washington Evening Star* and Glen Bayless, Washington bureau editor of *Business Week Magazine* and McGraw-Hill Publications. Robert F. Hurleigh served as moderator.

**PRINA:** Senator Bennett, there appears to be a tendency on the part of some American industries to grant labor's demands without much of a fight, and then to pass on in the form of higher prices these higher costs. Now, does this tendency and other factors indicate that the American people may be in for another wage-price spiral?

Well, to look back to the beginning of the Eisenhower administration, we look back over two and a half years during which there has been no price spiral at the consumers level. The consumer price index figure in August '52, which was the Truman high, was 87.5 on the '47-'49 average, and in July of '55 it's 87.6—so close that the difference is infinitesimal. Now, I agree that there is always present the risk and the threat of inflation when we go into a period of very high employment and very high business activity. Thus far, the managers of the administration's fiscal and monetary policies have been able to keep it under control.

**PRINA:** Senator Bennett, these steps, in your opinion, do they represent a return to the so-called "hard money" policy that was announced informally back in 1953?

No, I think they represent a current phase of the monetary policy—an attempt to keep an adequate supply of money to serve the expanding economy, but neither to depress nor inflate the economy.

**PRINA:** You don't believe that these steps that have been taken will cause any sort of a dip in our present rising economy?

No, I think they are intended and will be successful in

more or less leveling out the rate at which we continue to rise. I think we are going to continue to rise. President Eisenhower in his 1955 State of the Union message predicted that in ten years we'd be up to five hundred million gross national product. Now, if we get there we've got to have about fourteen million a year increase over the next ten years, and we've been doing a little better than that, but not appreciably.

**PRINA:** I see; well, some observers believe that the pattern should be a steadily rising prosperity, with an occasional dip rather than a sky-rocketing one that might end in a bust.

I think the administration feels that way, but there is another phase of the pattern that you didn't mention and that is an occasional plateau—an occasional leveling off where there is not necessarily a dip, but a pause.

**BAYLESS:** I wonder, with money being a little tighter in the bank, whether I can go down to the bank and get that 36-month loan for a new car now, that I could last year, and will that hurt things any?

Here are some basic figures that are very interesting. The disposable, personal income, which is the actual money we have to spend, has increased at the rate of 17 billion dollars since the first of the year. So, that means we don't have to depend upon our borrowing capacity to take up the additional production—that we can expect its coming out of our earning capacity.

**BAYLESS:** Well now, take housing as a big boom segment of this prosperity we're having. People are going to have to pay more money now for down-payments and their mortgages are going to be shorter and therefore the monthly payments are going to be up, something like, oh, \$4.75 to \$5.00 a month. Is this going to put a crimp in this great housing boom we're having?

I don't think so. Take the average factory worker as an example—his actual spendable income in terms of stable dollars is up nearly 13 per cent since the Eisenhower administration came in, so that he can stand a little more responsibility in buying a house. And, many people, when they think about this change in the down-payment program, think that this is something new that's never happened in the past. It's actually a return to a more conservative basis that existed before the last housing act was passed in 1954. We're just moving back to what was considered pretty liberal more than a year ago.

**BAYLESS:** Have you had any correspondence from your people out in the western part of the country so far, either from bankers or from borrowers, that things were tougher because of the new government action?

No, I haven't had a word. Of course, the Federal Reserve has stiffened things up, it may look as though it's tougher, but when the Eisenhower administration came in, the Fed-

eral Reserve re-discount rate was  $1\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. It's now been raised back up to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  per cent, so we're not stiffening the situation. We're in a process of raising it and lowering it as the needs of the economy have required and at the moment it's back up to where it was at the beginning. It's been higher and it's been lower.

**HURLEIGH:** Senator Bennett, the average person a number of years ago—take fifteen or twenty years ago—made less money than he's making now. We agree that he's probably more in debt now, but doesn't he have more today in assets, whether liquid or otherwise, than he had fifteen or twenty years ago?

I think these figures might be very interesting. Leaving the mortgage debt out of the situation for a minute or two, the total current personal debt, installment debt and open-credit debt, is now thirty-two and a half billion dollars. It's come up in a year 3.8 billion dollars.

**HURLEIGH:** Were our parents any better off, insofar as not being in debt?

The personal debt is lower than it was in 1939. Of course, it's much lower than it was in 1932 and 1933, when we were in the slump of a depression and people were still carrying a burden of their debt of the twenties. It's higher than it was at the end of World War II, because during World War II people just couldn't go into debt. There was nothing that they could buy. These other figures might be interesting to you. Of fifty-four million families in the United States, thirty-one million have no installment debt, and of the remaining twenty-three, only half of them have installment debt that will require them more than one year to pay.

**BAYLESS:** Senator, why was it that the administration decided they ought to warn bankers to watch their installment debt situation with their depositors and borrowers?

It was not with respect to the absolute relationship between the amount of debt and the amount of income and assets, but it was in terms of the trend that was beginning to show up, an increase of about 11 or 12 per cent in a year.

**BAYLESS:** You're not worried about what the constituent in Utah has in installment debt?

There are some individuals—I've one in mind right now—who've never been out from under the load of installment debt in twenty-five years. Oh, incidentally in passing, two-thirds of this increase in installment debt is an increase in the automobile debt, which is an interesting comment. There is another set of figures that might be interesting at this point. With the total current debt burden of thirty-two and a half billion dollars, the American people have two hundred and ten billion dollars in liquid assets—cash on hand, money in the bank, saving, government bonds, etc.—and they've got three hundred and forty billion dollars worth of life insurance.

**PRINA:** Senator Bennett, the government, as we've stated here, has been taking steps recently to tighten credit. Now there are two factors on the horizon that are going to be inflationary. I'm thinking first of the reduction in corporate taxes—that's due in April—and I'm thinking of how the Democrats and Republicans are going to be falling all over each other to give us an income tax reduction in the presidential election year. What is your opinion of that? I mean, should we cut taxes now?

Well, I think I agree with you that there will be some tax cuts. I doubt that the corporate rate will go all the way back to 47 per cent.

**PRINA:** Do you think there will be a compromise on that, sir?

I think if there is any cut in the corporate rate, it will be less than the five point, because since this is an election year, the political pressure will be not to cut the corporate rate but to give whatever tax reduction may be available to the individual taxpayer.

**PRINA:** Do you see this as an inflationary factor?

Again there are some other figures that I don't have available, but apparently in fiscal year 1956, which began the first of July of this year, the federal government's income from taxes is going to be higher than they estimated it would be because of this prosperity we've been talking about. So, it may be that as the prosperity continues it will produce enough federal revenue to permit some tax reduction without any serious inflationary effect.

**BAYLESS:** Do you see a balanced budget before a reduction in taxes?

That's a question that's pretty hard to answer. I think under the pressure that will develop next year, if we have to face that choice, we'll probably choose the reduction in taxes, but I don't think we'll be very far off of a balanced budget. We're not going to make a deep slash, or a big addition to the federal debt.

**BAYLESS:** You don't think there will have to be another extension in the debt limit from 275 billion to 290 billion dollars next year then?

I doubt that the Finance Committee would approve it in the face of rising revenue. Of course, all these things represent various facets of a very complicated problem, and I hope we have sense enough to keep the adjustments within reason and resist the pressure.

**PRINA:** Senator Bennett, what would you consider to be a fair reduction in income taxes?

I don't think the question is a question of what's fair or what isn't fair. My present guess is that it might be in the area of two to two and a half billion dollars.

**PRINA:** Would you take this reduction in a manner of the Democratic program of, say, \$20.00 a person, or in a percentage reduction in the rates?

Personally, I think it would be more fair to take it in a percentage reduction in the rates.

**BAYLESS:** Why?

One of the interesting things that I've observed since I came to the Senate, is that those who believe in so-called progressive taxation fight very hard for it when the taxes are going on, but when it comes time to take the taxes off, they don't believe in progressive taxation any more. They believe in taking the taxes off on a flat basis.

**PRINA:** I see, but are the Republicans going to put themselves in a position where the opposition can say that you are cutting the taxes of the man who can afford to pay more than you are cutting the taxes of the so-called little man?

The Republican party put itself in that position in 1953 with a 10 per cent across-the-board tax reduction and there weren't any very serious repercussions, and when the Democrats attempted this year to put that \$20 per head reduction through, there were enough of the conservative Democrats who came over to kill the program.

**BAYLESS:** Would you, then, speculate and predict that the administration's program for tax reduction, if it comes, will be in a percentage reduction of an individual's income taxes rather than in an increase in his exemptions or a \$20 per head reduction?

Yes, I think that's a safe prediction. Now, of course, it may come in terms of further changes in the excise taxes. There are a number of other patterns in which the thing could come, but to the extent that it involves income taxes, I would expect the treasury to recommend a flat percentage reduction.

**BAYLESS:** Do you see any possibility of a national sales tax in any tax program for next year?

No.

**PRINA:** Senator Bennett, I wonder if you could give us your opinion on what the impact of this guaranteed annual wage might be on American industry and whether it has any application, in your opinion, to other industries outside the automobile industry?



# Totalitarian Voice

By STEPHEN VINCENT BENET

*You mistake me.  
Others have often made the same mistake—  
Often and often and in many countries.  
I never play upon a people's strength;  
I play upon their weaknesses and fears.  
I make their doubts my allies and my spies.  
I have a most convincing mask of peace  
Painted by experts for one kind of sucker  
And for another—I'm a businessman,  
Straight from the shoulder, talking trade and markets,  
And much misunderstood.  
I touch this man upon his pocketbook,  
That man upon his hatred for his boss,  
That man upon his fear;  
I offer everything, for offering's cheap.  
I make no claims until I make the claims.  
I'm always satisfied until I'm not,  
Which happens rather rapidly to those  
Who think I could be satisfied with less  
Than a dismembered and digested world.  
My secret weapon is no secret weapon;  
It is to turn all men against all men  
For my own purposes; it is to use  
Good men to do my work without their knowledge—  
Not only the secret traitor and the spy;  
It is to raise a question and a doubt  
Where there was faith. It is to subjugate  
Men's minds before their bodies feel the steel;  
It is to use  
All envy, all despair, all prejudice  
For my own work.  
If you've an envy or a prejudice,  
A nicely-grown, well-rounded piece of hate,  
I'll play on it and use it to your ruin.  
My generals are General Distrust,  
General Fear, General Half-a-Heart,  
General It's-Too-Late,  
General Greed and Major-General Hate,  
And they go walking in civilian clothes  
In your own streets and whisper in your ears.  
I won't be beaten just by sitting tight;  
They tried that out in France. I won't be beaten  
By hiding in the dark and making faces.  
And certainly I never will be beaten  
By those who rather like my kind of world,  
Or, if not like it, think that it must come,  
Those who have wings and burrows in the ground.  
For I'm not betting only on the tanks,  
The guns, the planes, the bombers,  
But on your own division and disunion,  
On your own minds and hearts to let me in.  
For if that happens, all I wish for happens.  
So what have you to say?  
What have you got to bet against my bet?  
Where's your one voice?*

—from LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE  
in Selected Works of Stephen Vincent Benet, Rinehart & Company,  
Copyright, 1941, by Stephen Vincent Benet.



I think it's too new for us to know whether or not it has a general application. There are industries outside the automobile that have had this kind of a program in effect for a long time—the meat-packing industry, for instance. Of course, Mr. Reuther's pattern was not the pattern that finally emerged from the negotiations. He only went part way on it, and now it's got to stand the test of the attitude of the states in their willingness to adjust their unemployment compensation programs to it. So, I think it'll be some time before that thing shakes down into anything like a permanent pattern.

**BAYLESS:** Indeed, we don't have GAW anymore, it's now SUP, supplemental unemployment payments.

That's right.

**BAYLESS:** What is the attitude of the corner merchant in your hometowns in Utah?

Oh, I would say that the attitude of the ordinary merchant is that it is a burden that's too heavy for industry to carry and I don't think he's thinking of it in terms of potential added purchasing power from his customers.

**HURLEIGH:** With the seeming acceptance of the "new look" by so many of the officials here in Washington, will it not be difficult to continue a high burden to the taxpayer on defense work?

I think it will become more difficult as time goes on, but that involves not only the question of the gross cost of defense, but it involves the problem of re-tailoring our whole defense establishment to new weapons and changing patterns in warfare, and as we go forward I think there is a good chance that we may be able to reduce that burden on that basis.

**BAYLESS:** But thirty billion dollars today will not be quite the burden in a bigger economy tomorrow.

That's right.

**PRINA:** Senator Bennett, concerning the Eisenhower road-building proposal, do you believe that was held up partially because some of the members of Congress feel that it should be saved for the rainy day, so to speak, when the economy may be in a descent of some sort, rather than to go ahead with it now despite the tremendous needs for new roads?

No, I haven't had any feeling of that kind. I think it got bogged down in straight political differences; as to who was to get the credit and how it was to be financed.

**HURLEIGH:** And now, Senator Bennett, here are the three prize-winning questions from our listeners: First, can we go on indefinitely, giving money to all the nations of the world without hurting our economy and bankrupting our country?

Of course, we can't, but as our own economy increases in size, the proportionate importance of the few billions that we are spending to support the military establishments abroad continues to decrease in importance.

**HURLEIGH:** The next winning question is in regard to our agricultural economy. Farm income has declined steadily for the past two years. How long do you think this can continue before it affects the rest of our economy?

Well it is expected that net farm income will decline six hundred million dollars this year, and at the same time the total national economy has increased eighteen billion, or thirty times that amount. So, I think it's going to turn around within a year or so, but the present drop is not going to have too serious an effect on the total economy.

**HURLEIGH:** Now for the third winning question: Senator, do you think mergers of big industrial corporations are a healthy thing for our economy?

Well, I don't think you can take mergers as a whole and say they are healthy or unhealthy. Each one has to be examined on its own merits. Some are good, some are bad.

*Senator Joseph McCarthy's name is mentioned and immediately the sparks start flying . . . public opinion is very strong on both sides.*

## Will McCarthy Come

**BURT:** The question, Mr. de Toledano, as you know, is "Will McCarthy come back?"

**DE TOLEDANO:** In order to discuss that question intelligently you have to start out with a few basic facts and the most basic of those is what was McCarthy's appeal?

His appeal, I would say, was to people who had seen the Communist movement grow in this country, who had seen the depredations of communism internationally, and who thought that our government was not doing anything about it for a variety of reasons and among them that it was infiltrated.

I think that, to be fair about it, McCarthy will not come back if the present state of mind in this country continues and, to put it somewhat crudely, the people in this country are prosperous and apathetic. They have been lulled by the propaganda of coexistence, the propaganda that the Russians are changing. If that continues, McCarthy will not come back. If, however, the hot war — the cold war — gets a little hotter, McCarthy's appeal will have a function in this country and McCarthy will be able to come back.

**BURT:** You don't think that he'll be transplanted by someone like Senator McCarran or Senator Jenner?

**DE TOLEDANO:** Well, Senator McCarran is now in negotiations with his Maker. I don't know about any of the others.

**BURT:** Eastland, I was referring to, by the way; Senator Eastland. Thanks for catching me up on that Professor Hodges. What do you think, Professor Hodges, will McCarthy come back?

**HODGES:** I don't think McCarthy will come back and the reasons assigned by Mr. de Toledano seem to me to be some-

what short of the correct analysis. It's very important for us to recognize that, while the fight goes on against Communist infiltration, the drama of the war years, of the New Deal, we'll have to agree, has passed and I believe that we have more effective control over the Communists.

Another way of getting at this and if you will permit me to report, I'd like to say objectively that here is an interesting problem of publicity. I used, in working out figures of the amount of space that McCarthy has been able to command in the last several years, a thing called *Facts on File*. I think it's rather important to get the impression of *Facts on File*, which contains every item of any importance whatsoever in regard to . . .

**BUCKLEY:** That costs \$60 a year.

**HODGES:** Oh, no, \$90. I really spend money for this program. I think . . .

**COMBS:** They used to sponsor me. I don't think I'll have any comment to make except that it's an admirable publication.

**HODGES:** All right. Now, specifically, from January to December, 1954, which I take it to be the peak year of McCarthyism, looked at in terms of the number of entries he can get on the newspapers, he occupied five and a half columns and this is miniature type, set solid and that's a lot. It is a great registration of importance, news-wise.

**BURT:** What's the point of that, Professor Hodges?

**HODGES:** Now, the point of that is from January to July he has managed to get half a column. I think it shows that: (1) without controlling an investigating subcommittee; (2) with the climate of politics, national and international, as it is,

he has lost his capacity which is vital to McCarthy.

**DE TOLEDANO:** Then in a way you agree with me, don't you?

**HODGES:** Yes, I go right along with you but I don't think he's going to come back because I don't see the position which he could occupy.

**BURT:** Are you saying that he is not going to come back because he won't be able to get any more publicity, Professor Hodges?

**HODGES:** I think the publicity in the United States is an essential ingredient of politics, and you might say this is the registration of a paper in the wind.

**BURT:** Professor Hodges, are you pro-McCarthy or anti-McCarthy?

**HODGES:** I regard McCarthy as a phenomenon of 1950 to 1955. He would never have been heard of, in the way that I have described, had it not been for the circumstances.

**BURT:** Are you for McCarthy or against McCarthy, then? Is that your answer?

**HODGES:** I am against McCarthy as a person. I think that he is not my ideal of an American senator.

**BURT:** Well, you dislike his methods and him, personally, both?

**HODGES:** I am not interested in him personally. I think that he was made by Mr. Roosevelt, the New Deal and the laxity regarding Communists, and I think it's a sad commentary that that is the way this man discovered communism in 1950, as he admitted.

**BURT:** Now we know that you are against McCarthy, so, Mr. Buckley, do you think McCarthy will come back?

**BUCKLEY:** I tend to think he will and for much the same reasons that Ralph

The provocative question "Will McCarthy Come Back?" stimulates challenging debate on a Facts Forum Panel TV and radio show with Ralph de Toledano as the guest panelist. Well known as the author of *Seeds of Treason, Spies, Dupes and Diplomats*, and many other best sellers, Mr. de Toledano gives here his clear-cut opinion of the possibility that Senator McCarthy will return to continue his investigations and resume his place in the press-spotlight.

# Back?

de Toledano thinks he won't. I don't believe that there's anyone around servicing the hard anti-Communist group in this country to the extent that McCarthy is and is prepared to do, as far as I can understand, in the future.

DE TOLEDANO: If I may interrupt, I said I didn't know.

BUCKLEY: That's right.

I'd like to bring to your attention that, in my opinion, the two most noteworthy and important speeches that have been made anywhere in the United States in the last several years, were made by McCarthy very, very recently, dealing with the Big Four Conference, and articulating a whole point of view, which, incidentally, was not a radical point of view because it was one that we embodied in the 1954 Republican platform, but articulating it and urging our citizens to subscribe to that view, if, indeed, they felt the same way as they did a few years ago.

COMBS: The satellite nation speech?

BUCKLEY: That's the satellite nation speech. I wrote prophetically a year or so ago the following passage: "After the second world war and the dawn of a new realism about international affairs, the anti-Communist prophets began to get a hearing, for it had become apparent that nothing but the integrity of the United States stood between the Soviet Union and world domination. But it was only when one spy scandal after another rocked the nation that the American resistance enlisted recruits in sizeable numbers and fixed our attention on the problem of Communist infiltration.

"By 1950 a genuine mobilization was under way and Senator McCarthy, having fairly recently been mobilized him-



WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

self, became one of its leaders. It is predictable that if McCarthy's enemies are successful in discrediting him the mobilization will lose momentum and perhaps grind to a dead halt."

I feel that our anti-Communist coalition has, indeed, lost momentum and that it has almost ground to a dead halt, and I think that the results of the Big Four Conference established this more persuasively or eloquently than any other data could.

BURT: Well now, you did say that you thought McCarthy is coming back, didn't you?

BUCKLEY: I think he will come back so long as he is the only person who represents the point of view of those who deeply feel that we are imperiled by the Soviet Union and that we have got to do something about it other than negotiating.

BURT: And you think that that climate will arise in the country?

BUCKLEY: Yes, I do. I believe that a group as irreconcilable and as numerous and as strong as that group in the United

States has got to be serviced, has got to be nourished, and inevitably it will gravitate toward those people who keep nourishing it, whether it be Knowland or McCarthy.

HODGES: Well, Senator McCarthy would represent a war party, in your opinion?

BUCKLEY: Well, if you want to use that metaphor. I wouldn't quite describe it that way.

HODGES: Well, if you're going to do something you'll probably have to take your hands out of your pockets and go in.

BUCKLEY: He would represent the people who took seriously Lenin's dictum that coexistence was impossible.

HODGES: I take it seriously.

COMBS: So do I.

HODGES: How do you mean? If there's any monopoly on this "Johnny come lately" from Wisconsin in American politics?

DE TOLEDANO: You're reducing a very complicated problem — I mean two alternatives which just are non-existent.

There's a difference between surrendering and going to war.

COMBS: Is there any chance for the voice of reason to make itself heard?

BUCKLEY: Where is it?

BURT: Congressman Combs will be heard from.

COMBS: In the first place, I should like to quarrel with Mr. Buckley's reading from one of the prophets, let us say, of the anti-Communist movement, Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr., in which he refers to the opponents of Senator McCarthy discrediting him. Of course, that is not what happened. Senator McCarthy discredited himself, and performed upon himself an injury and a disservice which lay quite beyond the possibilities of his opponents to inflict damage.

Now, the question, I take it, is not whether Senator McCarthy should come back but whether he will come back.

BURT: Completely.

COMBS: I am somewhat restricted in my argument but nevertheless I'll put it in this way.

BURT: You can answer that question in the form: "Should Senator McCarthy come back," and it would be perfectly all right.

COMBS: Well, of course, he should not. There is, in my mind, no cavil about that. However, I am now about to annihilate Mr. Buckley in one respect. Yes sir, I go along with Mr. Buckley in his reference not to the satellite speech but in his oblique reference to a previous speech made by Senator McCarthy on the question of the administration's Asian policy. It was as destructive, as cogently reasoned and as accurate a piece of work as I believe anyone has ever delivered on the floor of the United States Senate — an almost anatomical dissection of the vacillating and the wobbling of the administration's Asian policy. And it was, moreover, a dispassionate piece of work.

Had Senator McCarthy limited himself to a work of comparable intellectual integrity during the time that he occupied the spotlight, he might have performed a very valuable service.

At the present I submit that there is almost no chance whatever of his ever coming back because of two things: In the first place, he has, as these gentlemen have described it, he must have a climate which is favorable to his operations. That era, that day, is past.

We had something like it in the Mitchell Palmer Red hunt days of the 1920's and once the hysteria died down it was impossible to rekindle it, and about five years later all of those who had taken the lead in that particular Red hunt began slinking around apologetically.

I'm not suggesting that there is an exact analogy because I believe there to be a more real Communist menace now,

or there was, than was true in the days of Mitchell Palmer. But it is impossible to recreate the spirit and the atmosphere in which Senator McCarthy flourished. Moreover, he can't come back...

BUCKLEY: Thanks to McCarthy.

COMBS: Oh, I don't think so at all.

BUCKLEY: McCarthy has fixed it so that we shall never again have so many derelictions of the kind that will create the atmosphere in which he moved.

COMBS: I believe his contribution to the cause of anti-communism was nil. I don't think he ever did anything.

BUCKLEY: You're quite right in saying it's never going to be that bad, thanks to McCarthy.

COMBS: I didn't say thanks to McCarthy. That's an interpolation of your own diplomatic thinking.

BURT: I think we should give our guest the opportunity, Mr. de Toledano, to comment on the comments he has heard before going on to the next question which is very relevant to our topic.

DE TOLEDANO: I would say this, and I don't expect to get any agreement from George Combs, that Senator McCarthy has been the target of probably the most outlandish and vicious smear campaign I've ever seen in my life, and I have seen a good many of them, having lived through the New Deal era. Secondly, I think it is utterly ridiculous to say that Senator McCarthy made no contributions to the anti-Communist fight and let's not go into all this nonsense about how many spies did he turn up.

COMBS: Let's discuss the facts.

DE TOLEDANO: No. Do you think that the only way you fight communism is to turn up spies?

COMBS: Oh, by no means.

DE TOLEDANO: Because by that token...

COMBS: Oh, no.

DE TOLEDANO: ...then you're the worst anti-Communist in the world, because you don't even recognize that there are spies.

COMBS: I don't — I think you're mad.

DE TOLEDANO: Well, this is the Mad Hatter's tea party and we should all move over one seat.

COMBS: No, I recognize and have always recognized the menace of that.

BURT: We're rehashing some very old arguments here which are very interesting to rehash, but to summarize this, Professor Hodges says he has absolutely no chance of coming back. He won't get any publicity. He's not in the public eye any more.

HODGES: Unless he can create that publicity.

BURT: Mr. Combs says, of course he can't come back and Mr. de Toledano says...

BUCKLEY: I don't think, Mr. Burt, that a cancer specialist who cures a case of

cancer is going to be called back by that patient, is he? There's nothing left for him to do.

HODGES: I don't think it's been cured.

DE TOLEDANO: I wish it had been cured.

COMBS: You see, there's always a fragmenting of the extreme right, of this hard core of anti-Communists which I find rather illuminating. These gentlemen, let us say, are united on a common purpose but for entirely different reasons. And their approach to Senator McCarthy would justify his comeback because of entirely different grounds. Is it true that he has cured communism, or is it true that it is non-existent? What do you say, Mr. Buckley?

BUCKLEY: Well, I would say it is true, Mr. Combs, that Senator McCarthy brought to the security problem a kind of hardness and a kind of skepticism which needed to be brought to a security program in order to put teeth into it. I'm terribly afraid that there has been a reversion, recently, incidentally, I'm terribly afraid that the liberal sentimentalists are getting more powerful than they ought to.

COMBS: You're abandoning your clinical simile.

BUCKLEY: In which case we might again in the future have a domestic security problem. On the other hand we have certain corpses which will be hard to revive like Owen Lattimore, Edward Posniak and John Carter, etc.

COMBS: I see. I would suggest that you had said the surgeon had successfully excised the malignant growth but it was now metastasizing again. There's a certain inconsistency in your point, Bill.

BUCKLEY: Quite, that's right. And if so the surgeon will be recalled.

BURT: Let's get to this next question. Are any present investigating committees of Congress pursuing the same means and using methods similar to those identified with McCarthy?

DE TOLEDANO: I would say that the congressional committees today are living under a reign of terror imposed by the liberals who have stampeded Congress into being afraid of any congressional investigations of communism. On the question of McCarthy's methods, I have read reams on that and I have yet to find out what anybody means by McCarthy's methods. There is no set method to McCarthy and there has never been and there never will be.

COMBS: That's right.

BURT: Well, what is your answer to this?

BUCKLEY: With one exception I would say. And I would like to point not to myself this time but to some very shrewd man who says, "At the heart of what is derisively called McCarthyism lies in

paradoxical fact that the very principle of Western civilization, the axiomatic tenet that man is entirely responsible for the intellectual choices he has made in an exercise of his free will." Basically McCarthy intends to take people seriously. If you join a Communist-front, McCarthyism tends to presume that you did so intelligently and in good faith, that you want to advance Communist interests and for that reason you be...

COMBS: Of course, that's an entirely false assumption in the first place that, because people have joined organizations which were later denominated Communist fronts, or were later dominated by Communists...

BUCKLEY: No. I'm saying if you joined a Communist organization. I did not say you joined a liberal organization which later on was captured...

COMBS: Well, I don't know what you mean. If you're talking about joining communism I would say that anyone who joined the Communist party ought to have his head examined, and should be held in strict responsibility for the moral choice which he at that time exercised. I agree with you. We aren't disputing about that.

BURT: I want to clarify this just a little bit and then I'm going to hop right to Professor Hodges.

What is your analysis of a person who joins a Communist-front organization deliberately?

COMBS: In many cases people innocently joined Communist-front organizations.

BURT: Well, if they knew it was a Communist-front organization and then joined?

BUCKLEY: Ah, but the question is, how do you find out whether he knew it?

COMBS: Oh, then I would regard that as equivalent to joining the Communist party.

DE TOLEDANO: But there's another factor. If somebody innocently joins a Communist-front — by its very nature Communist-fronts do have innocents—then certainly he should not object to being asked, did you join this innocently? And most people who join Communist-fronts take it as a high insult if you ask them a very simple question which is the question Senator McCarthy asked.

BUCKLEY: And it is still a higher insult if you paid them the compliment in assuming that they knew what they were doing.

COMBS: You're over-simplifying the whole question. If you want to take up each case ad seriatum why let's do that. But it's impossible to generalize as you now have done.

BURT: Well, let's get specific with Professor Hodges, then. Are there any present investigating committees of Congress using the same methods that are identified with Senator McCarthy's methods?

COMBS: Senator Eastland did.

HODGES: Well, I think that the inquisitorial approach is inherent in the congressional investigation and any idea I would have to admit that McCarthy has instituted really basic changes in the powers of Congress to investigate. I would question. I think that he has bored in harder, more ruthlessly. I would quite accept that.

Now the point is that we are engaged in working out more effective means than simply a psychological explosion of data. I think that we have had a very constructive result in the effort to produce uniform methods of congressional procedure which is not, by any manner of means, a dead issue. We are forcing a centralization, it seems to me, of the loyalty machinery which would prevent one department clearing a man, another department saying he is disloyal or tainted.

BUCKLEY: They don't say that he is disloyal. They say there's a reasonable...

HODGES: I said tainted. Common standards, I think, are all-important.

BUCKLEY: I don't believe in common standards.

HODGES: I do believe in dealing with any orderly application of the laws of this land. If you have one standard because you dislike Communists you might have another standard because, maybe, you'll like Fascists. I don't know.

BUCKLEY: Now look; behave yourself.

HODGES: I will tell you right here that if you'll go far enough to the right you'll find yourself just where I said.

BUCKLEY: And I say let's not play this game because it can be played both ways.

HODGES: Well, that's all right; play it.

BUCKLEY: I agree with Adlai Stevenson that the incidence of Communists in, say, the Bureau of Wild Life and Fisheries, is not necessarily a national concern, therefore it makes a whole lot of sense to have a much stricter security

proceeding, say, in the State Department or the Atomic Energy Commission, than in the Bureau of Wild Life and Fisheries. So do you want the common standards?

HODGES: Yes, the basic common standard in relation to infiltration and treason.

BURT: The question is, and I'd like to get a specific answer from Professor Hodges as well as everyone else: Are the present investigating committees, any of them, of Congress pursuing the same goals and using methods similar to those identified with McCarthy? You say they are?

HODGES: I would say they are...

BURT: Do you think they're wrong in doing it?

HODGES: I think that we need what I said in the first place — the three items: uniform congressional procedures, centralized loyalty machinery, and common standards, with intelligence...

BURT: Well, what about you? What do you think, Mr. Combs? Are they using similar methods?

COMBS: I think some of them are doing exactly the same things. Senator Eastland...

BURT: Do you think that investigating committees should be eliminated?

COMBS: No, I don't think they should be...

HODGES: Certainly not.

COMBS: I believe they should be confined to very diplomatic standards.

BUCKLEY: Should they have security data from the executive departments? Should they be given security data?

COMBS: Under highly restricted circumstances.

BUCKLEY: You disapproved of President Truman's black-out order?

COMBS: Yes, just as I disapprove of President Eisenhower's black-out order which seems to me to be inapplicable.

BUCKLEY: This is very important.

HODGES: We all agree on that, I would say.

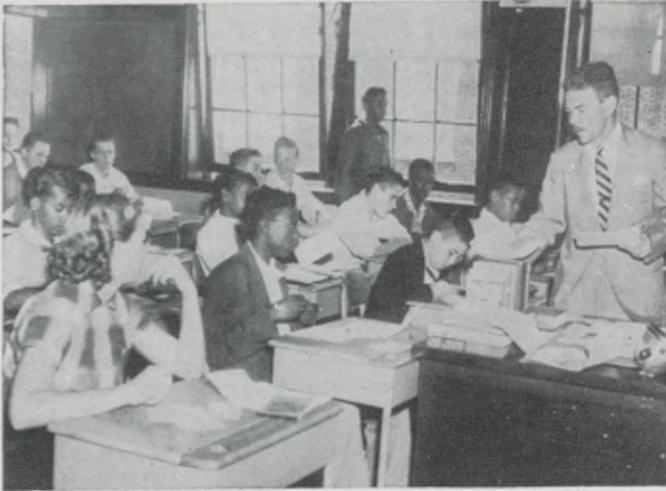
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Beginning of integration in 1954 in the District's McKinley Technical High School. A school official stated some 400 Negroes enrolled in this high school's previously all-white student body.

supply more classes for retarded children. The need for that has been brought into focus much more clearly through integration, and this year we are establishing quite a number of additional classes for backward children.

**PRINA:** Then you do have intellectual segregation in the schools?

**CORNING:** I don't like to use the word, sir, but there has always been and there will be increasingly, probably, grouping of individuals to make certain that the very gifted ones can move on as rapidly, and as far as they are able to go, and at the same time take care of the lower, more slowly moving children as well.

**ROGERS:** In general, Dr. Corning, what was the reaction of white parents whose children had a Negro teacher last year?

**CORNING:** There were no objections that reached my level, Miss Rogers. I had no complaints about the assignment of Negro teachers. I did hear grumblings at first. I have quite a number of letters on file from parents who say that originally they were unhappy at the prospect of having a Negro teacher for their children, but now they are singing praises of those teachers; and, while there may have been more dissatisfaction than I am aware of, none of it arrived at my office.

**PRINA:** Dr. Corning, I understand that many, if not all, of the secondary schools have virtually cut out their social programs—dances, etc. Now, do you think this is a healthy situation? And, if not, have you urged that these social functions be resumed?

**CORNING:** They haven't been entirely eliminated. I think there has been a slowing down of the program of social activities in those schools which are pretty largely integrated. I think, however, that as time goes on even that will not be so true, because in cities where there is an integrated school system and has been for years, social activities go on. In my former experience before coming back to Washington, we had that situation and no particular problems developed.

**ROGERS:** Dr. Corning, what do you do in the case where parents come to your office and demand or seek a child's transfer to another school? What kind of questions do you ask them? Just what would the give and take be on that?

**CORNING:** Well, I'm afraid I couldn't put any of those into patterns because the reasons for requesting transfer are so numerous. There are always parents who have requested transfers long before integration—and in some instances they've been granted—particularly on doctor's certificates—for a health reason, or if a course is given in one school that is not given in another.

We do have a bi-racial committee that now passes on all requests for transfer, particularly those having to do with the racial problem. The questioning depends somewhat on what the reason for it is. The permissions are not given just on a racial basis, but if there is some legitimate reason beyond a racial prejudice one, quite a number of those requests have been granted.

**PRINA:** Is that the so-called "hardship" case that you are speaking of?

**CORNING:** That is right.

**PRINA:** In other words, it does not work this way as I've read—that if a person's child is in a school where he is in a great minority—let's say he's a white child in a colored school in which there are very few whites, his parents would not be able to go to you or to the Board and ask for a transfer if there was a vacancy in another school?

**CORNING:** That person would be required to put his request in writing and submit it to this bi-racial committee that goes over all of the facts involved in the case, and if there is legitimate reason over and above just the racial reason, in all likelihood the request would be granted. But that is all handled by this bi-racial committee and they also, in addition to these written reports, see and interview a great many people who come in. You might be interested in that connection to know that the requests that we have received this year on the hardship basis are only a handful compared to those which we received last year.

**ROGERS:** Well, do you think that is because school has just gotten underway?

**CORNING:** Well, at least last year we had them to a much larger degree before school got underway. We will have more after school starts, no doubt.

**PRINA:** It would be normal that you would get the bulk the first year, wouldn't it?

**CORNING:** Yes, I think so.

**PRINA:** Dr. Corning, what about this so-called "one-way street"? It's pointed out that there are only 1.5 per cent of the white school population now attending schools that formerly were all colored. Now is there any move afoot to bring that into balance; or is there any particular explanation for that low figure?

**CORNING:** I am not familiar with that figure, but assuming that it is correct (and I'm not questioning it at all) that will take care of itself as this option plan works on through and as we progress further with this program.

**HURLEIGH:** Dr. Corning, I was particularly interested a moment ago in your percentages regarding the population of the public schools of the nation's capital. I believe you said the Negro population is 61 per cent of thereabouts?

**CORNING:** Student population.

**HURLEIGH:** Student population, 61 per cent. Can you give us the trend of the past, say ten years? That would certainly be prior to the thought of segregation and that is what I am particularly interested in and whether this trend might continue.

**CORNING:** From all indications, it will continue and the percentage of Negro population will be greater if the former trend follows. I can't give you the exact figures, but roughly it's something like this: that about five years ago for the first time the two enrollments in the two school systems became equal. Theretofore, the white population had been in a majority. Then the following year there were 3,000 more colored than white; the following year 8,000 more colored than white; and it's been going right about that, on that curve.

**HURLEIGH:** So, we might say that in another five to possibly ten years, the student population of the public schools of the nation's capital could be 75 per cent Negro, 25 per cent white.

**CORNING:** Conceivably, that is true.

PRINA: Right now, there are 50 per cent more Negro pupils than there are whites. Is that correct? There are 64,000 to 41,000, something like that.

CORNING: I'm not following your mathematics exactly. It is 61 per cent of the total.

PRINA: Yes, I'm just saying 50 per cent more.

HURLEIGH: Mr. Prina is saying if there are 100,000 students and 61,000 of the 100,000 would be Negro students, there would be but 40,000 white students, and therefore there would be approximately 50 per cent more colored students than white students.

CORNING: I should have brought the head of the mathematics department along with me.

HURLEIGH: Normally, I do not do so well at mathematics, believe me, Mr. Superintendent.

PRINA: Well, that was all I had on the percentages, Bob.

HURLEIGH: Well, I would like to carry that a bit beyond this point. Dr. Corning, if we have this increase over the next five or ten years, and we reach the point that we have only 25 per cent of the student population will we not at that time require more Negro teachers and staff officers? Would it not be out of balance and could not there then be the charge made by some that too many of the Negro school students would be taught by white teachers?

CORNING: Well, that would be a situation that we couldn't control. There would not be a need for additional teachers or staff officers unless the total enrollment would grow very measurably. In other words, the balance between the two wouldn't change the need for the number of teachers. The number of teachers would be dependent upon the total number of children involved, whether they be white or colored.

PRINA: At any rate, it would be decided simply on the test basis, wouldn't it? Of who was going to teach, qualifications . . .

CORNING: Yes, examinations and all that—

ROGERS: But isn't it true, Dr. Corning, that even before integration began, we had 300 more Negro teachers than white in the Washington school system?

CORNING: That is correct.

PRINA: I was rather taken with your remarks, Dr. Corning, that integration has not dropped the level of

teaching at all in the schools in the District of Columbia. Do you contend that with the mixed classes that it has been possible to continue the same progress in these classes?

CORNING: With those same differences existing, before integration, Washington's percentage of students going to college and succeeding therein, establishing fine records, was higher than the national average. In spite of the fact that even before integration we had wide differences of performance and ability in the schools, both in the colored and the white.

HURLEIGH: Our board of judges has selected the following prize-winning questions submitted by our listeners for this broadcast. "Dr. Corning, do you think that school integration will bring back the private school movement of the early Colonial era?"

CORNING: I do not think so judging from present trends, because private and parochial school enrollments within the District of Columbia have not increased to any very great extent during our first year of experience with integration. And, we would expect probably as much migration to the private school and the parochial school during the first year of operation as at any time.

HURLEIGH: And now for the second question: "Will integration cause more disciplinary problems in the schools than already exist?"

CORNING: The "already exists" confuses me a bit because we have integration at the moment. However, I think the answer would be that until people have had opportunity to make adjustments to entirely new situations, situations they have not experienced before, there probably will be more difficulty along the behavior line.

HURLEIGH: Here is the third question: "Will not the standard and quality of education in the South eventually be raised by desegregation since the states will avoid the costly burden of duplicating school facilities for both white and Negroes?"

CORNING: I'm sorry, sir, but I'm not in the position at all to comment upon the conditions in the South. I only know the problems here in Washington.

HURLEIGH: Do you find it happening here in the District of Columbia?

CORNING: No, I would say not.

## Facts on Communism

Here are some facts and opinions for Americans to think on as they view the Communist leaders in their unnatural pose of friendliness:

From a speech by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., to the National Press Club in Washington, upon his return recently from interviews with the Red leaders in the Kremlin at Moscow:

"These men can be ruthless. They have been merciless. Certainly no humanitarian considerations would cause them to hesitate to wipe us out if they thought they could get away with it. They believe the end justifies the means. And for them, the end remains Communist domination of the world. Khrushchev said so to me quite frankly. He said they hoped to gain the upper hand one day . . .

"We heard Molotov tell the Supreme Soviet (the legislative body) and I quote him: 'World civilization will not perish no matter how much it might suffer from a new war.' He predicted that what *would* perish would be *our way* of life. That should make it clear enough to us that the Soviet leadership does not rule out war because of its possible effect on civilization. It rules it out for the present simply because of the respect it has for the effectiveness of America's counter-offensive power."

Reprinted from *The National Program Letter*

Syngman Rhee Outlines

# Dangers of the

# “Status Quo Peace”

“When the statesmen of the world meet in a top-level conference and agree among themselves to ‘postpone’ the issue and to ‘relax tension’ so that the *status quo* will not be disturbed, at least for the time being, they are simply giving to the Communist dictators the chance they want to continue this process of exterminating all opposition and fixing their grip permanently upon these conquered areas,” stated Syngman Rhee, President of Korea, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Korea. The complete text of his speech, with minor deletions, is presented here.

THE biggest problem in the world today is how to deal with the problem of Communist aggression. And the biggest danger to our liberties is that many people, in approaching this problem, are missing the essential point.

The question many people are asking is not how to deal with Communist aggression, but how to preserve peace. This is precisely the mistake the Communist leadership wants us to make. For the leaders in Moscow and in Peiping know that if we concentrate on how to repel aggression, we will strengthen our determination to resist their designs for world conquest. But if, on the other hand, we concentrate upon a search for peace, our very will to resist will be weakened.

It is a simple fact that peace is never difficult to achieve. There is a kind of peace which can be gained by absolute surrender; this is what Czechoslovakian leaders decided to accept when Russia put them under pressure back in 1948.

There is also a kind of half-peace which can be won by compromise and concessions—a peace that solves nothing but merely postpones the issue while the enemy strengthens himself and proceeds with his own plans for ultimate conquest. This is the kind of false peace which was decided upon, against our will, when the truce was signed at Panmunjom.

Then, there is a third kind of ostrich-

like peace that consists of turning one’s head away from the danger and repeating very loudly and frequently that it does not actually exist. This is the self-deceiving semblance of peace, called neutralism, which is being preached from one end of the world to the other by men like Prime Minister Nehru of India.

### PEACE AT ANY PRICE?

Our very good friend, President Eisenhower, believes that he has found still another kind of peace—a peace of mutual forbearance, in which each side, recognizing the futility of modern war, agrees to pursue its own aims in every way it can short of armed conflict. This was the gist of his message delivered to the Russian rulers at Geneva, and it is the policy which we may expect will be still further developed for dealing with the troublesome issues of Asia.

We, on our part, honor every effort that can possibly be made to avert war on an honorable basis. Our nation has suffered from war more than any other country in modern times, and we are still struggling with the terrible effects which it has had upon our economy and in our daily lives.

But, I must repeat, the real problem is not how to achieve peace, but how to deal effectively with Communist aggression.

It is no light matter that the Russian delegation went home from Geneva



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

claiming that the "summit" conference was a success. From their point of view it was a success because the whole tenor of the meeting was to turn attention away from Communist aggression and toward the "search for peace."

Now, what is the difference? The difference is that when we are dealing with Communist aggression our whole purpose is to bring it to an end and to roll it back to the point from which it started.

But when our aim is simply to achieve "peace," our thinking is directed toward establishing a new compromise on the basis of the *status quo*, just as was done at Panmunjom.

The question I would like to raise is this: Are the free nations ready and willing to make "peace" with the Communists on the basis of letting them keep the areas of the world they have seized and which they now hold as captives and satellites? Or are they determined to uphold—with deeds, and not merely with words—the right of these captive peoples to be restored to freedom?

In my judgment this is the great central issue of our time. I do not think it can be avoided. When the issue is faced, I believe only one answer can be given to it—namely, that the freedom of the captive peoples must be restored.

#### STATUS QUO PEACE IMPOSSIBLE

I do not believe that a "*status quo* peace" is practical or possible.

To leave North Korea, and the other captive areas, under Communist control is a craven solution that would never be accepted. It will not be accepted by the people of Korea, and it will not be accepted by the eight hundred million other people whose liberties are now strangled by the Communist police state. At this time I do not intend to repeat what I have often said before about the horrible treatment to which our people in North Korea are being subjected. The important consideration is that they are not being allowed to live as free, decent citizens subject to their own government. Instead, they are being ground down into slavery for the benefit of their foreign masters, and at the same time the whole Korean race in the north is being gradually wiped out and replaced with Red Chinese settlers.

What the Communists are trying to do in North Korea, and also in other areas under their control, is to settle the problem of possession once and forever in their favor, by destroying all opposition and grinding their own totalitarian pattern deeply into the souls of the people.

Now, I say that it is impossible for this to be accepted. When the statesmen of the world meet in a top-level conference and agree among themselves to

"postpone" the issue and to "relax tension" so that the *status quo* will not be disturbed, at least for the time being, they are simply giving to the Communist dictators the chance they want to continue this process of exterminating all opposition and fixing their grip permanently upon these conquered areas.

There are endless arguments in the capitals of the free world as to whether or not "time is on the side of the democracies" in the cold war. We know absolutely that time is not on the side of the eight hundred million non-Russian peoples who are held captive under the slave rule of their Communist masters. Every day that passes is a new agony for them.

What must these people think when they hear over their radios that the rulers of the Kremlin are coming home from international conferences feeling very well satisfied with the results? What must they think when they learn that the leaders of the democracies are making efforts on their part to "relax tensions"—in other words, to leave the situation as it now exists? What does coexistence have to offer for them?

#### COMMUNISTS WILL SEEK NEW CONQUESTS

My second reason for believing that it is impossible for us to accept a *status quo* kind of peaceful coexistence is that the Communists themselves will not abide by it. They never intend to remain where they are, but always to push forward to new conquests. They make agreements one day, only to break them the next. Our experience is crowded with examples.

For us in Korea the greatest example



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

**REDS BUILDING FOR SNEAK ATTACK WARNS RHEE**—Korean President Syngman Rhee in July, 1954, told a joint session of Congress that Soviet strategy for world conquest is to lull Americans to a "sleep of death by talking peace..." Vice-President Nixon and former House Speaker Martin in background.

lies right here in our own country. The Communists made a truce at Panmunjom, but they started breaking it even before the ink was dry. Nobody denies that these violations are flagrant, violent, and constant. What, then, is the value of a truce, if we keep it, but they do not?

Another instance is found in Indochina. Fifteen months ago, the Communists agreed upon a solution of the war in Indochina which gave them a large part of what they were demanding. But even though they profited greatly from that agreement, they have been breaking it ever since. And they are still breaking it today, while they are asking that still additional agreements should be made.

Now let us look at an even more recent example. The heads of state of four major powers went to Geneva in July to discuss the issues that separate them. The leaders of the democracies knew that Russia has violated the Yalta Agreement, the Potsdam Agreement, and the Panmunjom Truce Agreement. I'm sure that what they had in mind chiefly was to find some way of getting the Russians to keep the promises they have already made.

On the other hand, the Communist delegation went to Geneva with the aim of "relaxing tensions"—that is, of persuading the democracies to accept conditions as they are now, and not to cause any trouble about the violations of the past and present.

Well, what has happened? No sooner was the Geneva Conference adjourned than the Communists demanded that new talks must commence about the problems in Asia. And what the Communists are proposing is that even still further concessions must be made to them in relation to the status of Formosa.

Always and forever the pattern is exactly the same. The Communists whip up pressures and demand new concessions as the price for relaxing them. As soon as this price is paid, new pressures are whipped up, and new prices are exacted. We do not need to look in the past for proof that this is their technique. We look instead at the present, and at their announced program for the future. They do not even try to conceal their strategy. They simply take it for granted that the free peoples have become so soft that no resistance may be expected.

#### PRESENT METHODS SUCCESSFUL FOR REDS

There is still a third reason why I do not think it is possible to buy a peace from the Communists, even at the impossible cost of abandoning their captive victims to them. And this reason is that the Communists are winning tre-

(Continued on Page 35)

# We Thank Thee

## THE OPPORTUNITY THAT IS AMERICA

By HARRY H. SCHLACHT  
Editor, *East Side News*, N. Y.

WHAT is this old ideology of Marxism? It is the old doctrine of authoritarianism. It is the ancient curse of the strong to rule the weak. It is the power of force—with guns and marching feet.

Herbert Hoover once said:

At the time our ancestors were proclaiming that the Creator had endowed all mankind with the rights of freedom as a child of God with a free will, there was being proclaimed by one Karl Marx, a satanic philosopher of agnosticism, that the rights of man came from the state.

The greatness of America comes from the one philosophy. The other philosophy comes from the despair of Europe.

Our idea of democracy was embodied in the preamble of our Declaration of Independence and in the words of our Constitution.

It has as its philosophers Samuel Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Tom Paine, and Abraham Lincoln.

We are the first to present to the modern world a political faith based upon the dignity of the individual. We are the first to present to the modern world the equality and fraternity of mankind.

### "I CAN" TYPICALLY AMERICAN

Every American has before him the inspiration, the gratification, the challenge to say "I can" as he takes part in the life of our blessed land.

Let me tell you a story that has come to me from Ulric M. Gwynn, Jr., of the North Dakota Junior Chamber of Commerce. It is a story that has its inception in the northern province of Czechoslovakia. It concerns two brothers—two small boys.

The youngsters were sprawled on the banks of the Elbe River. The afternoon was not unlike many others, for often they sat by the river and talked, sometimes until sundown.

"I'm going to be rich when I grow up," Karel would vow. "I'll own much land and everyone will point to me and say, 'there is Karel Mahousek. He is the richest man in all Czechoslovakia.'"

But brother Jan had dreams too—dreams that he dare not tell Karel because he would surely think them strange. He just sat there and looked out into the horizon. Somewhere beyond the Elbe there was an ocean—and beyond that? Well, one day he would know.

Old Eduard Mahousek considered his sons and what the future held for them. He even prophesied it many times. "Jan is a dreamer. He is one with imagination, but he is not as ambitious as Karel."

It happened that Jan was at a village dock when a river boat stopped for cargo. Perhaps it was fate when, on an impulse, he took a job on the boat and found his way to the sea—to a different way of life—for Jan came to America.

It wasn't easy at first, this new world. Jan used to write home about the strange American ways. Yet there was always something wonderful to tell. He was making progress. He had a good job, with good pay.

As for Karel, his letters were different. He couldn't save the money with which to buy the land he had promised himself he would one day own.

What does the story of these two brothers mean? Why are their lives so different today? The answer is simple, for one is a symbol of America, and the other a symbol of Europe.

We are the same people, with the same blood, with the same native ability.

But there is one essential difference.

Here in America we have the opportunity. Here in America we have the privilege to use to the fullest extent our native talent. Here in America we are free—all of us—to express ourselves and to use and develop our talent and ability.

The great power that we have in America was gained and grew because of work.

It achieved this greatness because men bent to the task to accomplish an end.



eFor . . . .

## THE FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

By GRAHAM PATTERSON

Publisher, *Town Journal*

WITH THE world divided as it is today into two armed camps, maintaining an uneasy peace, our own great strength, economic, military and spiritual, that makes us the bastion of the free world, also pinpoints the tremendous difference between our way of life and that under a totalitarian state.

Our own freedom should prove a shining star of hope to the hundreds of millions of oppressed people suffering under the Communist yoke. It holds a promise that some day they, too, may achieve their freedom as our forefathers did.

When the thirteen impoverished American colonies finally won their freedom as a sovereign nation, after long years of struggle, privation and hardships, it was an event of history-shaking proportions. Other nations before us had fought for and won their independence, but nowhere in all the pages of history had there been a nation founded upon the ideals our Founding Fathers established. Never before had there been laid down the principles that our Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights boldly set forth. In other lands, even in the England from which we gained our liberty, there was no real freedom except for a favored few.

But the brave and far-sighted patriots who dared death by putting their signatures on the Declaration of Independence boldly gave the world a new and exciting idea to think about—a philosophy that held that “all men are created equal” and are “endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.”

It was not just freedom as a nation for which the Minute Men fought at Lexington, for which George Washington and his army suffered through a terrible winter at Valley Forge; it was for a new kind of nation in which the individual citizen would enjoy freedom

in its fullest, richest meaning. A new kind of nation in which the individual would have freedom to worship as he chose, freedom to voice his opinion without fear of arrest. A new kind of nation in which the individual citizen would have the right to enjoy the fruits of his labors, one in which he could hope to rise to any heights he chose, no matter how humble the station to which he was born.

The Declaration of Independence made the government the servant instead of the master. It was Benjamin Franklin who said “He who shall introduce into public affairs the principles of primitive Christianity will revolutionize the world.”

Franklin's words were justified by the amazing development of that group of weak little states into the richest, most powerful nation in the world, with the highest standard of living ever enjoyed by any country.

Our system of “capitalism” or “free enterprise”—call it what you will—provides what everybody must have for economic progress: *incentive*. As a result, with only 1/16th of the world's people, this country produces one-third of the world's goods and almost one-half of all its manufactured products!

How different is the record of communism, under which the government is the master instead of servant and the individual an automaton instead of an individual. After thirty years of “the worker's Utopia,” the Russian worker has less freedom and less of the world's goods than he had under the Czars. He is denied the freedom to speak or even think as he wishes. He must work where he is told, for as long as he is told. He must not complain, under the threat of arrest, torture and prison—even execution.

We should thank God for the foresight and wisdom of our Founding Fathers and their faith that a genuinely free man with trust and faith in God is always a better man.

# Do Business Mergers Endanger Business Economy?

The answer, emphatically, is NO!

says Colonel Alvin Mansfield Owsley, attorney, diplomat, soldier and business executive.

AMERICA possesses the largest corporations in the world, and by reason of their bigness, efficiency, modern methods of organization, production, and distribution have brought Americans the necessities of life at a price the masses can buy. We enjoy a greater measure of plenty, abundance, not only of the necessities but luxuries, than all the other peoples of the world combined. Americans have accepted bigness as their idea of the best means of serving the nation. Whatever is best for the masses of working people, is best for America.

There are those in public life who make a pretense of being afraid of big business. A "Senate Small Business Committee," looks after the interests of the small businesses of the country. Now this is a good thing. In the allocation of government contracts there should be no discrimination against a company or an individual because of size. Large or small our American system of private enterprise has brought the greatest measure of prosperity and blessing to one hundred and sixty-five millions of people, the world ever looked upon.

A merger is no reason for alarm. Now numerous government agencies for our protection against monopolies have been established by law, such as the Federal Trade Commission, and through the Department of Justice prosecutions take place under the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Here is the guardian of the country

against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade. The hand of the law is laid heavily upon the transgressor, the big fellow, who undertakes to push out of business a small businessman, or his most likely competition.

When is a merger permissible? Now the law says the first of the many questions that must be asked is, "What would be the reasonable, probable effect of the proposed merger?" We don't have to find whether the merger will create a monopoly, but whether there is a tendency to create a monopoly; not only must you find that there is a lessening but you have to go into the quantitative analysis as to whether it is a substantial lessening of competition.

These are the main reasons for a merger: (1) Add to total capacity. (2) Add to capacity of a specific area. (3) Product diversification. (4) Gain the source of supply. (5) Move into the consumer market. There are and always will be calamity howlers, men who are trying to find something wrong with the economy, with the laws, with our institutions or with the Constitution. These have served our country, have brought us to the summit of success, prosperity and economic freedom far above that of any other people, under any other government on the face of the globe.

Is the economy of the country sound? Let us see. One of the latest indicators of business activities reads like this:

"The retail trade has reached a record high as rising employment and increased wage rates bring an expansion of pay-rolls. Civilian jobs reached 65 million in July—three million above July, 1954. Hourly wages and manufacturing are all at a record high. The United States employment for women and girls tops 20 million at this time."

Little business has more money, has more business than ever before. What is the advantage or the disadvantage of big business over a small business or small business over a big business? This question is answered in a recent issue of *The Nation's Business* by a small manufacturer of air-conditioning. He said, "The big advantage, the big strength, of a small manufacturer is his maneuverability. He doesn't have the money or the factory space or the equipment of the 'big boys,' so he makes do with what he does have. This brings out ingenuity. Our plant can engineer a product in six months that would take a big manufacturer a year and a half. From a competitive standpoint a big corporation does not hold a candle to the little outfit with the know-how."

Now there is a satisfied "Small Businessman."

Our economy is sound. With fear behind and hope ahead we may look forward to our greatest era of prosperity and peace.

## It is a dangerous movement!

says U. S. Senator John J. Sparkman, (D) of Alabama.

As chairman of the Senate's Small Business Committee, I have had an unusually good opportunity to know of the special importance of free competition to the welfare of small business. I'm keenly aware of any threat raised against small business, thus my deep concern over the increasing number of mergers now plaguing the nation's industrial and commercial life.

According to a report recently published by the Federal Trade Commission, the number of business mergers is near

an all-time high. The number of significant mergers has increased tremendously during the last two and a half years, and in 1954 was three times as great as in 1949. That this spiraling movement is continuing unchecked during 1955 is revealed in the fact that for the first six months of this year, some 212 significant mergers were recorded by the Federal Trade Commission. By the term "significant mergers" I mean those consolidations which may have anti-trust implications.

The great increase in bank mergers is equally as disturbing. Among banking institutions the number of mergers has increased from a figure of 91 for the thirty-month period from January 1, 1950 to June 30, 1952, to a total of 183, more than double for a like period between July 1, 1952 and December 31, 1954. During the first six months of 1955, the pace was stepped up with 60 banking mergers taking place.

These figures show the startling proportions of the present merger move-

ment. It is a dangerous movement. Mergers are inimical to the national economy, or may be, and particularly to the small business community, precisely to the extent that they result in a lessening of competition and in the growth of monopoly. That such anti-competitive effects are flowing from the current merger activity cannot be denied. The only question is the degree to which today's mergers lessen competition and create monopolies. Economic concentration creates a serious competitive problem, whether it results from a merger between leaders in the industry or from a series of mergers among a group of lesser companies.

The primary characteristic of the merger movement now being experienced, however, is the consolidation of large companies. The soundness of existing competitive conditions must be questioned when, as is happening frequently at this time, two or more blue chip companies are forced to merge in order to compete more effectively with their great

rivals—their giant rivals. What chance for survival do the many thousands of small businesses have under such conditions?

In my opinion the outlook for small business can only grow darker as the strong get stronger through mergers and thus increase their advantages over the small. The evils inherent in unrestricted merger activity are serious. They demand prompt and effective action to curb the current trend toward economic concentration.

Every citizen, no matter how weak, every business, no matter how small, must be permitted to enter freely any market and once within to compete on just and equal terms with those that are already there. Only by such action can the market place remain free and accessible and consequently beneficial to the nation—consumers, producers and merchants alike.

To curb the growth of monopoly brought about by mergers it is essential

that federal agencies responsible for existing anti-monopoly legislation, more aggressively enforce such legislation. There are loopholes in existing legislation that should be closed, and the 1955 session of Congress moved in that direction. More important though than new legislation is a conscientious effort to enforce existing legislation. Unfortunately, the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice, the two agencies specifically charged with the responsibility of enforcing anti-trust legislation, have been derelict in the performance of their duties.

In fact, this administration is so greatly controlled by past employees of big business and so wrapped up in big business philosophy that official sanction has been given to a growing disregard of the dangers of the merger movement, and a growing disregard of legislation already on the books designed to prevent monopoly expansion. There must be a correction of this situation if small business is to be given ample protection.

## STATUS QUO PEACE

(Continued from Page 31)

method is successful, and that they should continue it just as it is?

Very soon, now, the problems of Asia are once again to be made the subject of "negotiation"—first at Geneva, on the ambassadorial level, and then at the United Nations.

What we must insist upon is that our friends make doubly emphatic the policy they have repeatedly pledged themselves to pursue—namely, the liberation of North Korea.

What is the use or sense of talking with the Communists about still more concessions to be made to them? Why should the free world talk about giving up Quemoy and Matsu, or about the status of Formosa, or about the possible admission of Red China to the United Nations? These are topics that should never even be raised for discussion.

The real problems in Asia are the withdrawal of the Red Chinese aggressors from North Korea, and the absolute ending of their aggressive thrusts in Indochina. The basic problem is the roll-back of the Iron Curtain from the areas which it has illegally engulfed.

Peaceful coexistence would be no problem if the Communists would withdraw back into Russia whence they came; if they would stop trying to undermine free peoples by infiltration, subversion, and propaganda; and if they would start to dismantle the huge war machine by which free nations are kept under constant threat.

We are told by some people that the Communists also are fearful of the free world, and that some or perhaps many of their hateful measures are undertaken simply from a mistaken view of the need for their own self-defense. If this is really a factor in their thinking, I am sure that there will be no problem in giving them sound reassurances.

In the first place, it is a simple fact that the democracies have an excellent record for keeping the promises which they have made. All the Communists need to do is to read the record, and they will find that this is true.

In the second place, President Eisenhower has convincingly demonstrated the desire of the United States to live in peace, if it can be done in a manner consistent with American ideals of decency and freedom. The Communist leaders themselves have indicated they accept these assurances.

### NO SACRIFICE TOO GREAT

What we have above all to fear is our own loss of honest perspective, on the free side of the Iron Curtain. Too easily, we accept the *status quo* as something already existing and forget that it represents the greatest evil force of slave conquest in the entire history of the world.

It is simply incredible to try to make "peace" with the Communist conquerors on the basis of "leaving well enough alone." We have no alternative to making every sacrifice that may be necessary to win the captive peoples back to freedom. No step short of that is civilized. No step short of that is even safe.

# Tomorrow . . . A BOOK REVIEW

By Winifred Scutt, The Christopher Publishing House, 1140  
Columbus Avenue, Boston 20, Massachusetts. 256 pp., \$3.50.

**T**HIS IS A patterned tapestry of history and prophecy woven of poetry, prose, and musical accompaniment, orchestrated in such a manner that the reader finds his moods following the author's intent with no noticeable effort to do so.

What is God?  
Why is the world?  
From whence cometh law and order?  
Who planned billions of stars  
Related we know not how . . .  
Each an individual universe in itself?  
Why does a star  
Burst its shell?  
Who made the gas  
That made the nebula  
That made the stars?  
Why man?

So opens *Tomorrow* in which Miss Winifred Scutt outlines America's Christian heritage, from the Old Testament, through the prophecies preceding the birth and life of Christ, the latter made up of short prose stories of a clear and simple beauty. Continuing through "The Birth of Christianity in Europe," and "The History of Christianity in America," the stage of our American heritage which forms the background for *Tomorrow* is set.

America was founded on the golden rule.  
It was written in  
The Declaration of Independence  
And the Constitution.

Nor was it the subject and the predicate  
Of the Golden Rule  
That built this golden world.  
It was the power of love  
That came from Christ to man  
And man to Christ  
Greater than any chemical process  
Discovered or undiscovered,  
The power that drives millions  
Of trusting souls  
To material happiness—and further  
Into the unknown vistas  
Of eternity . . . .

Far away upon the shores of Europe  
In land where opportunities still bound  
By ancient chains lay dormant  
Man heard of education  
And the chance of a poor man to rise  
And so they came in millions  
Swarmed like ants to honey  
To partake of opportunities  
Which were the fruit  
Of the Golden Rule  
Planted by the first Americans.  
So came Europeans  
And ate and drank  
From Pilgrim's board.  
America was made  
From a dissatisfied Europe . . . .

Never before in the history of the world  
Did the average citizen enjoy so much  
Of this world's goods  
Nor such diversity of entertainment  
For his leisure hours.

The voice of God is indicated throughout Miss Scutt's word painting by the use of 25 bass voices. Satan, too, is in the cast, characterized by a rasping voice, always accompanied by the sounds of the jungle in the background.

Satan speaks:

When I destroy  
Christ's techniques of love  
The nation will be destroyed.  
I will put him out of the schools.  
I will infiltrate into the churches  
Until a thousand churches deny  
His divinity. . . .  
The Christian home  
Is responsible for American success.  
It must go.

Asks the Statue of Liberty:

How much time do they get to think?  
—to read? Ask them why they do not  
spend one small ratio of the day in prayer  
for understanding and power. . . . "and they  
have no time."

I who stand with my head among the  
suns and stars, my feet upon an island  
bathed by the waves of the sea, ask you—  
where is liberty? . . .

Eighteen million immigrants have passed  
beneath the portals of America at the harbor  
at my feet. "Give me your tired, your  
poor, your huddled masses yearning to  
breathe free, the wretched refuse of your  
teeming shore. Send these, the homeless,  
tempest-tossed to me; I lift my lamp beside  
the golden door."

Bringing us closer to the present and  
outlining the mistakes which threw  
America into two major world conflicts,  
Miss Scutt, in the section entitled  
"War," writes:

"Thou shalt not covet"  
Are words unknown to Europe.  
In these words are the  
Fundamental stuff of peace.  
Europe a history of bloodshed  
Came because  
She blinded herself to this truth. . . .  
War blasted, and more war,  
Until America drew forth its armor  
And went forth to intervene,  
And lost its wave of youth  
Not once—but twice . . . .  
O star spangled banner  
Long may it wave  
O'er American soldiers  
Who march forth to save  
Democracy's brothers  
Wherever they be  
That none may destroy  
The land of the free . . . .

Adam has put his hand  
To the bough  
Of the secrets of God  
And plucked him an apple  
Called atomic energy . . . .  
Nor is the battle ended!

Satan speaks:

With two weapons  
I shall conquer the world,  
Europe, Asia;  
Japan shall succumb.  
And last . . . America:  
One weapon—atomic energy;  
The other infiltration  
Of dishonesty and fear and greed,  
Fascination of novelty . . . .

America has a great Christian  
Who started a new stronghold  
Of Christianity in Japan  
Giving a conquered country  
New dignity in the world.  
He called for missionaries:  
They sent 174 Catholic priests  
And a handful of Protestant missionaries.  
He called for Bibles:  
He received . . . some . . . .  
The names of great men  
Are writ in  
Fearlessness for Christ.  
Washington did not hesitate  
To write his signature  
On the Declaration of Independence  
For fear of displeasing Britain.  
Great Christians know what they want  
And all the powers of hell  
Are powerless  
Before their determination.

Satan occupies the limelight in the  
prose section entitled "Intrigue:"

Huddled in the dark were two figures;  
one had horns and a forked tail, yet was  
the figure of a man . . . the second . . .  
wrapped in darkness . . . eagerly ques-  
tioning his teacher. Down below them  
lay a country, so distant that it seemed  
to be a map. Its outline was familiar . . .

The huddled figure spoke: "Psychologi-  
cally, how would one go about disrupting  
a nation?"

The answer came, nasal and strong:  
"The road from animal to man is not so  
long; herd them back to the animal."

Again spoke the man: "What has man  
that an animal has not?"

Satan crossed his legs and flicked his  
tail. "Purpose," he said, "idealism, in-  
telligence . . . mental attitudes."

Swift came the question: "How does  
one influence a mental attitude?"

The answer was sharp and sure: "In  
idealism, tear down their religious de-  
fense. In intellect, confuse them. In ef-  
fort, flatter half-finished products. In

purpose, laugh at them." He laughed... "Force these ideas on the young. Tell the adults that something is nothing, that nothing is something. The novelty of the idea will call the susceptible like flies to honey..."

About the United Nations, Miss Scutt asks "Can an adult sit down with children whose law is 'Gimme?'..."

While America sleeps  
 Evil powers wind their manacles  
 Around American institutions like  
 an octopus  
 Simpering politeness, begging Heaven  
 To protect the innocent man against  
 suspicion  
 Of espionage and un-Americanism  
 Tho' a thousand killers  
 With a thousand daggers  
 Wait to strike at the appointed time.  
 Traitors are safe in court  
 Behind the law that stubbornly prevails  
 "I refuse to answer  
 For fear I will incriminate myself."

Through the selections entitled "Korea" and "Come Home Korean Dead," is woven Miss Scutt's analysis of the plots of "the subtle enemy" that

Keeps battles stirring  
 To deplete America  
 Of manpower and weapons,  
 In preparation for the fatal day  
 When the arch enemy will strike  
 At the great democracy....

The Communists can skip  
 From Korea to Formosa,  
 From Formosa to Japan,  
 From Japan to Hawaii,  
 From Hawaii to America!....

In the churches they stand by their  
 families  
 In the old familiar pews  
 Quiet, unseen, in the aisles.  
 Over the heads of the people  
 The dead from Korea hear voices  
 That drown the voice of the preacher:  
 Who questions the virgin birth,  
 Who questions the sanctity of marriage  
 Against the words of Jesus....

Home from the well-known hills,  
 Jackson Heights, old Baldy and others,  
 Silent ranks enter the Senate  
 And listen....  
 To the twisted values of senators  
 As they condemn the details of action  
 Of a great patriot  
 Fighting for the freedom of democracy  
 Against the tyranny of communism,  
 Who puts God above all organization  
 With the everlasting integrity  
 Of the Almighty....

Miss Scutt's words speak so much better for themselves than can the reviewer's pen that, in order to outline her thinking on the almost myriad aspects of the world situation as it affects America today, the temptation arises to quote her words at great length. However, no review of *Tomorrow* could encompass the full scope of this work. Although the reader may disagree with Miss Scutt's political philosophies, he would be hard put to find any better expressed, more all-inclusive, or better supported by author's outline of Christian concept, religious and political his-

torical background. Weaving the present into the future, Miss Scutt proceeds:

The United Nations  
 Built up a power  
 That will one day challenge  
 The United States of America  
 In its avarice  
 For the source from whence came  
 Aid!  
 American dollars strengthen its  
 foreign friends  
 To power that will swallow  
 The philosophy that fostered it.  
 America is too courteous  
 To push....  
 What is happening to America?  
 The path is being made easy  
 For communism—  
 For the anti-Christ  
 By apathetic Christians  
 Too generous to the devil  
 To fight for Christ....

The growling and the hissing  
 Of hungry Asia  
 Laps at the sands  
 Like waves before a hurricane  
 Cutting a pathway thru the jungle  
 A little nearer  
 And a little nearer  
 To America....

Appeasement gives opportunity  
 For communism to seep  
 Into American minds....

In Miss Scutt's closing section, "Revelations," biblical voices quoting prophetic words of scripture lend authenticity to the author's conclusion that our future lies with God.

Tomorrow!  
 The voice of him who is and ever shall be  
 Echoes through all space.

"I am Alpha and Omega  
 The beginning and the end."

*The grace of your Lord Jesus Christ  
 Be with you all.  
 Amen.*

To those for whom the poetic word can tell more by implication, by mood, by rhythm and alliteration, than can prose—*Tomorrow* will be treasured as a thing of rare beauty, which needs only the recognition of tooled vellum covers, of the polished fragrant pages deserved by the finest classical works. Yet, as published, *Tomorrow* is attractively illustrated with photographic prints of Winifred Scutt's oil portraits, a series of which hang permanently in the Pioneer Museum at Colorado Springs, Colorado, presented as a memorial to her father, Franklin Ward Scutt.

Winifred Scutt was born in Long Island, New York. She was educated in Connecticut at Taconic School and Mary Baldwin Seminary, Staunton, Virginia. She also attended Columbia University. She studied under Wood Woolsey and Wayman Adams and has been and still is affiliated with many art and literary clubs. She is a member of Pasadena Historical Society, National League of American Penwomen (Pasadena), National Society of Arts and Letters (Los Angeles), Kappa Pi. Affiliated with Pen and Brush Club (New York), and Crespi (Pasadena). Also listed in *Who's Who in American Art*, and *Who's Who in America*.

*Tomorrow*, a thing of beauty, thus a joy forever, may be read and treasured by all ages.

—MARY HELEN BRENGEL

★

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# Soviet Foreign Trade — Instrument of Conquest

by Siegfried Garbuny

An economist specializing in the field of international trade and finance, Mr. Garbuny, who now teaches in New York City, formerly served with the U.S.S.R. division of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services. In his opinion, "The Soviets seem to me to use international trade for outright aggrandizement of their political and military power wherever they can set foot." The following testimony by Mr. Garbuny was made before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee—Task Force on Strategy and Tactics of World Communism.

COMMERCE among nations has always been regarded as a means to establish friendly relations among the partners and as a symbol of peace. This has been a time-honored maxim; but the Soviet Russians have taught the world differently. They have shown that this instrument of peace can easily be turned into a mighty weapon of warfare and into an emblem of slavery.

Immediately after their advent to power the Bolsheviks, then led by Lenin, reserved in April, 1918, foreign trade for the state as a government monopoly. No private individual was allowed to engage in commerce over the borders. The state through government corporations inside and outside Russia took complete charge of the international exchange of goods. The trade program was simple: only what the Communist state needed for its survival would be imported, the need and demand of the individual Russian citizen was no longer of any concern. Foreign trade would no longer serve to increase the Russian standard of living.

True enough, as long as the Russians were busy with their internal affairs, the volume of Russian foreign trade remained relatively small. Yet, the Soviet state learned soon that the foreign trade monopoly offered special extra advantages to the Communist regime. It kept the citizens so much better in complete isolation and bondage at home, and yet it could be used for economic chicanery abroad. Soviet Russia's foreign exchange dumping maneuvers in the 1920's to upset foreign markets and to obtain much-desired foreign currencies are still remembered. The foreign trade monopoly therefore remained one of the sheet anchors of the Soviet economy, and the decree of 1918 was incorporated in Article 14 of Russia's so-called constitution.

## POWER THROUGH TRADE

It was, however, only after the Second World War that the Russians understood the formidable dynamic power that they could unleash through foreign trade on their road to conquest. Commercial policy became therefore a vigorous part of their general foreign policy. After World War II a systematic effort was undertaken to conquer not only by arms but

also by foreign trade. It might be said indeed that foreign trade became an alternative to armed intervention and propaganda. In conjunction with the military and propaganda apparatus stands therefore now foreign economic penetration as a means of conquest.

The postwar world suddenly saw Russia as the newest champion of international trade. That of course was something really sensational. With the voices of the sirens the Russians were now singing the praise of international cooperation. In all their pronouncements, verbal and written, the Russians were using the terminology of the democratic world, stressing the sovereignty and the equal rights of all trading partners as well as the mutual benefits of international trade. All the technical terms that we find in the commercial treaties of the Western world were used.

Yes, indeed, the Russians became almost treaty-happy engaging in a multitude of treaties and trade agreements wherever they could lodge them. In addition, trade fairs were sponsored and even a world economic conference could be assembled in Moscow in April, 1952. And yet, it was Satan at work.

## INABILITY TO COOPERATE

From the very beginning, in spite of all their efforts, the Russians could never conceal their total inability to collaborate in foreign commerce on an international plane. Their role in world political organizations is too well-known to be repeated here; but, perhaps a reminder of their attitude toward the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank is still in order. To make membership in the International Monetary Fund palatable to the Russians, the Bretton Woods Agreements provide that a country whose currency was only domestically used should not have to bare its financial affairs to the fund authorities.

This provision actually referred to the Russian situation, since the ruble, though allegedly on a gold basis, is not an international currency and is used only for internal circulation. The Russians could therefore have joined the fund without the duty of information about their own financial affairs, a matter in

which they have always been very sensitive; yet, they would still have retained the privilege to learn about the economic status of their colleagues, a point of everlasting interest to them. But even this extraordinary concession was not enough. The Russians did not join. International cooperation would have meant the abandonment of their goal to conquer the world. Cooperation always means equal rights for all the partners. The Russians would have been forced to become truly democratic and to give up the fight for the world revolution for which they saw again propitious conditions.

This attitude of the Soviets toward the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank is typical of Russia's "will to international cooperation" and has been duplicated many times. Even if the Russians join an international economic, or for that matter political organization, it will be for destructive and not for constructive purposes. This is inherent in their dictatorial quest for power. We just must realize that the Soviets are incapable of international cooperation in any sphere. All the more is it necessary to study how they wielded the hammer of foreign trade and what their future strategy is going to be.

## LAST SHAM TO FAIL

The story of the subjugation of Russia's satellites and of the establishment of puppet regimes is well known, but less known are their economic consequences. No matter what their past economic setup and orientation were, all satellite countries turned into planned economies with their center in Moscow. The Soviet "plan area" thus created includes now the USSR proper, Red China, North (Red) Korea, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Mongolia.

To keep up appearances, all these countries had so far economic plans of their own, well attuned of course to the Soviet five-year plan; but there is now substantial evidence that even this last sham will fail, and that the future Soviet five-year plan will also cover the satellite economies, which will then be in form as well as in fact Russian dependencies.

Already the Soviet plan area has all the characteristics of the Grossraum of Hitler's Germany and of the co-prosperity sphere of prewar Japan. The plans of the satellites, originally two or three years in duration, are at the moment orthodox five-year plans in step with Russia's own program. Just as they did for Russia, the plans provide for the industrialization of the satellites.

A raw materials pool is envisaged by which each country exports raw materials in relative abundance for goods in short supply that can be had from one or the other partner. This traffic, however, must not be imagined as smooth commercial intercourse based on the profit motive and individual prosperity, but rather as directed by what the Soviet Union deems necessary in its own interest.

The Soviets have gone so far as to send specialists to the satellites to supervise production and to train skilled labor in order to step up production. They receive trainees from satellite countries who learn next to the party doctrine mechanical skills in the USSR. On a higher level the Russians established mixed commissions for scientific and technological cooperation. So far there exist only a Soviet-Polish, a Soviet-Albanian, a Soviet-Czech, a Soviet-Bul-

garian, and a Soviet-East German commission. It is the task of these commissions to impart Soviet know-how to the satellites in those industrial areas in which the Soviets wish a rapid increase of output.

Where it is necessary, the Russians send equipment and even ship whole factories to underindustrialized areas. In this connection the Russians boast that they have given Rumania badly needed oil refineries and take full credit for whatever improvements in equipment Finland's industries can show.

#### WEB OF TREATIES

At the same time, the Soviet orbit moved to establish uniform prices, tariffs, measures, and railroad gauges. The brotherhood is pushed even further in some areas, where the Russians established by force, of course, mixed corporations with joint management as in the case of SovRom, the Russian-Rumanian oil concern, or in that of the mixed Russian-Chinese civil aeronautics lines.

To give all this activity a harmless appearance and to convince those who are gullible enough of their peaceful intentions, the Russians have based this system of economic annexation on a mesh of commercial treaties. Anyone who

reads the speech of Mikoyan, the past architect of Russian foreign trade, before the 19th party congress in Moscow in October, 1952, will be indeed surprised by the minister's constant reference to international law, commercial treaties, respect for the sovereignty of treaty partners — in brief, to all the concepts forever advocated by bourgeois jurisprudence.

For their own case, Mr. Mikoyan and his collaborators praise the fact that Russia's commercial treaties with the "people's republics"—which is Russia's term for the satellites—are long-term understandings. This, so they say, guarantees a smooth development of the satellite industries. It protects them against crises and gives them confidence in their future by securing adequate raw material supply and markets for their products.

The Russians, of course, never mention the fact that these treaties make the satellites completely dependent on the USSR and this not only for a short period, but rather for a long time to come. Indeed through protocols to the existing agreements or through renegotiation closer and closer ties are continually established, as was recently evidenced by the protocol of January, 1954, to the Russian-Chinese trade agreement of February, 1950. This protocol increased the items of exchange between the two countries in a considerable fashion, although the original agreement had already provided for the closest cooperation.

In other words, the commercial treaties of the Soviet Union with the satellites serve as the legal basis for the annexation to the Russian Grossraum. The consequences of this annexation are clear. Soviet trade with the satellites and the trade of the satellites among themselves have tremendously increased, in some instances as in the case of the Russian-Finnish trade in machinery and machine tools as much as ten times over prewar operations. By the same token, of course, the satellite trade with the Western countries has rapidly decreased in spite of some occasional flickering here and there.

This is a fact of tremendous significance which cannot be stressed enough, because originally the trade of especially the European satellites with Russia was relatively small. The economies of Russia and of the satellites were not complementary, but in many ways—though of course in different dimensions—rather parallel. For buying and selling the satellites had therefore normally turned to Central and Western Europe as their natural markets.

This again is significant, because it shows that the satellites' turn to the Soviet Union must be accompanied by a structural change of their economies as



#### One More Russian Smile

By John Knott, Dallas Morning News, October 10, 1955

well as by a strong decline of their standard of living, at least until this structural change and the consequent integration into the Soviet orbit are fully completed. The Russians will not worry about all this, since they look on the Soviet plan area as something similar to a war economy where the citizens' welfare is nothing compared to the state's defense. The feelings of the subjected nations are of course a different matter which the democracies will do well to remember.

#### REDS CONQUER THROUGH TRADE

For the time being, the world must realize that the USSR has conquered the satellite area through its foreign trade policies. The next question is therefore whether Russia's conquest through foreign trade is on the march elsewhere. The answer is, alas, positive. The Russians have found their new weapon a good one, and are determined to use it to the fullest degree, whereby they discriminate with infernal instinct between their victims and apply the medicine in different doses.

While Stalin was still philosophizing about the two separate world markets—the Capitalist and the Communist—the Soviet government invited representatives of both from all over the world to an international economic conference at Moscow in April, 1952. From all reports this conference must have been a rather smooth and "bourgeois" affair under the chairmanship of Mr. Nesterov, the president of the Chamber of Commerce of the Soviet Union. Here, the Soviets proclaimed to all who wanted to listen their readiness to trade with any nation that wanted to enter into commerce with the USSR.

The Russians soon found that there



WIDE WORLD PHOTO  
Lord Boyd Orr of Britain. Nobel Peace Prize winner, 1949.

was more of a response than perhaps even they had expected. Respectable Britishers like John Boyd Orr cheered enthusiastically, the South Americans lent a willing ear, the Near East and Central Asia seemed ripe victims.

The Soviets of course realized that the game here would not be as easy as with the satellites and that the approach would have to be different, but they set out to work immediately. Since they are not in a hurry and are used to waiting many years if necessary, as in the case of China, where the battle took twenty-five years, they will be satisfied in the beginning with moderate results, much more moderate than in the plan area, as long as they get results. For the democracies, however, every Russian success is a tocsin of danger which must not be ignored. Disaster is bound to come, un-

less the Russian conquest through trade is not brought to a halt in due time.

Some of the new Russian successes shall be recorded here; but for all of them it is an established fact that the Russians are hardly interested in the economic advantages that might come to them from their new foreign trade connections, but much rather in the establishment of a political hold on their new trade partners.

The Near East, the Arab world, has always been of special interest to the Russians. Two major trade agreements are noteworthy in this respect, the Egyptian-Soviet Payments Agreement of November, 1953, and the Lebanese-Russian Trade and Payments Agreement of June, 1954. The latter agreement is rather elaborate and provides for an exchange of goods in each direction in the amount of LL10 million.\* The Soviets will deliver industrial goods; and the Lebanese agricultural products. This agreement also contains through its special handling of the most-favored-nation clause a Soviet recognition of the Arab countries as a whole large unit, an idea from which some day not only the Arabs but also the Soviets may draw profit.

The agreement also ties the method of establishing the exchange rate between the ruble and the Lebanese pound to the gold content of the ruble, and makes the ruble this way for once an international gold-based currency, quite contrary to its usual merely domestic function. This may have no practical significance, but it reveals once more the independent and arbitrary way in which the Russians see fit to arrange their economic and financial relations with their various trade partners.

Yet, the two Near Eastern agreements pale in the light of the Russo-Indian trade agreement which constitutes a significant milestone on Russia's road to conquest.

On December 2, 1953, Russia and India concluded a trade and payments agreement which will run for five years, after which it can be extended by negotiations which must begin three months before the expiration date. Both parties have agreed to give one another preferential treatment in shipping and other facilities. Russia will render technical assistance on the installation and operation of equipment that it supplies, a clause that reminds very much of the agreements with the satellite plan area. All payments are to be made in Indian rupees; for this purpose, the State Bank of Russia will maintain accounts with the Reserve Bank of India and one or more commercial banks in India. The balances in these accounts will be convertible into sterling on demand.

The agreement provides for the ex-

\*Lebanese liras.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO  
One of the new Volga automobiles nearing completion at the Molotov Auto Works in Gorky, Soviet Russia, where it will reportedly go into full-scale production next year. The car has automatic oiling, an automatic gearbox, and a rear seat that lets down to form a bed.

change of a large number of goods. Among the twenty items exportable from India during the first year of the agreement are jute goods, tea, coffee, tobacco, spices, shellac, wool, hides, and skins, essential oils, coir yarn and ropes, live animals, chemical films, and books. Among the thirty-nine items available for export from Russia are wheat, barley, crude petroleum and petroleum products, timber and paper, optical goods, dyestuffs, chemicals, medicines, printed matter, film, and a wide range of industrial equipment, machinery and machine tools.

India's imports from Russia were valued at \*R2.3 million (about \$480,000) in 1950-51, R13.8 million in 1951-52, and R2.4 million in 1952-53. Exports to Russia during those three years amounted to R13.4 million, R6.7 million, and R8.5 million respectively.

#### PRESS AGLOW OVER COMPACT

This agreement is doubtless of great political and psychological importance, for both India and the USSR. Leading Indian newspapers have therefore hailed this compact in glowing terms. The *Bengali Ananda Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta stressed in an enthusiastic leading article Russia's willingness to send machinery and to give technical assistance to the unskilled Indians. And since Western experience has already shown that the best capital equipment can be useless in India because of the lack of native skill, it may well be that the Russian teachers will be permanent in India, as they once were in China, and that they may repeat the Chinese lesson there.

Another Indian paper, the *Hindu Ted* of Delhi, on the other hand stressed the fact that the agreement adopted the Indian rupee as the unit of account and that thus Russia was the first great power to acknowledge India's sovereign currency. This was valued by the paper as a great success in prestige. In other words, India hailed the agreement not only as a commercial progress, but as a national victory.

Russian commercial policy hit indeed the target. Yet, analogies with the beginnings of Russia's battle for China cannot be removed from the student's mind. In that case, Dr. Sun-Yat-sen had invited the Russians to help establish China's national might through a Russian-trained Chinese army. The Russians came and actually never left, until China became fully subservient to the Soviet Union.

Russia has not stopped courting the western European democracies. Agreements with France, England, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, the Benelux area are still the order of the day in spite of Russia's unmitigated hatred of and opposition to any Western bloc such as the Council of Europe, or the European Coal and Steel Community, not to mention the

Marshall Plan which they sabotaged from its very beginning. Sensing economic difficulties in England, the Soviets did not hesitate to come forward with grandiose offers as at the time of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin in February, 1954, when the present Russian Foreign Trade Minister Kabanov submitted to a British trade delegation in Moscow orders to the tune of \$1,120,000.

Without doubt, such offers, even if they do not become contracts, leave a deep impression on the business world in any country, and this is perhaps the main reason why they were made. Other Western countries received similar "favors" from the Soviet Union. The intention is clear. The Russians want to use such foreign trade to wean the Western countries from their American ally. Beyond that they try to break the American export controls which is evident from the lists of goods they submitted to the British. These lists contained goods that could not be shipped to the Soviets under the present mutual defense assistance system. The Russians doubtless believe that, with the end of American economic aid to Europe in sight, they will be able to play the field again strongly and they don't want to delay the start.

Very striking, however, are the Russian attempts to conquer South America through trade. Two Latin American countries have recently concluded trade agreements with the USSR for the first time in their national existence: Argentina in August, 1953, and Uruguay in February, 1954. The Argentine agreement is the first Soviet trade agreement in Latin America. This agreement clearly shows the craftiness and the Machiavelian disguise by which the Russians try to establish a political beachhead through the friendly way of commerce.

There are then four different groups of countries where the USSR tries to infiltrate its power through foreign trade. Firstly, the plan area of the satellites where the operation was fully successful, then the Near East and India where there is a very successful beginning; thirdly, the Old West where economic crises may

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play into the hands of the Russian schemers, and finally the Latin American countries where virgin ground was just broken.

The question may well be asked: Why do these countries conclude trade agreements with the Soviet Union? The Soviet record is, after all, obvious. The answer cannot be given in one statement; for the reasons are different for the various nations. But it is safe to say that each nation hopes that it will be spared the extreme, though the basis for such hope is not rational; on the other hand each such nation is always driven to the Russians by some emergency. This emergency, whichever it may be, has always been cleverly understood and exploited to the full by the Russians.

Economic difficulties in England make English businessmen amenable to Russian approaches which are only too gladly forthcoming; similarly, the difficulty to find a market for its products and a cheap source of supply drives Argentina into Soviet hands; Indian independence and indigence find the Russians as teachers and psychological and economic supports; the Arab world may take a similar view. The satellites were under Russian military occupation, but with Germany's destruction at the end of the Second World War Russia was a logical power to turn to. All these are possible answers to the query at issue.

#### IS SOVIET GOLD DANGEROUS?

A last problem of Russian foreign trade should be considered. That is the question of Soviet gold. Does Soviet gold, as an instrument of foreign trade quite independent from the Soviet treaty system, constitute a danger to the Western World? Not too much can be said about this issue. A few things, however, are certain. The Soviets have, so far, not used gold as an instrument of economic warfare. Their gold production is a matter of estimate; nor is much known about the extent of Russian gold deposits, especially in the Lena and Kolyma regions. Soviet gold sales have recently taken place in the free markets of Europe, including London; but there is no report of disturbances of the market through Russian gold sales.

The question of how much Russia would benefit from a rise in the price of gold and whether she would benefit more than such an underdeveloped area as the Union of South Africa is therefore difficult to answer. Yet, the immediate problem here is whether Russian gold does not make its way into the American Treasury. It is quite likely, considering the low cost of remelting, that Soviet gold freed of the hammer-and-sickle emblem is shipped to the United States by Russia's European

\*Russian rubles.

trade partners. By accepting such gold without knowing the actual origin the American Treasury would facilitate Russian trade with Western Europe, which is certainly a doubtful result.

#### AN INSTRUMENT OF PROPAGANDA

In conclusion, it may be stated that militarily, economically, and politically the Soviet Union has only one firm and strong opponent: the United States of America. For this reason the USSR has reserved all its abuse and invectives for this country. Its propaganda against the United States of America in other countries is formidable. With each trade agreement it concludes, it also extends its propaganda radius. With the wares it sends, it passes along its anti-American hatred. Against that the United States has to take the strongest stand. This propaganda must not be underrated. Everything must be done to counteract it.

Especially now that economic aid may decrease or cease, the United States must be vigilant to keep the loyalty of the former aid recipients. Beyond that, it is especially important to vitiate the Soviet trade effort.

Having recognized Soviet foreign trade as an instrument of conquest, everything must be done by the United States to attract the world's trade to its own shores or to help to establish conditions in which the free world can trade with each other without Russia's participation. Export controls as established in the Export Control Act of 1949 and the Battle Act of 1951 should be continued in one way or another. That they were extremely successful is evidenced by the violent Russian reaction against them. That they hurt the Russian orbit much more than the Western World is evidenced by the statistics.

Through a proper tariff policy and technical assistance the United States can continue to help the free world to stay free and beyond that stop the Soviet march to conquest.

It would be unrealistic to hope for complete commercial isolation of the USSR, but the cordon sanitaire can be tucked tighter and tighter. If the United States remains a market for foreign products and a supplier of credit, raw materials, and finished products; if trade, not aid, becomes the regular feature of American relations with other nations, then the free nations will have no reason to fall for Russia's siren song.

It is clear that Russia's foreign trade serves one purpose only: to aggrandize the Soviet power. It is one more instrument of conquest.

In such circumstances it is the task of the United States to stop not only the Russian soldier, but also the Russian trader.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

## Truth

By HENRY W. WESTHEIDER

**T**HE constant rain of daily events form themselves into pools, creeks, springs, rivulets, etc., known as facts. Like all waters, the waters of fact seeking a common level, flow together, blend and form themselves into the mighty river of truth.

Undisturbed and unmolested, the river of truth will follow the lines of least resistance, find its own level and flow in a broad given channel until it reaches the sea of human knowledge and belief.

It is possible to muddy and befoul the waters of the river of truth with the vile filth of bigotry, hate, false charges, misunderstanding, vituperation, recrimination, and name calling. But through its own action it will eventually cleanse itself of such impurities, consigning them to the bottom and into the muck from which they originated.

It is also possible to divert the course of the river of truth into man-made channels of untrue philosophy, unsound reasoning, propaganda, misleading statements, ignorance and wishful thinking. But since it is the natural law that all water must find its own level, eventually the river will again find its true channel and follow its way to the sea.

Sometimes great dams are built of deceit, greed, selfish ambition, twisted truth, distorted facts, lust, intrigue, conspiracy and arbitrary egotism, to halt or impede its progress. But no matter how high or how strong such dams may seem to be in the beginning, their fallacious structure cannot endure for long. Slowly, perhaps, but surely the waters will pile up behind them until they either overflow, or by the sheer weight of their volume break through the obstruction, inundate the entire terrain and sweep everything before them as they roll majestically onward and into the sea of all human knowledge and understanding.

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## Federal Aid?

"Federal aid is a pressing need," says Senator John Sparkman, Democrat of Alabama, who agrees with the Administration's views in this respect, "However the Republican bill bogs down in red tape."

### SENATOR SPARKMAN:

Should there be a federal aid program for schools? Almost everyone in public life recognizes that there is a great pressing need for federal aid for schools. The President has said so, his commissioner of education has said so, and the Democrats have been saying so for a long time. This country faces an educational crisis caused by the fact that while more and more children have been entering our schools every year, there have been fewer and fewer teachers and school buildings to take care of them. Nobody wants his children to go to school in a firetrap; yet six million children were attending classes in fire hazard buildings last year. Nobody wants his children to go to school part time or in shifts; yet almost a million children get only half a day's schooling because of overcrowding. Everyone wants his children to be taught by properly trained teachers; yet the number of qualified men and women going into teaching each year is only half of the number that is needed.

While our school system has been deteriorating we've been sitting around and arguing over who should rebuild it. This has been unfortunate. If the growing shortages of schools and teachers tell us anything, it is that the states and local communities, despite the large amounts they spend on education, cannot do the job alone. They just don't have the money. So it seems to me that these people who say, "Let the states do it," are really saying, "Let's not do it at all." People who say this will be heard using the oldest of arguments; that is, that federal aid to education is socialism. If this is so then we've had socialism in this country ever since its birth.

Since 1785, by actual count, Congress has passed one hundred sixty-five federal aid to education laws. Thomas Jefferson set aside land in every new state for the support of the schools. Abraham Lincoln established colleges with money from the sale of government lands. Jefferson and Lincoln were Socialists? Under the G. I. Bill of Rights, tax money paid for the education of millions of veterans and properly so. The education of our children is equally as important as the

*(Continued on Page 44)*

## Local Control?

"Federal aid," in the opinion of Congressman Bruce Alger, Republican of Texas, "means federal control, which we do not want in education. If needed, let each state retain one per cent of income taxes for use without federal direction."

### CONGRESSMAN ALGER:

More classrooms are needed throughout the nation. A shortage of three hundred thousand rooms resulted from building curtailment during the war and defense periods. Also, the mounting enrollment now requires fifty thousand rooms yearly, plus replacement of many unsafe and unusable rooms. How to get these classrooms as quickly and sensibly as possible is the problem.

Currently, we are building more rooms than needed to meet the increasing enrollment, over sixty thousand rooms this year at an expenditure of over two billion dollars at the local and state level. At this accelerated rate we might well solve the problem. Yet some, declaring an emergency, are once again calling on our federal government to take a part. The questions that now arise are these: (1) Are we building fast enough or should we accelerate? (2) Does recognition of a need automatically mean a federal solution? (3) If government is needed should it be federal or state?

President Eisenhower in earnest concern over the need for classrooms has said, "For the purpose of meeting the emergency only and pending the results of the nationwide conference, I propose a broad effort to widen the accepted channels of financing school construction and to increase materially the flow of private lending through them—without interference with the responsibility of state and local school systems."

He proposed these recommendations: (1) *Bond purchases by the federal government*, for the purpose of helping those communities handicapped in selling bonds at reasonable interest rates. (2) *State school building agencies* to enable the state to help school districts needing financial help because of restrictive debt limits. (3) *Grants for school districts* with proven need and lack of local income. (4) *Grants for administrative costs* of state programs—to help states help themselves solve the problem.

These recommendations, while idealistically and sincerely motivated, do not, to me, offer a practical solution within the President's expressed formula of doing so as

*(Continued on Page 44)*

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## Federal Aid?

(Continued from Page 43)

education of our veterans, and the one is no more socialistic than the other. Nor does federal aid to education mean federal control. It is possible and we Democrats have a bill before the Senate right now that does this. To grant federal funds to each state in a way which leaves control over education in the same hands it is in now. The bill follows the principle of giving grants-in-aid for hospitals and mental institutions. These laws have been operating now for a good many years and no dangers of federal control have appeared.

I believe in local control of our schools. I think we can keep it that way simply because few things are closer to the hearts of American parents than the education of their children. We can have federal aid without federal control, but we cannot have adequate education without federal aid. The Republican administration has come out with a bill for construction of new schools. It's a big bill, but read it carefully and you will see that this Republican bill bogs down school construction in unnecessary expense and delay in red tape. It would be years before the school buildings proposed in this bill could be constructed. There would be greater costs to the local school districts because they would have to build their schools by selling bonds at high rates of interest. The administration bill is written in the tone of a mortgage bank of lending money to a pauper to tie him down to the banker who will get his money back plus interest. That is not the way to aid education. And I'm happy to see that this bill has been opposed by the school superintendents of thirty-four states.

The Democratic bill of which I am proud to be one of the twenty-four sponsors, provides grants of five hundred million dollars a year for construction of new schools. The money would go to each state according to the number of school children it had and according to the income of the people in the state. The money would go directly and quickly so that school construction could begin at once. This kind of a bill should have been passed long ago, for this kind of aid is in the finest tradition of American democracy. To give every American boy and girl a sound education or at least an opportunity for one, is to give each of them equal opportunity to make sure that all of them, no matter how poor the homes they come from, can have an equal start in life and a chance to prove their worth.

Federal aid to education is not spending legislation. It is an investment—an investment in the minds of our children. And it pays rich dividends and trains scientists and businessmen and trains farmers and better civic leaders for the future. Investments like these not only reaffirm democracy in America but they give our people the training that is needed to maintain leadership in the world of today.

## Local Control?

(Continued from Page 43)

he said "without interference with the responsibility of state and local school systems." In each recommendation, it seems to me that federal aid—in its most acceptable form—would violate the time-honored and time-tested local control of our schools, would circumvent the school districts and state laws—so that the cure for our problem is worse than the pain.

Further, to cite but one criticism—federal law, in its distance from the people, once again would overlook human nature. When federal grants are suggested for those states needing the financial aid, who will refuse or fail to seek

the money knowing that other states competitively will clamor for it and get it. Thus, the awarding of money by the federal government becomes a bureaucratic decision of the most flagrant kind.

We Americans value our ideal of local responsibility in educating our young. We know our system works the way it is. So our criticism to federal money for education may well be expressed in our recognizing and declaring that federal aid means federal control, "which we do not want in education, thanks just the same."

As citizens and taxpayers we expect our federal government to be careful in the expenditure of our money—and this necessarily means federal control follows federal spending. All the evils peculiar to government are multiplied the further the government gets from the people—the 1930's and 1940's prove this. Federal government is the other pole from the local school district. It is impractical and unrealistic, therefore, to say federal aid would be without strings attached. Countless other federal laws have supplanted state and local control—education would follow. Then the bureaucracy would indoctrinate our children. If we must accelerate our already fast school construction program—if more money is needed—then only do I suggest this following plan.

Let us retain 1 per cent of all income taxes collected on individual and corporate income under federal statutes, which shall be deemed to be revenue for the state in which it is collected for use for educational purposes only without any federal direction, control or interference. Texas, my state for example, will receive approximately twenty million dollars. Each state, obviously, would receive its fair share in this way.

Under this plan the handling of funds through Washington and back will be eliminated—no heavy bureaucratic deductions. The money remains in the states. No new federal bureaucracy will replace existing state and local organizations and methods. The total amount will automatically be geared to national income. There will be no danger of federal control, and no opportunity for channelized propaganda. There would be no appointed federal bureaucrat in charge of the educational program, far from the elective wishes of the people. Most important, this proposal will be a step toward retaining our constitutional republic and a move away from centralized government.

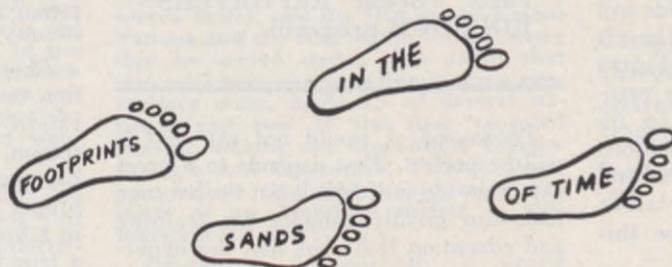


WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Old school buildings such as the one shown at top are being replaced by modern consolidated schools all over the state of Pennsylvania, whose school building program is considered a model for other states. Local school building authorities finance about 50 per cent of the cost; state aid covers the balance.

Our President's chief concern will have been met "without interference with the responsibility of state and local school systems."

The November educational conference lies ahead—let's wait and weigh the findings and solve this problem the American Way—at the local level: Let's not dodge it by asking for federal aid. We can do it at the state and local level. Tell your congressman about your beliefs and this plan.



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# POW CODE

- For the first time in our nation's history, a Military Code of Conduct has been issued for the members of the Armed Forces who become prisoners of war.
- The Advisory Committee responsible under President Eisenhower for drawing up this code contend they were ever mindful that in no way would it diminish America's eminence among the nations of the world, and that all six points of this code conform to the precepts of our great Constitution.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
RANK \_\_\_\_\_  
SERVICE NUMBER \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE OF BIRTH \_\_\_\_\_

**Roper:** How does the new code differ from the instructions which American soldiers have received in the past?

**Thurmond:** The difference is that American soldiers in the past, under the Geneva Convention, were only required to give their name, rank, service number, and now they also give their date of birth. Under this new code they would still be required to give only those things. Of course, this code is a standard of conduct and tells what the soldier should do. In the past there has been more of a negative approach in telling him what he should not do.

**Roper:** But is it going to really have any effect on what has been done in the past? Is this really just putting down in writing what the practice has been in the past?

**Thurmond:** Well, it is putting in writing a great many principles that have been practiced in the past. This code will be instilled into the minds and the hearts of the members of the Armed Forces and they will be trained in the principles of this code. They will be instructed in the camps, in the stations over the nation—the regular forces and the reserve forces.

**Roper:** Could you tell us how this training would be done?

**Thurmond:** This training will be carried on in classes and in many different ways. Undoubtedly, there will be films and lectures, and probably there will be various other techniques and methods used by the Army in conducting this training.

**Doherty:** Senator, do you think it will work? Do you think that in the event of future wars, our men who are unfortunate enough to be captured will be better able to stand up to the enemy without revealing information?

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Senator Strom Thurmond (Democrat, South Carolina) is a ranking authority on civilian and military affairs of the United States. During World War II he served in the European and Pacific theaters, and participated in the Normandy invasion, and until recently Senator Thurmond was national president of the Reserve Officers' Association of the U. S.

Obviously, he is well qualified to answer the questions about the new Military Code of Conduct fired at him by veteran reporters, James Roper of the *Washington Evening Star*, and Jack Doherty of the *New York Daily News* with Robert F. Hurleigh serving as moderator on this Facts Forum REPORTERS' ROUNDUP program.

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**Thurmond:** I would not say that it will be perfect. That depends to a great extent on the individual, but the average man can greatly enhance his training and education if he has had the opportunity to receive special training in this code. There are six articles of this code. They are all positive and they emphasize the willingness of the man to give his life if necessary. But it also has protection in here that if coercion is used, then the circumstances will be considered in each and every case pertaining to the man.

**Roper:** Senator, don't you think that is a suggestion for the soldier to be weak when you say we will forgive him if he is?

**Thurmond:** No, I do not think it is a suggestion. The psychiatrists say that every man has a breaking point. There may be some who do not have a breaking point—some who would go to death. Undoubtedly there are probably many who would go to death rather than reveal information. On the other hand, some men, for instance, upon being threatened with burning by a cigarette might succumb. Others might not succumb unless they were threatened to be burned with an iron. Others would not succumb at all. This code gives them an ideal—it reminds them of their duty to their country and to their comrades. It reminds them of what their country expects of them, and it is a standard to go by and it sets a high ideal.

**Doherty:** In spite of that, Senator, isn't it true that the will for self-preservation is a little stronger than love for country?

**Thurmond:** Well, that's a hard question to decide. The will for self-preservation, of course, is a very impelling reason. On the other hand, if a man has had proper religious education, proper training in his community and in school, he should have learned to be a true patriot, and learned that he has an obligation to his country, that he should be willing to serve his country—and, if necessary, to die for his country. If those principles are instilled in the man when he is a child, and then instilled in the members of the Armed Forces after they reach there, with special training, this will have great significance, will help him to make a better soldier, will help him to have a stronger will, and to hold out for his country and be a much braver and finer soldier.

**Doherty:** The Communists in the Korean War, for example, came up with brutal tortures, some of them unspeakable—we cannot even mention them over the radio. As you said, every man has his breaking point. How do we know, sitting here in the comfort of Washington, what any one of us would do if we were under the gun, so to speak?

**Thurmond:** Well, that is true, no one can possibly tell what another will do. Different men have different wills, some have iron wills, some would not give up under any condition. I'm sure they would become unconscious before they would reveal any information against their country or would reveal other information that would be detrimental to the welfare of the forces of which they were a member. On the other hand, we feel that this code gives them an ideal to work toward; it's a high standard, and if they are trained, oriented and indoctrinated with the principles of this code, that it will help them tremendously to withstand the onslaughts of the enemy and the Communists' techniques.

**Roper:** You mentioned the training that the soldiers will receive. The Communist bloc armies are rather famous for having political commissars, and other political officers stationed with the armies. Do you think there is a danger in our adopting such a system?

**Thurmond:** I don't think so. I think there is no danger of our country adopting such a technique. Our people do not believe in dictatorship, and they do not believe in commissars, emperors or rulers. We are a democratic country and the principles of this code are very democratic, but they do emphasize the importance of one being willing to serve his country and serve it well if his service is needed. We have a great country. It's the greatest country on the face of the earth. Our people have more liberty and more freedom than in any other nation, and we ought to appreciate this. We ought to be willing to fight for our country if our service is needed in time of emergency.

**Doherty:** It has been suggested that a good many of the servicemen who did break and who gave information in the Communist prison camps might have been motivated by the feeling that Korea was by and large an unpopular war, that the men did not know for what they were fighting. Do you believe that?

**Thurmond:** I would not say they did not know what they were fighting for, but I do feel that they were not indoctrinated as well as they should have been. I do feel they did not have the training that they should have had in a great many instances, not only the mental training along the lines of this code, in orientation, but even physical training. A great many men were thrown into the Korean conflict in an emergency to defend their country without adequate training.

**Hurleigh:** Well now, Senator, why is this so? You are speaking of instilling into the spirit of the soldier a will to

resist and it's all for the future; now why in the past haven't we had this patriotic fervor that we know every soldier should have, but so few obviously had who broke under the Communist torture?

**Thurmond:** After World War II, there was not only a great reduction in our Armed Forces, there was almost a disintegration. That was a tough, hard war, in which we lost hundreds of thousands of men, and our people at home and the soldiers themselves were sick and tired of war, and that is the reason we had the condition that occurred.

But, after that, when the Korean War came on, they went into that war and did a fine job there. But still there had been such a short period after World War II, I think that had considerable to do with the matter.

**Hurleigh:** Do you mean in the educational system, in speeches that were made—efforts of individuals to sap the will to resist of the American people?

**Thurmond:** I mean in the general attitude of the American people as having enough war for a while—of being sick and tired of war. But our men did go into the Korean War and do a good job, and we are very proud of the fine record they made there. However, if this code had been in effect when the Korean War started, if the men had been trained in these principles, we think there would have been a different outcome to the Korean War.

**Hurleigh:** Now, Senator Thurmond, let's just take, as an example, an individual soldier who is sitting in a barbed-wire barricade as a prisoner of war of the Communists who has been tortured almost beyond endurance and he hears, through the Communist grapevine, that a truce has been established at Panmunjom, that at the Panmunjom table, officers of the United States, representing the United Nations, sit down with their Communist counterpart and sign a document which to all appearances is a lie in that it says there is no Chinese Communist Army, per se, in North Korea, but a million-man volunteer army. They accept this fraud, and then these representatives of the army that he served under, and the flag of the United Nations and the flag of the United States that he served under, also admit that they will have an inspection team, a supervisory team, made up of neutral nations, and two of the four accepted neutral nations are Communist Czechoslovakia and Communist Poland. Don't you believe that that would cause the spirit of an American soldier in this barricade to sink?

**Thurmond:** Undoubtedly it would lower their spirit some, but still that would be no excuse for a prisoner not to do his duty. A soldier in prison is merely carrying on the war there with the best means he can. It's his duty to escape if he can as this code provides; it's his duty to resist. It's his obligation to give no information to the enemy that will hurt our country, especially vital military information. It's his responsibility to say or do nothing against

(Continued on Page 48)

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(Continued from Page 47)

comrades, such as "ratting" on comrades, and it's his duty not to take any step or say anything that would bring favoritism to him and bring harm to his country or to our allies. At all times he must not forget that he is a soldier, and that's one reason we have this code today because of the situation that grew out of the Korean War.

It's been realized since then that we needed a positive statement of ideals, a code of conduct that could be instilled into the members of our fighting forces so that they will know just what is expected of them. If they have proper character-training as children and up through life have the proper will to resist, and have courage and faith, we feel that there will not be great difficulty in living up to the high standard of this code. Of course, every man will be considered in the circumstances in which he finds himself. In some cases, one man can hold out longer than others. And all the circumstances will be considered in the event a man should be prosecuted subsequent to a war for his questionable conduct during a war.

**Hurleigh:** Well, Senator Thurmond, morale never seeps upward through an organization. The pattern has to be set at the very top, and then the morale of a corps or the morale of an organization is bettered. If we have our General Officers under orders from the officials of our government do things that perhaps they do not want to do, but which looks like it's taking part of a fraud and accepting it through signature, how can we expect a prisoner of war not to rationalize his own conduct when he feels that if he doesn't do it that trench they made him dig the other day may be his grave?

**Thurmond:** Well, the soldiers, whether they are generals or privates, carry out the instructions that come from Washington, which are political decisions in the first instance, so to speak. It's the duty of the soldier to do his part wherever he is fighting for his country and so long as his country is engaged in conflict—this country that has given him so much and so many opportunities—we still feel that he has a deep obligation and that he should try to live up to a code of conduct such as has been prepared by the Defense Department, the Burgess Committee.

**Doherty:** Senator, let me put this question to you. Suppose the nations with which we may go to war at some day in the future—say, Russia, Communist China—suppose they invoke a similar code for their own people. Because we have such a code, would that force us not to query prisoners of war that we take?

**Thurmond:** No it does not. In fact, you have a right to query prisoners if you can get information. Even after the passage of this code—this is a code for our soldiers.

**Doherty:** Well, if we expect our soldiers to abide by this, why wouldn't we expect the Russian soldiers to abide by their code?

**Thurmond:** Well, the Russians may set up such a code. If they do, it's possible that their soldiers will be trained and oriented in the principles of their code, too. But, even under the Geneva Convention, if additional information can be obtained other than the name, rank and serial number, it is frequently obtained. That's the purpose of intelligence officers, to try to get information—but, under the Geneva Convention a soldier is not required to give more than name, rank, serial number and date of birth. He can't be required to give more.

**Hurleigh:** That would be awfully nice if the enemy would only think of that too and abide by the Geneva Convention.

**Thurmond:** That's right, and we feel that every nation should abide by the Geneva Convention. Article 85 of the Geneva Convention of 1949 says that prisoners of war prosecuted under the laws of the detaining power for acts committed prior to the capture shall retain, even if convicted, the benefits of the present convention. But the Soviets and their Communist bloc nations made a significant reservation to this Article. And under that reservation a great many of our men were prosecuted as war criminals. That reservation permitted them to prosecute them. If they had not made that reservation, then a lot of these men would not have been prosecuted. Of course, we did not agree to that reservation. They made it themselves.

**Roper:** Senator Thurmond, we now admit that we have failed to give our soldiers proper training to meet these tortures and other abuses. So, we've changed the ground rules and we're going to start on a new program of training. Now, where does that leave the former American war prisoners who have already been brought back, convicted and sentenced to prison, sometimes, under the old rules? Should we reconsider their cases?

**Thurmond:** Well, the ones who have been tried were tried on the same basis as those who may be tried in the future. This code does not determine the basis of the trial, the principles adopted at the trial, or the administration of justice administered at the trial. This code sets up an ideal for the future that the soldier should use as a guide to try to live by as an ideal. I might say that the Communists murdered 2730 American boys in their POW camps and left scars of physical and mental torture on many others. In view of this sadistic treatment meted out by the Communists, I believe it is highly commendable that only 1992 of the 7190 Americans held as prisoners of war are being intensely investigated for misbehavior while prisoners. My information is that only seven of this number have been convicted by court martials. This means that only one-tenth of one per cent of our boys captured in Korea have as yet been judged guilty of failure to

live up to their obligations. We think this is a very fine record.

**Hurleigh:** There is no doubt about it Senator, that it is a fine record. But, on this question of the new code and the fact that it has to be established, do you think the United States, as some people are saying, by agreeing to an ex post facto law at the Neurenburg War Crimes Trials, thus being with the Soviet Union in trying criminals—or trying as criminals prisoners captured during the war with Nazi Germany, that we are today in a very vulnerable position because of that?

**Thurmond:** I don't think so. I think the Neurenburg trials were on an entirely different theory. There's where a commander, for instance, may have ordered a hundred prisoners shot, or he may have ordered hundreds of prisoners starved or placed in caves, or committed other sadistic and brutal acts which would not fall at all into this category. I don't think there is any similarity at all between them.

**Hurleigh:** But Senator, we have seen the pictures and we have had the atrocity cases as presented by a General whose name I do not recall at the moment, but it was in the headlines. The General who brought back the report on atrocities, showed through these pictures that hundreds of South Koreans and some Americans were actually in trenches, had been shot and half-covered with dirt right there. This, to me, must be a war crime.

**Thurmond:** Undoubtedly it was. Undoubtedly there were many war crimes, but as you know, the Korean War was brought to a close, and the manner in which the truce was arrived at did not meet the approval of many people. But yet, the truce came. And, as a whole I think the American people approved of the truce. But there, we did not obtain total surrender as we did in World War II. This was a truce so to speak—in fact, I presume it's the only war in which this country was ever engaged that it did not win straight out, and, of course, there is a difference of opinion as to whether we should have won it.

Personally, I think we should have pursued the Communists in Korea earlier and should have won the war. Now, after it got as far as it did, after President Eisenhower became president, then as to whether or not it was wise to make the truce at the time is another question, and I'm inclined to think possibly that the President acted wisely at that time. I did not agree with former decisions, I think we should have gone on and defeated the Red Chinese and North Koreans earlier in the war when we could have done so. And I think there is no question about it—we could have done so.

**Hurleigh:** Our board of judges has selected three prize-winning questions submitted by our listeners. "Should something be done, Senator Thurmond, to create a policy wherein victims of torture and brainwashing will be treated as casualties of war and not as traitors?"

**Thurmond:** I thoroughly agree that they should not be treated as traitors and the policy will be that the Defense Department will consider the facts of each case individually, and I am sure that the amount of coercion will be considered in each circumstance.

**Hurleigh:** Now the second question: "What group or individual decides the breaking point of a prisoner of war, Senator Thurmond?"

**Thurmond:** The breaking point with different individuals is altogether different, and this will have to be determined by the individual man and if his integrity and his conduct during war is questioned, then after the war is over this would be determined by investigation and he would certainly be given the right to present witnesses, and be given the opportunity to explain

the circumstances under which he acted. If there was coercion, of course, he would not be punished.

**Hurleigh:** Here is the third question: "Senator Thurmond, do you believe that a uniform code of conduct should be established for United States civilians who also may become prisoners of the enemy?"

**Thurmond:** This code that has been established could well be used for civilians. In fact, in this day of nuclear weapons, when bombs, in the event we should have a war, could be dropped in our own country, the very principles of this code could well be used for civilians, because we must all feel an obligation to be patriotic and to help our country reveal no information that would assist the enemy or that would harm our comrades.

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## Do It Yourself and Do It Better

By Robert W. Johnson

Chairman of the Board, Johnson & Johnson

America's great new "do-it-yourself" movement has become a phenomenal multi-billion dollar industry. But the idea, of course, is not new. Our forefathers had no plumbers to yell for and they solved their municipal problems in a town meeting. They settled their disputes and made their own rules and laws on the spot with their fellow townspeople—at what we call today the "grass-roots" level—and it worked. The time-honored systems of house-raising and volunteer fire departments sprang out of a determination to progress and "put out our own fires."

However, as our nation grew in complexity we became prone to call in "somebody else." We became more and more accustomed to letting "George do it"—and to paying the piper. Even labor and management slipped into the lazy habit of letting "George do it" by running to the government for decisions on picayune differences. For instance, actually there are no problems of capital, labor and management that are incapable of solution. There are only incapable, impatient or unwilling capitalists, labor leaders, or management representatives.

### ONLY DISCORD MAKES THE HEADLINES

Only the discordant elements make the headlines and bring strife into public view, whereas the tens of millions of Americans who work in harmony with one another each day are usually ignored by the press and the Congress. These millions have succeeded in working out their problems and relations at the local level. They have done it themselves. But the few incompetent or petu-

lant ones who have given up this effort are the ones who influence legislation, and this very legislation frequently results in limiting the freedom of the majority.

It has often been said that you cannot legislate morality, and people have pointed to the Volstead Act to prove it. If this is true, it is equally true that business morals and ethics do not lend themselves readily to legislation. So when government fails to cure an ill or sharp practice, large or small, it can lead to a social revolution like the do-it-yourself crusade. John Doe is now demonstrating that if prices are too high, he can and will do it himself. So if TV repairmen, automobile overhaulers, plasterers, electricians, plumbers, carpenters and painters hike their tabs beyond the reach of the average householder, the net result will be to make handymen out of millions of amateurs.

Thus the trend to Big Government and big unions as a solution for local problems may prove to be self-defeating. The machinery and personnel of these overloaded organizations are costly to maintain. Their very existence gives rise to demagoguery and inspires law-making in favor of discordant minorities. This is not only a vote-getting technique. It's also a way to grab more money out of the taxpayer and duespayer's pocket.

Perhaps in the future this new generation of Americans will look less to Congress to solve social and wage problems, and will find the patience and the courage to do it themselves—do it locally—do it with justice—do it far less expensively—and do it better.



Dr. Ella Dodd



Max Eastman



Whittaker Chambers



Benjamin Gitlow

# Are Ex-Communists Trojan Horses?

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Divided opinion exists in our nation today regarding the evaluation of the testimony of ex-Communists, and whether or not their testimony is necessary to detect Communist agents in America. The feeling among many is that ex-Communists have been invaluable in exposing the infiltration of Communist influences in our government, while others believe that such testimony has been furnished by unstable and emotionally turbulent people and has been worthless in exposing the devious methods employed by the Communist party to expand its growth and potency in this country.

Eugene Lyons, famed author and senior editor of *Reader's Digest*, was a guest on the FACTS FORUM nationwide television program on which this subject was discussed by him and by FACTS FORUM panelists and Moderator Hardy Burt. The panelists were William Buckley, Jr., George Hamilton Combs, and Professor Charles Hodges.

the truth than there is for the generality of people. "As a lawyer, I know that witnesses are highly suggestible and therefore quite frequently men who are reasonably honest manage to testify to things which they believe lie within the purview of their own experience, which in fact has been suggested to them perhaps in good faith by the prosecuting or the investigating officials."

Moderator Burt asked if Mr. Combs were referring to the Matusow case. Mr. Combs hastily answered, "Not specifically . . . from my training as a lawyer, I know that there is an area, a margin at which it is highly dangerous to suggest too specifically to a witness what he recalls about any single issue."

### RECORD OF CREDENCE

Mr. Lyons concurred with Mr. Combs that all witnesses have to be treated gingerly, "because they're human whether they're Communists or ex-Communists or Communists-to-be. In this case we have a large body of experience . . . we have a record that dates back almost twenty years in the course of which literally dozens and scores of ex-Communists have testified before committees and courts, and given the magnitude of that record, the few bad pennies that have turned up seem to me to be almost negligible in the total." Mr. Lyons stressed that the testimony of all ex-Communists should not be discredited because of one isolated case.

Mr. Buckley said that a point had been missed in failing to remark upon the fact that ex-Communists of the type of Whittaker Chambers have a fundamental regeneration, and cited him as a man who suffers from a compulsion to tell only the truth, who has reacted finally and so sharply to the ethical code of communism that he can almost be banked upon to tell the truth provided one is in a position to assert that his regeneration has been genuine.

"I don't deny of course the possibility of redemption," said Mr. Combs. "I would point out however that the very type of emotional and nervous equipment which plunges a man into the torment of rebirth is the sort of instability which has originally, perhaps as a result of personality disorder, led him

into the pursuit of the Communist ideal . . . and in many cases certainly this is not universally true. The difficulty with weighing the truthfulness and accuracy of a recanted Communist's testimony derives from the fact that that man is an unstable and emotionally turbulent man, and he therefore lacks objectivity and frequently goes into flights of fancy which have only the most remote connection with reality."

Moderator Burt interrupted the panel to bring out the implications of what Mr. Combs had said, and asked if some of the persons who have been convicted as Communists were witnesses of whose testimony we should be suspicious. In denying this interpretation, Mr. Combs said, "The only cases in which I know that there have been specific recantations are those cases covered by Harvey Matusow. And I must say in all deference to the libel laws that I would approach any statement of Harvey Matusow's, either an affirmative or a recanting statement, with the utmost circumspection," and concluded that he felt he was on safe ground with that explanation.

Professor Hodges injected that this posed problems—certainly not every person who joined the Communist party was unstable. Mr. Combs emphatically replied that he did not say that. "Well, all right," said Professor Hodges, "then that takes care of that portion of the

FOR FIRST consideration Hardy Burt asked, "Is the testimony of former Communists necessary to detect Communist agents in America?"

"I think," said Mr. Lyons, "that the answer is almost obvious in the record of these last years—whatever successes we have had as a nation in exposing and identifying the conspiracy in our midst has been largely due to the cooperation of former Communists who have seen the light. Communism is a kind of disease that apparently you can know best by being infected, feeling its fevers and passions, then convalescing and looking back."

Professor Hodges agreed with Mr. Lyons because, as he pointed out, "as the party goes underground and we lose sight of it we've got to have ways and means of getting in."

When Mr. Combs was asked about the reliability of the testimony of former Communists, he stated, "There is no particular reason why we should generalize about either the truth or the mendacity of the apostate Communist." He added that there was no greater reason for a former Communist to tell

witnesses whom you are suggesting are not reliable. I think you have to approach communism in this manner: it's a dedicated experience. And you're reconverted in terms of a repudiation of a life experience. Now that does not necessarily mean that you are crazy, unstable, or anything else because you've become a loyal American once again."

Mr. Lyons was of the opinion that there was an element of validity in what Mr. Combs said. He added, "There is a selective process there and you are likely to get the man or the woman who, having abandoned communism, feels very deeply."

"The thing to remember in this entire discussion," pointed out Mr. Lyons, "is that these former Communists who testify have already gone through a process of self-selection."

Mention was made by Mr. Lyons that the turnover in the Communist party is about 100 per cent every second year and mathematically there are literally hundreds of thousands of ex-Communists. He further said that the majority of ex-Communists have not the type of knowledge or experience to qualify them to testify, and of the minority that has inside information useful to our country only a few have the courage and moral fiber to go through with it.

"Remember," said Mr. Lyons, "in certain quarters of the country they like to make us think that the former Communist lives on gravy. The exact opposite is true . . . to testify means to face a barrage of abuse . . . it means losing the friends of a lifetime . . . in a great many cases it means a rift in the family."

#### FEAR OF ATTACK

The experiences of Bella Dodd, an ex-Communist, were related by Mr. Lyons. "During her first testimony before a congressional committee—and Bella Dodd strikes me as an exceedingly intelligent and balanced woman—she described how she struggled with her conscience for a year before testifying, and part of the struggle was due to the fear of attack. When she finally got around to testifying, she received a thousand abusive letters and postcards, and that aside from telephone calls and actually a number of attempted personal assaults. It's an extreme case, perhaps, but every former Communist knows that the best way to avoid becoming a target for attack is to maintain silence."

Hardy Burt called attention to another phase of the question, "How reliable is the testimony of former Communists?" and referred to reports that the Communist party is conducting an undercover campaign to discredit the testimony of former Communists. He asked Mr. Buckley whether these reports were true or false.

"Well, that's like saying that the Communists are reported to be opposed to capitalism," said Mr. Buckley. "It's obvious and very clear that the Communists have been out to undermine all anti-Communist apostates and have been doing so by waging a vicious and highly successful campaign." Mr. Buckley agreed with Mr. Lyons that the slander to which Communist apostates are subjected plays a major factor in the length of time it takes to uncover the apparatus.

A reader of *Facts Forum News* heartily disagrees with the article, "Fair Means or Foul," by John Marshall Butler, U. S. Senator from Maryland [October, 1955, issue] regarding the Olympic Games to be held in 1956.

He wrote to the editor of *Facts Forum News* as follows:

"Senator Butler from Maryland suggests in his article 'Fair Means or Foul' that the Soviet athlete is a 'propaganda agent,' a 'brainwashed individual' who is compelled to win by his country, which is 'not interested in games . . . in sports.'

"The good senator does not seem to understand what makes a champion athlete. A big, black cannon in a man's ribs will not make him a champion. Neither will brainwashing.

"And the purpose of Olympic Committees is not to analyze the motives of an athlete and say, 'That's a naughty motive, little boy. You can't play our game.'

"It seems to me that the good senator is smarting from the fact that the Russians have as good a team as ours, and maybe a better one."

Richard W. Dortch  
Memphis, Tennessee

"I suspect," said Mr. Buckley, "that if people like Whittaker Chambers hadn't had to suffer, and hadn't publicly suffered, the terrible torment that resulted from putting the finger on Alger Hiss, other men would have come up and given to the FBI, and to proper congressional investigating committees, some of the vital information that is still withheld."

"I would like," said Mr. Combs, "to make one oblique reference to Mr. Whittaker Chambers, whose bona fide conver-

sion I do not for one moment question, to bring out that the recovery, although attended by travail . . . has also not been without its upholstering features, including greater prominence than he had ever enjoyed before, along with great public approval and acclaim and a highly successful book."

It was injected by Mr. Buckley that he thought this was a "nasty reference" and Mr. Combs said, "I would suggest that Mr. Chambers was not animated by this, but I would point out that there have been certain perquisites of conversion which have not been entirely uncomfortable."

#### DANGER OF UNJUST ACCUSATION

Mr. Combs continued, "The danger is that everyone who points out the necessity for caution in evaluating the responsibility of these people will be charged with Communist leanings. The American public should not make the mistake of believing that everyone who is of the opinion that witnesses should be more carefully examined—that the government should assume a larger responsibility for them—is thereby automatically guilty of a pro-Communist attitude or of weakness toward communism."

Mr. Lyons said, "I agree with Mr. Combs that we need caution. We need caution in the legal processes and we need a great deal of caution in our own judgment of people on all sides. But the measure of the success of the Communists in trying to discredit all former Communists, and so paralyze our attempt to expose the conspiracy, is in the fact that a great many respectable newspapers, even conservative newspapers and magazines, columnists, and commentators have fallen into the habit of referring to nearly all witnesses of this type as informers, paid informers, and professional witnesses. What do these people want? Would they prefer that former Communists, the most knowledgeable people in this particular field, should conceal their special knowledge?"

To illustrate, Mr. Lyons mentioned an editorial from a newspaper which he considers among the most conservative in the country, the name of which he preferred not to disclose. The editorial indicated the country was shocked to find that the Justice Department has "paid informers" on its staff.

"Would they really prefer," said Mr. Lyons, "that these former Communists, who have given valuable testimony, should keep quiet?"

In concluding, Mr. Lyons expressed the opinion that the education of America on communism has been conducted by people like Benjamin Gitlow, Max Eastman, and other such former Communists.

# Private Enterprise Regained

By HENRY HAZLITT\*



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

The First Thanksgiving Dinner

Governor Bradford's own history of the Plymouth Bay Colony over which he presided is a story that deserves to be far better known, particularly in an age that has acquired a mania for socialism and communism, regards them as peculiarly "progressive" and entirely new, and is sure that they represent "the wave of the future."

Most of us have forgotten that when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the shores of Massachusetts they established a Communist system. Out of their common product and storehouse they set up a system of rationing, though it came to "but a quarter of a pound of bread a day to each person." Even when harvest came, "it arose to but a little." A vicious circle seemed to set in. The people complained that they were too weak from want of food to tend the crops as they should. Deeply religious though they were, they took to stealing from each other. "It well appeared," wrote Governor Bradford, "that famine must still insue the next year allso, if not some way prevented."

"So the colonists," he continued, "begane to thinke how they might raise as much corne as they could, and obtaine a better crope than they had done, that

they might not still thus languish in miserie. At length (in 1623) after much debate of things, the Gov. (with the advise of the cheefest amongst them) gave way that they should set corne every man for his owne perticuler, and in that regard trust to them selves... And so assigned to every family a parcell of land. . . .

## A GREAT SUCCESS

"This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corne was planted than other waise would have bene by any means the Gov. or any other could use, and saved him a great deall of trouble, and gave farr better contente.

"The women now wente willingly into the feild, and tooke their litle-ons with them to set corne, which before would aledg weakness, and inability; whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie and oppression.

"The experience that was had in this commone course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanitie of that conceite of Platos and other ancients, applauded by some of later times; — that the taking away of propertie, and bringing in communitie into a comone wealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God. For this communitie (so farr as

it was) was found to breed much confusion and discontent, and retard much imployment that would have been to their benefite and comforte.

"For the yong-men that were most able and fitte for labour and service did repine that they should spend their time and strenght to worke for other mens wives and children, with out any recompense. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devission of victails and cloaths, than he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter the other could; this was thought injustice. . . .

"And for men's wives to be commanded to doe servise for other men, as dressing their meate, washing their cloaths, etc., they deemed it a kind of slaverie, neither could many husbands well brooke it. . . .

"By this time harvest was come, and instead of famine, now God gave them plentie, and the face of things was changed, to the rejoysing of the harts of many, for which they blessed God. And the effect of their particuler (private) planting was well seene, for all had, one way and other, pretty well to bring the year aboute, and some of the abler sorte and more industrious had to spare, and sell to others, so as any generall wante of famine hath not been amongst them since to this day."

The moral is too obvious to need elaboration.

\* Henry Hazlitt is Associate Editor of *Newsweek* and Editor of the *Freeman*. *Private Enterprise Regained* first appeared as a column in *Newsweek*, June 27, 1949.

# OUR 1 PARTY... WHICH PARTY... PRESS

Facts Forum panelists including author-editor Ralph de Toledano as guest panelist, split on which party rules the country's news outlets.



Ralph de Toledano

ACCUSATIONS of former President Harry S. Truman and Dr. Robert Hutchins of the Ford Foundation that the press of the country is a one-party, pro-Republican, anti-liberal press, met disagreement from guest panelist Ralph de Toledano, National Reports editor of *Newsweek*, and author of the novel, "Day of Reckoning," as well as from regular panelist William Buckley, Jr., author and lecturer, who agreed that our press is a one-party press, but labeled it anti-conservative, and pro-liberal.

Regular panelists George Hamilton Combs, noted author and lecturer, former congressman, Democrat of Missouri, and Professor Charles Hodges, former foreign correspondent and professor of international politics at New York University, took the opposing view, although Professor Hodges qualified his opinion with the statement that in speaking of the press, radio and television cannot be omitted, and that the impact there is basically liberal. "Commentators both on radio and TV, as liberals, predominate," he said. "There's no question about that." Professor Hodges also distinguished between the views of newspaper management and those of the writers. "So far as the proprietorship goes," he opined, "it leans in the direction of conservatism. So far as the news reporting, as news goes . . . I think it's in the columnists, the commentators, particularly bringing in radio and TV, that's where you get your slant."

It may be noted that George Hamilton

Combs is a self-styled liberal, while Professor Charles Hodges terms himself a "middle-of-the-roader." William Buckley, Jr., is considered a right-wing conservative, as is also Ralph de Toledano, while acknowledging that ten years ago he was a liberal and a member of A.D.A.

#### JEFFERSON CITED

"I think," Professor Hodges stated, "that this is the standard complaint of the Democrats or their predecessors. This new book on freedom of the press by William L. Chenery is exceedingly interesting on this problem. He says that Jefferson was the first of a long line to say that too many newspapers favored the conservatives. He wrote a letter to a Mr. Short in 1804: 'The mass of anti-civicism which remains in our great trading towns; though not one twenty-fifth of the nation, they command three-quarters of the public papers. I am the single object of their accumulated hatred.'" Civicism was interpreted as the "Jeffersonian idea for good citizenship," or "civility in the old-fashioned town."

"Now I think you've got to recognize," continued Professor Hodges, "that the newspapers lean toward the conservative end of the thing, and that it doesn't go for the writers . . . they veer to the left of the white line. That's how you get some collisions."

George Hamilton Combs felt that there was no argument about the fact that we have a one party press. "As I

recall the last survey of *Editor and Publisher*, the trade organ," he said, "about 85 per cent of the papers of the country are Republican. A larger percentage, as I recall, supported President Eisenhower. And many of our communities have only one newspaper in them and that newspaper is Republican. That's natural.

"It's quite true Mr. Jefferson adumbrated that when he suggested that the conservatives, who had the money, were naturally opposed to him. The conservatives want to conserve their money. They naturally go into such activities as newspaper publishing. . . . All in all, it's natural that money should gravitate towards the preservation of the privileges of money. Therefore, you have an outrageously one-sided press which, may I say, is true even regardless of the personal proclivities of the news writers. A news writer doesn't determine what gets into the paper. The editor does, and the editor is hired by the publisher and the publisher spends most of his time at the country club getting his economic and political ideas from the other members of his [social set]."

#### NEWSPAPERS FAVORED EISENHOWER OVER STEVENSON

"It is quite true," objected Buckley, "that 85 per cent of the newspapers in 1952 had about the same good sense as a majority of the people in preferring Eisenhower to Adlai Stevenson. We don't from this, or shouldn't, conclude that we have a one-party press. I would think that a highly more relevant index

of the extent to which the publishers in this abominable argument that Mr. Combs has just put forward are beholden exclusively to the country club set and to a preoccupation for keeping their money would be to ask a wholly different question, and that is to what extent did they, for example, prefer Taft to Eisenhower? Now the difference between Taft and Stevenson was a very marked one. The differences between Eisenhower and Stevenson were, in my opinion, rather precious.

The very fact that the *Washington Post* was pro-Eisenhower is the kind of thing that I'm talking about, to say nothing of the fact that a lot of these publishers, such as Mr. Arthur Krock, for example, reported in September, 1952, that whereas they actually preferred Adlai Stevenson, they felt they had to kill Taft and the only way successfully to kill Taft would be to guarantee support for Eisenhower if they went on and nominated him. The point is that the influential opinion molders in this country are the editorial writers, the professors. The publicists are, by and large, pro-left, pro-liberal."

George Hamilton Combs interjected a query as to whether Buckley was comparing Eisenhower with the liberal point of view, to which Buckley replied, "Eisenhower is a liberal, surely." To this Mr. Combs demurred, stating that anybody who stomachs Dixon-Yates, or Scott McLeod, is a reactionary.

#### PIGEONHOLING THE PRESS

Questioned by Moderator Hardy Burt regarding which papers might be regarded as pro-liberal and pro-conservative, Ralph de Toledano replied, "Well, I think if we start cataloging we can be here all afternoon. But let's start out with the major papers. The *New York Times* is often called a conservative newspaper. The *New York Times* has not been conservative for ten years. Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger does not fall into the conservative class. Neither do any of his editors. The last real conservative on the *New York Times* is Arthur Krock, and Arthur Krock merely writes columns, and not every day . . . In Chicago you have the *Sun-Times* which is a New Deal paper, and you have the *Chicago Tribune*. Those are the major papers, yet the *Chicago Tribune*, while Republican, spends most of its time beating the brains out of the Republican administration. So it falls into a special category.

"In San Francisco you have the *San Francisco Chronicle*; that's a liberal newspaper, and it happens to be a very influential paper nationally. It's one of these papers that are read. (Then) the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. Another one of the great newspapers of the United States, and by great I mean a paper

with influence, is the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and journalistically for great papers as the *Times* is. Its politics are violently liberal.

"You go to Milwaukee, which is a big city, and you have the *Milwaukee Journal*, which is violently liberal against the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, which is not a strong paper, and which is conservative.

"You go down into New Orleans and you have the *Picayune* and some of the other papers there . . . It's my business to read hundreds of newspapers in the course of a week. I don't classify those as conservative newspapers.

"In Los Angeles the one real newspaper happens to be a conservative newspaper, the *Los Angeles Times*. But by and large," Mr. de Toledano concluded, "the press of this country takes its tone from one newspaper and one newspaper alone—let's face it. That's the *New York Times*. And the *New York Times* has given space in its news columns and on its editorial page consistently to liberal causes and taken a strong stand against what it calls the reactionaries within the Republican party."

#### INFLUENTIAL BECAUSE THEY'RE LIBERAL

George Hamilton Combs parried, "This is delightful. I have never had an argument tailor-made for me by the opposition. There are, it is quite true, about ten of these newspapers which are of liberal persuasion and each one of them Mr. de Toledano admits exerts tremendous influence. Why? Because they are great papers and because the quality of the paper, the editorial leadership, the intelligence which informs the paper, is commensurate with the liberal philosophy, and that's why they're great, and that's why they're read . . ."

De Toledano commented that Mr. Combs had, by his admission that the liberal papers exert tremendous influence, destroyed his own argument that there is a one-sided press.

"No, I haven't," reiterated Mr. Combs. "I haven't because they are still limited. Now let's take the *New York Times* which you characterize as liberal. That would be a shocking designation to some of my Democratic friends. Inasmuch as the *New York Times* supported President Eisenhower, who was the candidate of the reactionaries without any doubt, in the fall elections. The *New York Times* has included liberal material in its columns. Well, of course it has—it's a newspaper. That's why it's a very effective one."

At this point William Buckley, Jr., commented that he didn't think they were going to get anywhere by simply saying that those people who support Eisenhower are ipso facto conservatives and that slavish agents of the country

club are a pro-greedy selfish interest set. "And I would suggest," he said, "that the first person to take offense at the kind of thing Mr. Combs has said would be the publisher of the *New York Times* who, if he were seated here, would insist that yes, indeed, he was a liberal and on practically all of the issues that come up that accurately separate the liberal from the conservative the *New York Times* comes out predictively on the liberal side. I maintain you have an empty discussion here if you're going to pursue it on the grounds that anybody who supports Eisenhower is a conservative.

"Precisely the reason," he continued, "that most of these people are supporting and have supported Eisenhower is because they knew that with Eisenhower, as Arthur Krock himself confessed in his columns, there would not be any recognizable change in the course of the history of the country."

"All this talk about Eisenhower being a reactionary," inserted de Toledano, "the two men closest to Eisenhower, the two men who have the most influence on him are Paul Hoffman and Milton Eisenhower. And even George Combs does not . . . place them in the reactionary category."

"I would," replied Combs, "place them slightly to the right of Professor Hodges, which I assure you is not a position of great extremism."

"Well," Toledano retorted, "anybody left of Henry Wallace to you is a reactionary."

#### LIBERALS PREDOMINATE IN RADIO AND TV

Queried by moderator Burt, Professor Hodges stated, "If we are speaking of the press, we cannot leave out radio and TV. And I think it's very important for us to recognize that the impact there is basically liberal. Commentators both on radio and TV, as liberals, dominate."

In answer to Hardy Burt's request that panelists name the outstanding liberal commentators, Professor Hodges named Edward R. Murrow and Eric Sevareid—de Toledano added the name of Elmer Davis.

Moderator Burt read the quotation of Mr. James Reston, Washington Bureau chief of the *New York Times*: "Washington reporters and commentators have been consistently ahead of the Democratic leadership and politicians in digging up the facts and criticizing the contradictions and mistakes of the Eisenhower administration."

"Mr. Reston states," continued the moderator, "It was the press and not the Democrats who alerted the country to the dangers of the administration's Quemoy and Matsu policy. The Democratic party acquiesced in giving the President authority to use force to defend those islands." Now that's the end

(Continued on Page 64)

**MORTIMER SMITH**, a well-known authority on education, and author of *The Diminished Mind*, is the guest on this Facts Forum program. In addition to debating the questions outlined below on the effectiveness of the methods of American education, he states that to attempt to adjust young people to their environment is a healthy thing, and that it is a function of education. The regular panelists, George Hamilton Combs, network news commentator and former Democratic congressman; Professor Hodges of New York University; William Buckley, Jr., famed writer and lecturer; and Hardy Burt, moderator, engage in a brisk discussion on this topic.

## Does the Big White Schoolhouse Educate or Degenerate?

- *How Effective are American Methods of Education?*
- *Should There be More Discipline in the American Classroom?*
- *Are Modern Methods of Teaching Reading and Writing More Effective Than Those Used in the Little Red Schoolhouse?*

**BURT:** What do you think? Should there be more discipline in the American classroom?

**SMITH:** Before I answer that, and at the risk of being perhaps a little pedantic, I would like to give a short lecture on what discipline is. It seems to me that in education, discipline has two meanings. It means control of conduct, and it means the process of directed learning. That is, the teacher, it would seem to me, has two functions. She has the function of controlling the classroom from the point of view of order and decorum, and she has the function of having a program which goes toward directed goals. Now it seems to me you can't have education really without discipline in these two senses.

**BURT:** Is there enough discipline in the classroom today, then, in those two senses?

**SMITH:** No, I would say that in that sense there isn't enough discipline because we have been through a long period in educational theory, it seems to me, where we have been told that if the teacher attempts to have too much decorum and quiet atmosphere in the

classroom, she somehow or other damages the developing personalities of the young people under her charge. We've also been told that it is not the subject matter that determines the nature of educational program, but the child himself. We do need more discipline in the classroom in those two senses. I think we need an enlightened discipline, not just discipline that says that—well, whacking somebody over the knuckles with a ruler is a good way of imparting knowledge. I think discipline really is not conspiracy against children. I think it is actually the duty of adults to children.

**BURT:** Mr. Smith, to what extent (and then I'm going to ask Professor Hodges to get in this little act)—to what extent, according to your beliefs, are the American classrooms undisciplined?

**SMITH:** To a very large extent they're undisciplined in the two senses which I mentioned at the opening of the program.

**BURT:** But to what degree? Is there vast undiscipline? Is it a spotty undiscipline?

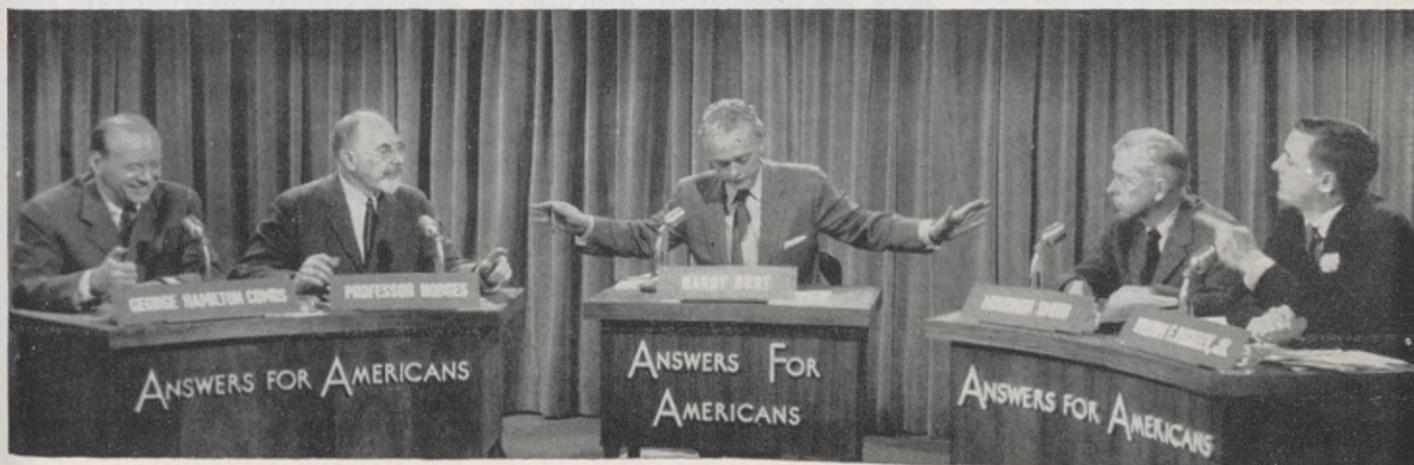
**SMITH:** I would say that it was spotty.

I have not too long ago taken a trip across the country. I think that in my estimation the amount of discipline across the country is dependent on how orthodox the teacher is in following the so-called modern point of view in education.

**BURT:** All right, Professor Hodges, what is your opinion?

**HODGES:** I'm just an amateur, too, when it comes to elementary education. I don't want the professorial taint. I'd like to be able to travel under my own steam on this particular discussion.

Regarding physical discipline, it's always been a problem how to deal with the restive young, at least, I would assume that, since Socrates, in 400 B.C. wrote or was credited with making a very bitter statement about the young Athenian youth, the way in which they crossed their legs, how restless they were, how they were heedless of authority and discipline. We might say this is a continuous problem. I don't think that you can tie it into any particular system. I think we've got the problem of



restless youth with us. We can tighten up and we may very well face conditions which require special emphasis. For instance, in the New York City schools, due to the great influx of newcomers, this time from Puerto Rico, you have a problem that almost defies teaching, including the communication of ideas in the English language.

**BURT: Are you saying there should be more discipline in New York City schools because of the influx of Puerto Ricans?**

HODGES: There you have a problem of thoroughgoing revision of method, and that's one of the very excellent things the New York public school system is tackling.

**BURT: Revisions of methods of discipline?**

HODGES: Methods of discipline and methods of communication in terms of teaching. And I think we have to avoid broad generalizations. Many communities don't have this problem at all. Other communities have it in excess. I think it's almost a contagion at times.

**BURT: So far we seem to have had pretty much nothing but generalizations and Mr. Buckley sometimes can get extremely specific. What do you think, Mr. Buckley, should there be more discipline in the classroom?**

BUCKLEY: I would like to concentrate on one sense of the word "discipline" as distinguished by Mr. Smith, not touch on the question of physical discipline. I do think that there is complete anarchy as regards intellectual discipline. The cry of the modern educators and of the academic freedomites that they see it as their function to teach people how to think and consequently they ought not to be interfered with by the alumni or by the constituents of the local schools, has been shown to be a completely phony pretention.

It is demonstrable that the average graduate of the average school in the United States today, whether a college or a high school or a graduate school, demonstrably does not know how to think. That is to say, he goes in for illogical statements. He is incapable of assessing evidence. He is inconsistent and he is intolerant. According to the criterion laid down by Plato, and it's one that I think here all of us will buy, that the test of the educated man is his ability to see things as they are, then I say that we are in a position to lay down an indictment against modern education on the grounds that its graduates do not know how to think.

**BURT: But so far as the question of discipline is concerned, do you think . . .**

BUCKLEY: This is discipline, intellectual discipline.

**BURT: I'm sure you have quite a few ideas on this, Mr. Combs . . .**

COMBS: Yes, and very badly scrambled, too, I may add. I can, however, take issue and must take issue immediately with Mr. Buckley's statement that the function of the educational

process is not to teach how to think. It seems to me that that is the only valid objective which education can have—to teach the disciplines and the technique of logical thought. I suggest that he proposes as a substitute the teaching of certain arbitrary or dogmatic principles which I don't believe to be sustained, and moreover this is an interesting thing.

BUCKLEY: This is a different argument, but I'm willing to meet you on your field. In other words, I am saying that, according to your own specifications, you have failed. That is to say, by "you," I mean the people you represent here and the people you continuously defend. I say they have failed simply on the question of whether or not they are successfully teaching people how to think.

COMBS: Now there we get to the crux of the matter as I was going to pose it. You and I are both products, I take it, of fairly good educational systems, at least in its higher reaches or in graduate or post-graduate work. Your ideas and the conclusions which you draw are diametrically opposed to mine.

BUCKLEY: No, no, no. I'm not talking about values. I'm talking about sheerly rigorous logical thought—the kind of thing that Robert Hutchins or Eleanor Roosevelt comes out with . . .

COMBS: Yes. The application, however, of that same disembodied, logical unimpassioned intelligence will lead you to one conclusion quite disparate from mine. Now we can't both be right, obviously.

BUCKLEY: No, we both know that at a certain point after we go through the logical steps we introduce a series of values on the basis of which we come to certain conclusions about the meaning of or the evidence . . .

COMBS: You mean that the subjective meanings color your logical conclusions?

BUCKLEY: I'm saying that you can take a tremendous number of liberal statements of people who defend the educational system, the kind of people who review Mr. Smith's book, for example, and simply extract from that, on the basis of a textual analysis, of what they are saying, contradictions undistributed middles and all of the cardinal sins. And I say that the terrible thing about it is that the liberals don't even understand that they don't know how to think.

COMBS: That is a theme and a field which I would love to pursue, but not today.

**BURT: Let's pinpoint this a little farther by asking Mr. Smith this question: "Are modern methods of teaching reading and writing more effective than those used in the little red schoolhouse?"**

SMITH: My temptation is to reply

first that they ought to be, considering the fact that we spend so much more in trying to put over education than we did in the time of the little red schoolhouse. In the community I come from, as I remember the figures, in 1898 we spent twelve dollars per year per pupil. Now we spend over three hundred dollars per year per pupil. Even allowing for the terrific inflation of the dollar it seems to me that we are spending a great deal more on education of the young. We are presumably exposing our teachers to longer periods of training. We have much better equipment and much better buildings. Now, whether or not we are teaching them the fundamentals much better than we did in the time of the little red schoolhouse, I think it's almost impossible to prove by objective evidence.

**BURT: Don't you think we're getting our money's worth?**

SMITH: It seems to me that we're having complaints from people who are perfectly honest and who have the welfare of the schools at heart, such as college presidents and teachers themselves, and certainly parents, that we are failing in teaching the fundamentals.

**BURT: Why, Mr. Smith, are we failing?**

SMITH: Let us talk about one particular subject — the matter of learning to read. I'm not an expert on reading which, I understand, is quite a science, but it seems to me that during the 1920's and the 1930's we pretty much did throw out the system of phonetics which seems to be a sound system for the average student. I think there is now an attempt to a certain extent to go back to phonetics in the so-called remedial reading classes.

**BURT: Go ahead, Mr. Combs. Suppose you take this question up next.**

COMBS: I think they are probably more effective empirically. They are practically effective. Children may learn to read, for example, faster than they did before, but that hardly seems to me to be the point. The modern educational system, and I'm now speaking of the primary and secondary schools, in some respects is superior to the old educational system in that it does offer a training in contemporary life, and manages to fit the child more or less harmoniously into the pattern of his community or social existence. That's fine, and I regard that as a definite advance. What I quarrel with, however, is the lack of emphasis, or distributed emphasis, on basic skills which seem to me to be absolutely requisite—a very close application to the disciplines of reading and of arithmetic, of logic and all of that which should go into the training of a mind. I'm sorry that Professor Dewey's philosophy, valid in itself, has been so deformed or distorted, if that be the case, that it has resulted in this real malformation of the educational process.

**BURT:** I would like to go to Mr. Buckley next and I'm saving you as my ace in the hole, Mr. Smith.

**BUCKLEY:** I agree with you that the disciples of John Dewey have certainly carried John Dewey further than he himself was evidently prepared to go. On the other hand, I happen to question, as I believe Mr. Smith does, the validity of Mr. Dewey's central thesis—or central understanding of this.

Mr. Smith in his first book quoted jocularly a remark made by a nine-year-old girl who had flunked reading and accosted with this by her father, she commented, "But that's all right. I got a hundred in postwar planning." I think this tells us a whole lot about what is going on in the schools today, that we are not focusing on the central skills without which we can't ever acquire any education, and without which certainly we can't take care of postwar planning as our present situation indicates.

**BURT:** So far we have something here that seldom happens, three panel members agreeing on this topic that . . .

**COMBS:** No, I don't, Hardy. I don't. In the first place, I think that the modern method is a superior method pedagogically speaking but I regret the fact that there has not been a stronger accent on the development of rudimentary and essential skills.

**BURT:** Well, what you're saying is that they should be a lot better.

**COMBS:** Yes. I'm inclined to believe perhaps, taken by and large, that it's superior to the old method.

**HODGES:** I think that we are going through a period of balancing. I believe that the old rigid discipline, in both senses, was a straitjacket, straitjacket of personality, and a straitjacket in regard to facts, not ability to think necessarily. That was a by-product of the earlier education. I think, secondly, that it's very important for us to realize that we have come to a stage where we know more about the child, both from the standpoint of the teacher and also from the standpoint of the parent. If the parent doesn't know more about the child you have a grave dereliction of duty here, and this is one of the major problems. You can't discuss schools unless you discuss family and parental responsibilities. And you people always go off on the tangent. You must come right back to the core of the individual. Now as to the parent . . .

**BUCKLEY:** The point of view of the modern educator has taken the position consistently that the parent is a nuisance. They most certainly do, especially in the colleges . . .

**HODGES:** Oh, no, now, that's—wait a minute, Mr. Buckley, you pick on . . .

**BUCKLEY:** He is there to procreate children and pay the bills and as far as they're concerned, they're through with

him. They are uniformly bored with the existence of the parent as such. And it has to do with the whole central wedge into the family institution.

**HODGES:** Now, Mr. Buckley, you are saying "you" and I can say from me that that is absolutely untrue.

**BUCKLEY:** Well, then you must be an exception.

**HODGES:** No, I think I represent . . .

**BURT:** Just a minute.

**SMITH:** But you don't control public school education. You represent education on the college level. You're not representative, thank God, of professional education in America.

**BURT:** Let's get back on the track again because the question we are really trying to bring out is, "Should methods of teaching reading and writing be improved?" Now, for example, in your classrooms—you're professor of international politics at New York University—do students come in there whose reading is not as good as it should be? Even at the college level?

**SMITH:** That's a yes. Admit it.

**HODGES:** Well, at the graduate school level—because I particularly started out saying that I'm not an educator in the school of education sense, and I think that that is very important—at the graduate level, and it's significant because it includes the old line private school and the product of the public school, they're utterly indistinguishable. I think that's a very important social situation. You can't tell the educational antecedents of the problem.

**BUCKLEY:** By the time you get to the graduate school you've been very carefully screened and there's also . . .

**COMBS:** Yes, it's the top level of intelligence.

**HODGES:** No, I wouldn't say that. It's a cross section of brains, admittedly. But there are no special channelings, particularly under the GI setup.

**SMITH:** May I return to a comment of Mr. Combs. You said, as I recall it, that you felt this attempt to adjust young people to their social environment was a healthy thing. And I think we could all agree that to a certain extent that is a function of education. But, as you said, the primary function of education is the training of the intelligence, the training of the mind.

Now, the fact is, and it seems to me that most parents don't know this and I do blame the parents for not knowing, that there is a very large segment of American educational thought that says that the primary function of education is not the training of the mind or the training of the moral sense but is just adjusting to the environment.

As a matter of fact, the United States Office of Education, which is as official as you can get in education, says that 60 per cent of American youth is incapable either of going to college, being

trained for college or being trained for the vocations. Therefore the thing for us to do is to give them some kind of program, good grooming or whatever it is, to adjust them to life. Now that seems to me to be an utterly cynical and probably unscientific conclusion.

**BURT:** I'd like to know what is meant specifically—why do they say that 60 per cent are incapable of going to college? You mean they don't have the IQ to go?

**SMITH:** Presumably, on the basis of intelligence, 60 per cent of American youth are just too dull and not educable, to be educated in the traditional sense.

**BURT:** Does it say what proportion are in colleges that shouldn't be there because they can't be educated?

**COMBS:** I noticed just a few weeks ago one of the professors of history at Harvard referred to the fact that there are now pouring into our higher educational institutions a very large proportion of men who should not be in college at all.

**BURT:** Well, what could be done about that, Mr. Combs?

**COMBS:** I would suggest the imposition of very much higher entrance requirements and a more selective system for the choice of candidates for a degree. I'd send the rest to vocational school and I would not regard beauty culture as equivalent to a course in Homer.

**HODGES:** Well, that's the whole battle.

**SMITH:** It seems to me one of the great problems in American public education is what to do with the young person who is not college material. Are we, then, going to just try to adjust him to his environment? Are we just going to train him vocationally? Or are there values in education that we can give this young man? I don't think we ought to give him up. Not certainly on the basis of the 60 per cent.

**HODGES:** We don't give him up at NYU.

**BURT:** Just to think in terms of material reward or financial gain, isn't it true that it doesn't necessarily pay off to go to college? There are a lot of people who don't go to colleges that become extremely successful and are paid a lot more working in skilled trades and . . .

**COMBS:** Anyone who goes to college with the idea of augmenting his earning power doesn't deserve to be in college.

**BURT:** Don't you think that most people do go to college with that idea?

**COMBS:** I'm very much afraid so, and that's one reason I believe it's such a sterile experience for the average boy.

**BUCKLEY:** Yes, I think the inflated culture that we live in has a whole lot to do with this question. Albert J. Nock gave a historical series of essays on the question in 1935 at the University of Virginia in which he pointed out that unless we are prepared to distinguish between the trainable and the educable we are forever going to be saddled with this kind of problem.

# Facts Forum Radio-TV

ALABAMA				
Albertville	WAVU*	630	Sun	4:00 p
	WAVU**	630	Sun	1:30 p
Alexander City	WRFS*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
Andalusia	WCTA*	920	Mon	7:15 p
	WCTA†	920	Mon	8:30 p
Anniston	WSPC*	1390	Wed	7:30 a
Atmore	WATM*	1580	Tues	9:15 a
	WATM**	1580	Sun	12:30 p
Auburn	WAUD*	1230		
	WAUD**	1230		
Birmingham	WBRC-TV**	6		
Brewton	WELI†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	WELI**	1240		
Carrollton	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	7:00 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Sun	2:15 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560	Sun	5:00 p
	WOOF**	560	Sun	12:15 p
Enterprise	WIRB*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WIRB**	1230		
Eufaula	WULA**	1240	To be announced	
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	1:00 p
	WWWF**	990	Sun	12:30 p
Florence	WOWL*	1240		
	WJOI**	1340		
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGAD*	1350	Sun	12:45 p
	WGWD*	570		
	WGWD**	570		
Geneva	WGEA*	1150	Sun	12:45 p
	WGEA**	1150		
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Hamilton	WERH*	970	Fri	7:30 a
Huntsville	WHBS*	1550	Mon	7:00 p
	WBHP†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	WBHP**	1290	Mon	4:30 p
Jackson	WWWB*	1360		
Jasper	WWWB**	1360		
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Mobile	WABB*	1480	Wed	7:00 p
Monroeville	WMFC*	1220	Sun	5:30 p
	WMFC**	1220	Sat	10:30 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600		
	WSFA-TV**	12	Sat	2:30 p
	WJLJ†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOV-TV**	20	Wed	6:00 p
Oneonta	WCRL*	1570		
	WCRL**	1570		
Opp	WAMI*	1860	Sun	1:00 p
Ozark	WOZK*	900	Sun	5:00 p
Phenix City	WPNX*	1460	Sun	7:15 p
	WPNX**	1460	To be announced	
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	Sun	5:00 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
	WELR**	1360		
Russellville	WWWV*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWV**	920	Sun	3:30 p
Selma	WHBB*	1490		
	WHBB**	1490		
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*	1230		
Troy	WTBF*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
	WTBF**	1490		
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WTBC*	1230		
	WTBC**	1230		
ALASKA				
Anchorage	KFIA-TV**	2	Thurs	6:30 p
Fairbanks	KTVF-TV**	11	Sat	6:00 p
ARIZONA				
Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Flagstaff	KGPH*	690		
Phoenix	KOOL-TV**	10	Sun	1:00 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	Sun	1:00 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*	550	To be announced	
	KVMA**	630	Sun	3:30 p
Mena	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Mountain Home	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Paragould	KDRS*	1490		
Pine Bluff	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
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	KCOV-TV**	13	Sun	11:00 p
Los Angeles	KHJ†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Needles	KSFE**	1340	Sun	7:30 p

## What they're saying . . .



### about FACTS FORUM

I think . . . *Facts Forum News* is one of the most informative magazines I have ever read. I am appalled at some of the information it gives. . . it is time the apathetic citizens became alert, but twenty years "conditioning" to a "revolutionary state" have done great damage to the ideals our forefathers tried to present to the citizens of these United States.

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San Bruno, California

I would like to make a comment about the wonderful work *FACTS FORUM* is doing. There just isn't a finer magazine to be found today. We certainly need something to give us a few facts straight. I pray that you will never give up the job you are doing.

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My subscription to the *Facts Forum News* runs out in September, 1955, and if you will renew my subscription as of October to the most outstanding American magazine published, I shall be very grateful.

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ROBERT SCHMIDT  
3194 S. W. 14th St., Apt. 1  
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I have read every issue of your magazine for some time and wish it could be in every home in America. This is the kind of magazine we all need.

LOUISA BERESFORD AUSTIN  
637 N. Washington  
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Keep up your excellent work of awakening America from her apathy and to the danger of communism today.

DOUGLAS CADDY  
1567 Webster Street  
New Orleans, Louisiana

### CALIFORNIA (Continued)

Ontario	KSFE*	1340	Sun	6:15 p
Oroville	KOCS*	1510	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KMOR**	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Sacramento	KAFP**	1490	Mon	7:30 p
San Diego	KBET-TV**	10		
San Francisco	KFMB-TV**	8	Sat	1:00 p
	KGO*	810	Sat	10:30 a
	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	9:30 a
San Luis Obispo	KVEC-TV**	6	Thurs	8:30 p
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
Delta	KDTA*	1400	To be announced	
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:15 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	7:30 p
	KFXJ-TV**	5	Sun	10:00 p
La Junta	KBNZ†	1400	Mon	7:30 p
	KBNZ**	1400	Sun	5:30 p
Sterling	KGEK*	1230	Sun	12:45 p

### CONNECTICUT

New Haven	WYBC**	1640		
Putnam	WPCT*	1350	Sun	1:00 p
Waterbury	WATR-TV**	53	Fri	6:30 p

### DELAWARE

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

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WEAM**	1390	Tues	10:00 p
	WTTG-TV**	5	Sun	5:30 p
	WINX*	1600		
	WOOK*	1340		

### FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	Sun	3:00 p
	WKKO**	860		
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
Live Oak	WNER*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	WNER**	1450	Fri	7:30 p
Marianna	WTYS†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Miami	WGES-TV**	23	Wed	9:30 p
	WKAT†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
	WITV-TV**	17	Fri	7:30 p
Naples	WNOG*	1270	Fri	5:45 p
Palm Beach	WJNO-TV**	5	Mon	10:00 p
Panama City	WPCF*	1400	Sat	5:45 p
	WPCF**	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WDLF**	590	Sun	2:00 p
Pensacola	WPFA-TV**	15	Sat	4:30 p
	WPFA**	1400	Sun	6:00 p
St. Augustine	WSTN*	1420	Sat	5:00 p
Sanford	WTRR*	1400		
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	WGGG†	550	Mon	9:30 p
Griffin	WKEU†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Jesup	WBGR	1370	Sun	1:00 p
La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Macon	WIBB	1280		
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
Wailuku, Mau	KMVI*	550		

### IDAHO

Blackfoot	KBLI*	1490	Sun	3:00 a
Boise	KIDO-TV**	7	Sun	11:00 p
Moscow	KRPL**	1400	To be announced	
Twin Falls	KLIX-TV**	11		
Weiser	KWEI**	1240	Sun	5:30 p

### ILLINOIS

Alton	WOKZ*	1570		
	WOKZ**	1570		
Belleville	WIBV*	1260		
	WIBV**	1260		
Bloomington	WJBC*			
	WJBC**			
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	
	WBYS**	1560		
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Carmi	WROY*	1460		
	WROY**	1460		
Champaign	WDWS**	1400		
	WDWS*	1400		
Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
	WMAQ*	670		
	WMAQ**	670		

ILLINOIS (Continued)

Cicero	WHFC*	1450		
Danville	WDAN*	1490		
	WDAN-TV**	24		
DeKalb	WLBK*	1360		
	WLBK**	1360		
Decatur	WDZ*	1050		
	WDZ**	1050		
	WTVP-TV**	17		
Dixon	WSDR*	1240		
Du Quoin	WDQN*	1580		
East Peoria	WEEK-TV**	43		
	WEEK*	1350		
	WEEK**	1350		
Elgin	WRMN*	1410		
	WRMN**	1410		
Evanston	WNMP*	1590		
	WEAW*	1330		
Fairfield	WFIW*	1390		
Freeport	WFRL*	1570		
	WFRL**	1570		
Galesburg	WGIL*	1400		
	WGIL**	1400		
Harrisburg	WEBQ**	1240	Wed	2:00 p
	WEBQ**	99.3	Wed	8:00 p
	WSIL-TV**			
Jacksonville	WLDS*	1180		
Joilet	WJOL*	1340		
	WJOL**	1340		
Kankakee	WKAN*	1320		
	WKAN**	1320		
Kewanee	WKEI*	1450	Sun	12:15 p
	WKEI**	1450	Sun	1:00 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC**	1370	Sun	3:30 p
Litchfield	WSMI*	1540	Sun	
	WSMI**	1540		
Macomb	WKAI*	1510		
	WKAI**	1510		
Marion	WGGH*	1150		
	WGGH**	1150		
Mt. Carmel	WVMC*	1360		
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
	WMIX**	940		
Olney	WVLN*	740		
	WVLN**	740		
Ottawa	WCMY*	1430		
	WCMY**	1430		
Pekin	WSIV*	1140		
	WSIV**	1140		
Pittsfield	WBBA*	1580		
	WBBA**	1580		
Quincy	WGEM*	1440		
	WGEM**	1440		
	WGEM-TV**	10		
Rock Island	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
	WHBF**	1270	Tues	9:30 p
	WHBF-TV**	4	Sun	3:00 p
Rockford	WREX-TV**	13	Sun	2:30 p
Sparta	WHCO*	1230		
Springfield	WTAX*	1240		
	WTAX**	1240		
Sterling	WSDR*	1240		
Streator	WIZZ*	1250		
	WIZZ**	1250		
Waukegan	WKRS*	1220		
	WKRS**	1220		

INDIANA

Anderson	WCBC*	1470		
	WCBC**	1470		
Bedford	WBW*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
	WBW**	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Bloomington	WTTS*	1370		
	WTTS**	1370		
Connersville	WCNB*	1580		
	WCNB**	1580		
Elkhart	WSJV-TV**	52		
Evansville	WEHT-TV**	50		
	WEOA*	1400		
	WEOA**	1400		
Ft. Wayne	WANE*	1450		
	WOWO*	1190		
	WOWO**	1190		
	WKJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Frankfort	WILO*	1570		
Gary	WGRY*	1370		
	WGRY**	1370		
Goshen	WKAM*	1460		
	WKAM**	1460		
Indianapolis	WISH-TV**	8	Sun	12:00 n
	WIBC*	1070	Sun	8:45 p
Jasper	WITZ*	990		
	WITZ**	990	Sun	1:00 p
Kokomo	WIOU*	1350		
Lafayette	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WFAM-TV**	59	Mon	9:00 p
Linton	WBTO*	1600		
	WBTO**	1600		
Logansport	WSAL*	1230	Thurs	9:30 p
	WSAL**	1230	Sun	12:15 p
Marion	WMRI*	860		
Madison	WORX*	1440		
	WORX**	1440		
Michigan City	WIMS*	1420		
	WIMS**	1420		
Mt. Vernon	WPCO*	1590		
	WPCO**	1590	Sat	1:00 a
Muncie	WMUN*	104.1		
	WMUN**	104.1		
	WLBC-TV**	49		
	WLBC*	1340	Fri	10:15 p
New Castle	WCTW*	102.5		
	WCTW**	102.5		
North Vernon	WOCH*	1460		
	WOCH**	1460		

INDIANA (Continued)

Peru	WARU*	1600		
	WARU**	1600		
Portland	WPGW*	1440		
	WPGW**	1440		
Salem	WSLM*	1220		
Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
	WJCD**	1390	Sun.	5:00 p
South Bend	WSBT*	960		
	WSBT**	960		
	WSBT-TV**	34		
Terre Haute	WBOW*	1230		
	WTHI-TV*	10	Mon	4:00 p
Vincennes	WAOV*	1450		
	WAOV**	1450		
Washington	WAMW*	1580	Sun	6:15 p
	WAMW**	1580	Sun	10:30 a

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	KCRG†	1600	Mon	8:30 p
	KCRG**	9	Thurs	9:30 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	Tues	9:30 p
	KVFD*	1400	Thurs	8:00 p
Marshalltown	KFJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Muscatine	KWPC*	860		
Newton	KCOB*	1280		
	KCOB**	1280		
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
Waterloo	KWWL†	1330	Mon	8:30 p
	KWWL-TV**	7	Sat	6:30 p

KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced	
	KCRB**	1460	Sat	5:15 p
Dodge City	KGNO†	1370	Mon	8:30 p
Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Hutchinson	KWHK*	1260	Sun	
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Lawrence	KLWN*	1320	Sun	6:00 p
McPherson	KNEX**	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sat	6:00 p
	KSEK**	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Pratt	KWSK*	1570		
Salina	KSAL†	1150	Mon	8:30 p

KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL**	1290	Sun	6:00 p
	WCBL*	1290	Sun	9:30 p
Campbellsville	WTGO*	1150	To be announced	
Cumberland	WCPM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL*	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Henderson	WSON†	860	Mon	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX**	1300	Mon	8:30 p
Louisville	WGRC†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW**	730	Sun	1:30 p
	WFMW*	730		
Mayfield	WKTM*			
	WKTM**			
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Sun	2:00 p
Murray	WNBS*	1340		
	WNBS**	1340		
Owensboro	WVJS*	1420		
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	To be announced	
Vancleve	WMTG*	730		
Winchester	WWKY*	1380		

LOUISIANA

Crowley	KSIG*	1450	To be announced	
	KSIG**	1450	Sun	4:00 p
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV**	25	Thurs	7:30 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	Sun	12:00 n
Natchitoches	KWCJ*	1450		
New Orleans	WJMR-TV**	20	Sun	4:00 p
	Retelecast		Tues	7:00 p
	WJMR*			
Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	8:15 p
	KSLO**	1230	Tues	8:00 p
Ruston	KRUS**	1490	Sun	6:15 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
Tallulah	KTLD*	1360	Sun	9:30 a

MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV**	2		
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MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Cambridge	WCEN**	1240	Sun	7:00 p
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
	WTAO-TV**	56	Thurs	9:30 p
New Bedford	WBMS*	1230		
Pittsfield	WMGT-TV**	74	Fri	7:30 p
West Yarmouth	WOCB**	1240	Fri	9:30 p
Worcester	WWOR-TV**	14	Wed	8:00 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I regret this fine magazine is not in the hands of every voter in the United States.

FRANK DORIAN  
1023 Tennessee Street  
Paducah, Kentucky

I wish to thank you for the introductory copy of *Facts Forum News* sent me recently and to commend you highly for the excellence of its content.

Mrs. S. ANTHONY SCROI  
3302 North DeQuincy St.  
Indianapolis, Indiana

You are doing a great service to America, and it is a pity that *FACTS FORUM* does not reach all of the people.

A. M. LEMAINÉ  
Mansure, Louisiana

I am very interested in your activities, because I believe you have the pioneer American spirit—in other words, the courage of your convictions.

ROSE MARIA ARMSTRONG  
Suite 72, The Severn Apartments  
701 Cathedral St.  
Baltimore, Maryland

Herewith my dollar for six months subscription to *Facts Forum News* for indeed I do want to keep it coming. Best wishes for the continued success of your fine publication.

Mrs. BERTHA C. HOLLAND  
91 Fenwick St.  
Springfield, Massachusetts

I am greatly impressed with *FACTS FORUM* and sincerely believe it is impartial in every respect. Keep up the wonderful work of the magazine and broadcasts.

J. D. GOLYER  
15516 Oakfield  
Detroit, Michigan

The *Facts Forum* magazine is a "must" for all Americans. I am keeping a file of each issue for reference purposes.

W. BUCKNER HANNER  
Maj., U.S.M.C.R.

While our college is not a large one, our student body is unusual. We have students from Texas, New England, and several foreign countries. They are alert young people, interested in the great issues of our day. I think that the information that we receive from *Facts Forum News* will mean a great deal to them and be put to good use.

Mrs. RUTH B. DUNCAN, Librarian  
Wood Junior College  
Mathiston, Mississippi

I listen to your program frequently and get a lot from it which, in my job as Intelligence Non-Commissioned Officer in charge, I find . . . quite valuable . . .

M/Sgt. EUGENE COX—9301  
25th Bomb Sqdn. Smokey Hill A.F.B.  
Salina, Kansas

\*Facts Forum; \*\*Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters Roundup

MICHIGAN				
Alpena	WATZ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV**	20	Mon	8:00 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WTVW-TV**	13	Thurs	7:30 p
Cheboygan	WCBY*	1240		
Coldwater	WTVB*	1590		
Detroit	WJBK*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Escanaba	WBCE†	680	Mon	8:30 p
Flint	WBBC†	1330	Mon	9:30 p
Grand Rapids	WFUR**	1570	Sat	12:30 p
	WFUR*	1570	Mon	5:30 p
Hillsdale	WBSE*	1340		
Iron River	WKJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon	8:30 p
Lansing	WILS-TV**	54	Mon	8:30 p
Midland	WMDN*	1490	Sun	3:45 p
Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150		
Petoskey	WMBN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Saginaw	WKXN-TV**	57	Mon	3:00 p
	Retelecast		Sun	5:00 p
Saginaw-Bay City	WSGW†	790	Mon	9:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR**	1230	Sun	
	WSTR*	1230		

MINNESOTA				
Austin	KAUS†	1480	Mon	8:30 p
	KMMT-TV**	6	Sun	9:30 p
Bemidji	KBUN†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KBMW*	1450	To be announced	
Grand Rapids	KBZY†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	10:15 p
Red Wing	KAAA*	1250		

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	3:00 p
Clarksdale	WROX*	1450		
	WROX**	1450		
Columbus	WCBI*	1050		
	WCBI**	1050		
	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Greenwood	WGRM**	1240		
Hattiesburg	WFOR*	1400	Tues	7:15 p
Indianola	WMLA*	1400		
	WMLA**	1400		
Jackson	WRBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
	WJTV-TV**	12	Tues	6:00 p
	WLBT-TV**	3		
McComb	WAPP*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPP**	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*	1490		
	WELO**	1490		
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**	1350	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*	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
Joplin	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues	
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	KNEM*	1240	Sun	1:05 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC**	930	Sun	6:30 p
Portageville	American			
Christian Broadcas. Co.	KFEQ-TV*	2	Sun	1:00 p
St. Joseph	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
St. Louis	KFUO*	850	Thurs	3:45 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
	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	KNLQ*	1230	Sat	9:00 p
	KNLQ**	1230	Sat	
Butte	KNLF*	1370	Sat	9:00 p
	KNLF**	1370	To be announced	
	KXLF-TV**	6	Sun	9:45 p
Glasgow	KLTV*	1240	Tues	7:30 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	KXLL*	1240	Sat	9:00 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KXLL**	1240	To be announced	
Lewiston	KXLO*	1230		
Livingston	KPRK†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
Miles City	KATL†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KATL*	1340	Sun	7:00 p
	KATL**	1340		

## What they're saying . . .



## about FACTS FORUM

I think your magazine is one of the finest in the country. I also enjoy listening to your radio shows. It is about time we had a little more Americanism in this country and your organization is doing just that.

SIGMUND KNOROWSKI  
230 14th St.  
Brooklyn, New York

I wish that everyone in the U.S.A. would read *Facts Forum News* — especially the September number. It is a must.

MRS. C. M. RAY  
1027 McGee Street  
Springfield, Missouri

I have been looking for a publication of this nature for a long time.

MRS. ALBERT IRION  
Box No. 267  
Fallon, Montana

That you are doing a splendid job is indicated by the growing interest in and comments on your publication and radio programs.

FRENCH JENKINS  
608 N. Defiance St.  
Archbold, Ohio

Your magazine is "tops" for clear thinking and clarity. Keep up the good work.

ELEANOR G. PRICE  
Route 2  
Dover, New Hampshire

. . . I think your programs are the best on the air, and I am glad for the privilege to vote in the monthly *Facts Forum* poll.

MRS. JEWELL R. KENT  
Tishomingo, Oklahoma

Your *Facts Forum News* . . . is so rich in vital everyday problems which affect our lives. You must be commended for the amount of work and research involved to help the cause and our great country.

JERRY CAGLIANO  
22 Rockland Terrace  
Vernon, New Jersey

Your October, 1955, issue is excellent. Freda Utley's article [therein] "Can We Be Sure of Germany," is provocative and deserves a great deal of credit for straight thinking.

EUGENE TURNAI  
c/o R. B. Turnai, M.D.  
146-22 25th Avenue  
Flushing, New York

Since buying my first copy of *Facts Forum News* I have been meaning to tell you that I believe you are doing an excellent job in a field too long neglected.

DAVID A. RUMSEY  
Swathmore, Pennsylvania

MONTANA (Continued)				
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLL**	1450	To be announced	
	KGVO-TV**	13	Fri	9:30 p
Shelby	KIY†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Sidney	KGCX†	1480	Mon	7:30 p

NEBRASKA				
Chadron	KCSR**	1450	To be announced	
	KCSR*	1450		
Columbus	KJSK*	900		
Hastings	KHAS†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
McCook	KBRL†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG**	780	Sat	10:15 a
Scottsbluff	KNEB†	960	Mon	7:30 p
York	KAWL*	1370		

NEVADA				
Ely	KELY*	1230		
Reno	KZTV-TV**	8	Sun	3:00 p

NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Manchester	WMUR-TV**	9	To be announced	

NEW JERSEY				
Atlantic City	WLDB**	1490		
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Millville	WMLV**	1440	Sun	
Pleasantville	WOND*	1400		
	WOND**	1400		
South Orange	WSOU*			
	WSOU**			

NEW MEXICO				
Albuquerque	KHFM*		Tues	7:15 p
Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
Hobbs	KWEW†	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
	KFUN*	1230	Fri	9:15 p
Portales	KENM*	1450	Wed	7:15 p
	KENM**	1450	Fri	6:30 p
Roswell	KSWB-TV**	8	Sun	2:30 p
Tucumcari	KTNM*	1400		

NEW YORK				
Albany	WPTR†	1540	Sun	9:30 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490		
Auburn	WMBO†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Fri	7:45 p
Ruffalo	WYRA*	1080	Sun	9:30 a
Dunkirk	WFCB*	1410		
Elmira	WTVE-TV**	24	Sun	6:30 p
Hornell	WVHG*	1320		
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Wed	7:30 p
Kingston	WKNY-TV**	66	Fri	10:00 p
Little Falls	WLFB*	1230		
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WICY**	1490	Mon	7:15 p
	WICY*	1490	Tues	7:15 p
New York	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p
	WPXI-TV**		Mon	9:30 p
N'th Albany	WROW-TV**	41	Fri	9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLC*	1490	Wed	7:00 p
Saratoga Springs	WSPN*	900	Sun	12:15 p
Ticonderoga	WIPS*			
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p

NORTH CAROLINA				
Asheville	WWNC*	570	Sat	6:30 p
	WLOS-TV**	13	Sun	3:30 p
Belmont	WCGC*	1270		
Brevard	WPNT*	1240		
	WPNF**	1240		
Burlington	WBBB*	920	Sun	1:00 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410		
	WEGO**	1410	Wed	10:00 a
Elizabeth City	WBBO†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Forrest City	WBBO*	780	Mon	7:15 p
	WBBO**	780	Sun	5:30 p
Greensboro	WBIG*	1470	Sun	12:30 p
Henderson	WHNC†	890	Mon	9:30 p
Hickory	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
	WBUY*	1450		
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p
New Bern	WHIT*	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV**	28	Mon	9:30 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
Tyron	WTVN*	1580		
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Washington	WHED**	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WHED*	1340		
Wilmington	WCNI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WMFD-TV**	6	Tues	10:30 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV**	26	Sun	5:30 p

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

\*Facts Forum; \*\*Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters Roundup

**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
	WDOK*	1260		
	WTNS*	1560		
Coshocton	WLSL**			
Delaware	WEOL*	930	Sun	9:45 a
Elyria	WEOL**	930	Wed	7:30 p
	WJEH**	990		
Gallipolis	WIMA-TV**	73	Sun	1:30 p
Lima	WMOH**	1450	Sun	12:30 p
Hamilton	WMOA†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Marietta	WPFB*	910	Mon	7:45 p
Middletown	WCLT**	1430	Sun	6:30 p
Newark	WSPX*	1260	Mon	8:15 p
Portsmouth	WNTD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
Toledo	WHZZ-TV**	18	Sun	3:30 p
Warren				
Youngstown	WFFF†	1440	Mon	9:30 p
Youngstown	WFMJ*	1390	Sat	6:45 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV**		Sun	3:30 p

**OKLAHOMA**

Altus	KWHW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL**	1580	Wed	10:30 a
Cushing	KWHP*	1600	Sun	12:45 p
Duncan	KRHD†	1350	Mon	8:30 p
Elk City	KASA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Enid	KCRC*	1390	Sun	10:15 p
Miami	KGLC*	910		
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
	KSIW*	1450		

**OREGON**

Hillsboro	KRTV**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
McMinnville	KMCM*	1260	Sun	7:45 p
	KMCM**	1260	Wed	8:45 p

**PENNSYLVANIA**

Barnesboro	WNCC*	950	Fri	9:15 p
Bradford	WESR†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	950	Fri	9:15 p
	WBUT**	1050	Sun	4:30 p
Carbondale	WCBL*	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	9:00 p
	WEST*	1400	Tues	10:15 p
Gettysburg	WGEE**	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV**	56	Tues	10:30 p
Lock Haven	WBPZ†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
Nanticoke	WHWL*	730		
New Castle	WKST†	1280	Mon	9:30 p
	WKST-TV**	45	Wed	8:30 p
Oil City	WKRZ†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Philadelphia	KYW*	1060	Sun	6:15 p
Pittsburgh	KDKA*	1020	Sun	10:15 p
Pittston	WPTS*	1540		
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WPAM*	1450		
Scranton	WARM-TV**	16	Thurs	10:00 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
St. Marys	WKBT*	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	WKBT**	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WKBT*	1400		
Tyrone	WTRN*	1580		
	WTRN**	1580		
Wellsville	WNBT*	1570	To be announced	
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	1:00 p
	WLYC**	1050	Sun	5:00 p
York	WNOW**	1250	Sun	5:30 p
	WNOW*	1250	Sun	3:30 p
	WNOW-TV**	49	Sun	8:00 p
	WSBA*	910		

**PHILIPPINES**

Manila	DZAQ-TV**	3	Mon	9:00 p
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**PUERTO RICO**

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

**SOUTH CAROLINA**

Barnwell	WBAW**	740	Sat	6:00 p
Beaufort	WBEU*	960	Sun	2:00 p
Bishopville	WAGS*	1380		
Camden	WACA*	1590	Sun	2:00 p
Charleston	WHAN*	1340		
Cheraw	WCRE*	1420	Sat	12:30 p
	WCRE*	1420		
Chester	WGCD*	1490		
	WGCD*	1490	Sun	6:30 p
Columbia	WCOS-TV**	25	Sun	2:30 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	WGTT†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenville	WFBC*	1330	Wed	10:15 p
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280		
	WJAY**	1280		

**SOUTH CAROLINA (Continued)**

Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	7:00 p
Rock Hill	WTYC*	1150	Sat	6:00 p
Seneca	WSNW*	1150	Sun	5:15 p
Spartanburg	WSPA*	950	Sun	2:00 p
Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	9:30 p

**SOUTH DAKOTA**

Brookings	KBRK*	1430		
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**	1450		
Chattanooga	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WMFS*	1260		
	WDXN*	540		
Clarksville	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Cleveland	WHUB**	1400	Thurs	9:00 p
Cookeville	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	6:45 p
Dyersburg	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WCPH*	1220	Sun	2:15 p
Etowah	WDEH*	800		
Harriman	WDEH**	800		
	WHBT**	1230		
	WHBT*	1230		
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Tues	9:45 p
	WTJS**	1390	Thurs	
	WDXI†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
	WJHL-TV**	11	Tues	6:00 p
Johnson City	WKXV**	900		
Knoxville	WKXV**	900		
	WTSK-TV**	26	Thurs	8:00 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*	900		
	WCOR**	900		
Lexington	WDXL*	1490	Sun	8:30 p
Maryville	WGAP*	1400	Sun	9:00 p
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGNB*	1450	Sun	2:30 p
Nashville	WSM*	650	Fri	10:15 p
Newport	WLIK*	1270		
	WLIK**	1270		
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	12:30 p
	WTPR†	710	Mon	8:30 p
Pulaski	WKSJ*	1420	Mon	7:15 p
Sevierville	WSEV*	930		
South Pittsburg	WEPG*	910	To be announced	
	WEPG**	910	To be announced	
Sparta	WSMT*	1050	Sun	1:15 p
Springfield	WDBL*	1430	Sun	2:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1246	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

**TEXAS**

Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
Beaumont	KBMT-TV**	31	Mon	7:00 p
	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†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Bryan	KORAT	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	KCAR*	1350	Sun	4:30 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
College Station	WTAW*	1150	Fri	8:45 a
Colorado City	KVMC*	1320	Sun	12:30 p
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Wed	9:45 p
	KVDO-TV**	22	Sat	1:30 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY**	1290	Tues	1:00 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV**	4	Sat	2:45 p*

(\*following Major League Baseball and SportsCast)

	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA**	570	Mon	10:30 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
Greenville	KGVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Jacksonville	KEBE*	1400		
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	KTVE-TV**	32	Sun	6:30 p
Lufkin	KTRE*	1420	Sat	6:15 p
	KTRE†	1420	Mon	8:30 p
	KTRE-TV**	9	Fri	10:30 p
Marlin	KMLW*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
Midland	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:00 n
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960		
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
Pampa	KPAT*	1230		
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Tues	7:30 p
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:30 p
Post	KRWS*	1370		

(Continued on Page 64)

*What they're saying . . .*



**about FACTS FORUM**

I have just completed an issue of your wonderful magazine. . . . believe it to be the most informative and truthful magazine of its kind today. . . . by giving the individual the opportunity to express his opinions and point of view, your magazine will undoubtedly awaken interest in other individuals, and I share your hope that this will sow the seeds that will enable us to solve more of the pressing problems which confront us today.

A 1/c FREDERICK R. KING AF 28760557  
3648 Per Maint Sqd.  
Laughlin A.F.B.  
Del Rio, Texas

I was a very interested reader of the opinion quoted in your September issue, together with the speech by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi immediately following. I think you are performing a real public service in giving wide publicity to these matters.

C. ARTHUR BRUCE  
Chairman of the Board  
E. L. Bruce Company  
Box 397  
Memphis, Tennessee

. . . your *Facts Forum News* . . . should be in every hand in America. I have only one fault to find and this is the long wait until the next issue.

Mrs. H. C. AINSWORTH  
751 N. 103rd Street  
Seattle, Washington

We enjoy Facts Forum over several stations and are especially happy that Robert F. Hurleigh is connected with your REPORTERS' ROUNDUP.

Mrs. C. FREER STEINBECK  
220 E. First Street  
Weston, West Virginia

I would like to distribute about 164 million copies of the address delivered by B. Carroll Reece at Elizabethton, Tennessee, [October, 1955, issue]. Time and funds limit me however, but I would like very much to have 30 or 40 copies of the speech . . . for distribution to my friends.

CARL G. LARSEN  
Solvang, California

Congratulations to you for publishing the intelligent opinions and warnings of such fine anti-Communist Americans as Senators McCarthy and Jenner. [October, 1955, issue]

O. KENDALL COOPER  
Main Street  
Williamsburg, Ohio

Wish to extend my congratulations upon Henry Broderick's article, "Where Are The Patriots?", in your September issue . . . it is most timely at the start of a new school term. The photograph with the article is soul-inspiring.

WILLIAM H. SCHELLER  
32-14 Bell Blvd.  
Bayside, New York

\*Facts Forum; \*\*Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters Roundup

## 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 five six-month subscriptions for all other letters which Facts Forum publishes.

### 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. 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 PANEL 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.



## LETTERS to the EDITORS

### 1st Award URGES CITIZENS TO WRITE CONGRESSMEN

To the *Houston Chronicle*:

Why is it that people are so vociferous in their condemnation of the government and so mute about giving their congressmen the benefit of their opinions? They say "What can one person do?"

These Chinese proverbs are the answer: "A journey of 1000 miles begins with a single step" and "It is better to light a single candle than to curse the darkness."

I have no desire to disparage those who immigrate to our country, but it is undeniable that there has been a decided influx of people to our shores who have been conditioned to accept as final anything emanating from the "powers that be." Sometimes I believe the impact of their thinking on ours has been so pronounced that today we, too, accept as gospel any ruling inflicted upon us.

Let's make ourselves heard, or by our silence we may lose the ideals we wish to perpetuate.

*Mrs. Ella M. Mitchell*  
2205 Arbor Street, Houston, Texas

\* \* \*

### 2nd Award THE KOREAN NEUTRALS

To the *Los Angeles Herald Express*:

The chief enemy of the United States is Russia who marches resolutely down the path toward its avowed goal of world domination.

This enemy fomented the Korean "Police Action" which marked the first military defeat we have ever suffered.

When a spurious peace was foisted upon us, through ignorance or worse, a committee of so-called "neutral" nations was selected to see that the terms were fulfilled.

Russia, our chief foe, was represented on this commission by two satellites.

Our erstwhile comrade-at-arms, South Korea, discovered that Red agents were taking advantage of the opportunity to spy her defense.

When she became justly angry we were found in the grotesque position of defending the representatives of our chief enemy against the people of our staunch ally Korea.

Where has the traditional American honor, common sense, and courage fled?

*Jack Schlight*  
13535 Valerio St., Van Nuys, Calif.

### 3rd Award APT COMPARISON

To the *Dallas News*:

The railroad strike in England has revealed differences between conditions in England, and other European countries, and the United States.

Wages of English locomotive engineers and firemen have been \$27.30 a week. They asked for \$1.12 a week increase, which would make their weekly wage the magnificent sum of \$28.40. But the government, which owns the railroads, says the best it could offer was an increase of 70 cents, which would make the total wage an even \$28.00.

Workers who are tempted toward socialism or communism should take warning.

*Floyd E. Royer*  
4918 Ash Lane, Dallas, Texas

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### 4th Award IMMIGRATION

To the *Baltimore News-Post*:

One of the present "musts" of the "Americans" for Democratic Action, the one-world internationalists, and other foreign and subversive groups is the tearing down of our immigration barriers.

Both our increasing population and unemployment dictate that we strengthen—or at least maintain—our present immigration law.

We have poured too much down the rat holes in foreign countries and it is high time that our parasitic "friends" be informed that we are no longer going to subsidize them. We've given them our money, we've given them our boys, we've given them our blood; for God's sake, let's not give them our country.

*Donald J. Ely*  
1350 West 41st Street  
Baltimore 11, Maryland

\* \* \*

### 5th Award BASIS FOR DECISION

To the *Dallas News*:

Our country has come to a sorry state of affairs when the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, speaking for all the members of the court, should cite as his authority for a decision a book compiled by an alien who advocates the destruction of the American form of government—the form of government which this Chief Justice and this court are sworn to uphold.

*E. G. Schulze*  
4839 Philip St., Dallas, Texas

**6th Award**  
**ASKING MORE OF BOYS**  
**THAN OF MEN**

To the *Chicago Daily Tribune*:

I see in *U. S. News and World Report* an article entitled, "What To Do About Brain Washing." It's an effort on the part of our armed forces to find an answer to the problem of soldiers captured by the Communists.

May I suggest that if our leaders haven't what it takes in moral guts to come up with the right answer concerning the captive nations whom we helped to betray, Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, whom we did betray, and haven't the moral courage to face up to the question of Quemoy and Matsu, then how in the world can we expect a captured soldier, subject to the physical and mental tortures our leaders thus far have not experienced, to do better than our policy makers?

Leslie A. Shaw

122 E. Ave. 45  
Los Angeles, California

\* \* \*

**7th Award**  
**FAR-THINKING FARMERS**  
**OPPOSE HIGH SUPPORTS**

To the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*:

After having read Mr. Thomas L. Stokes concerning Bill HR 12 (Bulletin, May 10), I would like to add this. Although the Democrats' votes have passed this bill so far it does not represent the majority of farm thinking. American Farm Bureau, the largest farm organization representing farmers, is against this bill. All far-thinking farmers are against high support prices for the simple reason that guaranteed security means government regulations and eventually loss of free enterprise. The Democrats voted against themselves in voting for this bill. I hope the "city fellers" realize this fact.

Robert Thorpe

Route 1, Newton, Pennsylvania

\* \* \*

**8th Award**  
**FOREIGN COURTS**

To the *New York Herald Tribune*:

How can you state that "the Status of Forces has not worked a hardship on Americans abroad?" How can it avoid doing so when foreign laws are so different from ours? We do not send a man to jail for life for robbery or cut off the hand of a petty thief.

Any serviceman stationed in a foreign country has two strikes against him. In many of these countries Communists have great power. In the words of one of our officers in France, "How long do you think a French judge of a police court would last if he disregarded the testimony of a Communist policeman and accepted the testimony of a GI?"

For the first time in history, our flag no longer protects the rights of those

who defend it. I suppose we should be grateful that the members of the diplomatic corps are immune.

Hester C. Williams

221 South Street  
Needham 92, Massachusetts

\* \* \*

**9th Award**  
**UN WAR MACHINE**

To the *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph*:

No amount of double-talk can conceal that the UN Charter envisions the most powerful war machine ever conceived.

The army which fought in Korea was a United Nations force, under the United Nations flag, wearing United Nations insignia.

Why were not the caskets of our boys decorated with the United Nations flag when brought back from Korea? Those running this dastardly affair did not yet dare to affront the bereaved with such callous indifference to outraged emotions. That act would have so shocked, so awakened the American people to the dastardly conspiracy against our country, that they would have risen as one voice to destroy the United Nations!

Your Senators voted us into this mess—you need only write those who need your vote to be re-elected and let them know how you feel about our staying in the UN.

Maybe we should tell our neighbors, too!

L. E. Whitney

827 Wilson Ave., Chicago 40, Illinois

\* \* \*

**10th Award**  
**BLACKOUT ON TRUTH**

To the *Tulsa Daily World*:

The blackout of truth in America is leading us down the Red's road to catastrophe. There have been hundreds of books and thousands of pamphlets exposing treason or unbelievable stupidity. The greatest of pro-American speeches by true Americans are ignored by the press. Books, documented to the hilt do not find their way to our school libraries. If socialism, internationalism, one-worldism or communism is good for America, why the blackout of truth?

Would our popular President debate the merits of the UN, the Status of Forces Treaty, or any of our foreign entanglements, with McCarthy or MacArthur or Manion? He would not! Why do certain people wish to silence Americans who do not surrender to the internationalists' whims?

Some of the greatest men in American history have said that if America falls she will fall from within. Gen. Douglas MacArthur warned us, "Let Americans stand guard tonight." Know the truth and the truth shall make you free!

J. Frank Romine

Sapulpa, Oklahoma

**11th Award**  
**RESENTS HOOVER ADVICE**

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

Herbert Hoover, the greatest depression builder the world has ever known, comes forth and tells the government to dispose of all public power projects to private interests, and to cease lending a hand in developing the natural resources of this, the greatest country on earth.

He was President at a time when banks throughout the country were popping like soda bottle corks at a prohibition picnic, and flophouses and soup kitchens appeared on every hand. Did he and the private interests do anything to alleviate the situation? Not so you could notice it. It required the moral courage of the Democrats and one of the greatest statesmen the world has ever known, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to save the country from utter ruin.

It's good to be a Democrat.

R. T. Manuel

Box 883, Colorado City, Texas

\* \* \*

**12th Award**  
**NEW KIND OF TYRANNY**

To the *Dallas News*:

Isn't it about time for another Declaration of Independence, together with action by the Congress, instead of complacent indifference? Is not the tyranny of labor unions at this time as bad as was the tyranny of King George III against the colonies? Witness the many destructive newspaper strikes including the destruction of the *Brooklyn Eagle*, the steamship strikes at a time of unusual travel, still another steel strike with countless others in all parts of the country—all of them causing heavy financial losses and great inconvenience to the public, all of them demanding an unfair increase of wages in excess of the prevailing market rates, all of them at the ultimate expense of the people. Where is the Spirit of '76?

Henry Ware Allen

1728 Alabama, Chickasha, Oklahoma

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**13th Award**  
**UPWARD SPIRAL**

To the *Dallas News*:

I believe in collective bargaining—but not the "gimme-some-more" brand in which we are drifting.

Most companies merely put the increased labor costs on their product, sharply increasing the upward spiral which has grown alarmingly in twenty years.

In 1935 I built a five-room house for only \$2,500. We reshingled it this year and paid the workmen six times per hour as much as in 1935.

Who will guarantee our farmers an annual wage? They are our most valuable asset! They combine simplicity of character with direct wisdom of thought, a supreme independence learned only by those who live close to nature. They

have never been unionized. (Should they be, God help America!)

C. C. Miller  
Collinsville, Texas

\* \* \*

### 14th Award COSTLY OIL IMPORTS

To the *Dallas News*:

Every barrel of tariff-free imported oil costs Texans extra taxes. This is not a matter of foreign countries exporting this oil. It has nothing to do with free trade. It is all produced and brought in by United States companies. They do it because they make a dollar more profit on it than that which they produce in the United States. Everyone in the United States pays extra taxes because of it. Texans pay two extra taxes because of it. It is time they wake up and do something about it. Texas wells are now shut down more than half the time because of it, and every Texas taxpayer pays extra taxes because of these shutdowns.

C. H. C. Anderson  
1014 S. Cumberland Ave.  
Dallas 3, Texas

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### 15th Award VISITORS' RESTRICTIONS

To the *Christian Science Monitor*:

State Department fingerprinting of foreign visitors does much to besmirch America's good reputation abroad. The "Land of the Free" makes it harder for a foreigner to visit the country than do many Communist countries. How many Americans, while taking advantage of most European countries' easy regulations concerning visits, stop to think of the problems which their American government presents their European hosts seeking to return the visit.

If Great Britain, for example, should suddenly impose on American visitors restrictions like those we impose on Britishers, we would hear a storm of protest and indignation. We Americans who so enjoy the hospitality of foreign lands should not let our own land be outdone in this ancient virtue.

H. O. J. Brown  
Barfueszertor 26  
Marburg an der Lahn, Germany

## OUR 1 PARTY PRESS

(Continued from Page 54)

of his statement. Mr. Reston raises a rather interesting question. Is it the role and the place of the press to assume what Mr. Reston says are the responsibilities of the Democratic leadership?"

Mr. Combs expressed the belief that it was not the responsibility of the press to make up for defaults in Democratic leadership. "I do believe it to be the inescapable duty and obligation of the

press, however," he commented, "to ride herd on any administration regardless of the party label that it bears."

"Amen," inserted guest panelist de Toledano.

"In other words," continued Combs, "it becomes a necessary and indispensable function of journalism for them to exert the same scrutiny and the same degree of zealous observation of what's going on with a Republican administration as with a Democratic administration."

### PRESS DOES SENATE'S JOB

"Would you say, Mr. Combs," asked Hardy Burt, "that Mr. Reston is rather strongly implying here that they have replaced the Democratic leadership?"

"No," replied Combs, "I would agree with Mr. Reston to this extent—that whatever vitality there has been in the criticism of the administration's position has come from the press rather than from the Democratic leadership which has been in the Senate woefully anemic."

"I think it's only fair to the Democrats," remarked Professor Hodges, "and it is very difficult for me, of course, to espouse their cause. They were committed to a bipartisan approach for good or ill in this particular manner, and I think Mr. Reston has taken a very unhappy example in order to get at the Democratic leadership. I think the Democratic leadership boxed themselves in by agreeing to support as they did, as Congress did, I think, with the exception of three or four in both Houses, the administration policy toward Matsu and Quemoy."

"Mr. Combs admits," summarized de Toledano, "that the press had filled its function and yet this is the 85 per cent reactionary press which has done it. Point one. Point two, one sentence . . . from Scotty Reston's piece which I think is very, very pertinent. He said if the country has what the Democrats call a one-party press, the Republicans have been cheated. And I think this sums it up completely."

A final vote regarding whether the press in the United States is on the whole pro-liberal or pro-conservative brought the response:

William Buckley, Jr.: "Pro-liberal."

Ralph de Toledano: "Pro-liberal."

Professor Charles Hodges: "Pro-conservative beyond question, and the readership proves it, because those papers keep in business. The country is conservative."

George Hamilton Combs: "Pro-conservative."

"And may I add," commented guest panelist de Toledano, "that Professor Hodges and Mr. Combs are living in the age of McKinley."

"A very comfortable age," declared Combs.

## RADIO and TV SCHEDULES

(Continued from Page 61)

TEXAS (Continued)					
San Angelo	KTXL-TV**	8	Sun	6:30 p	
San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p	
	WOAI-TV**	4	Sun	1:00 p	
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p	
	KRRV**	910	Sun	7:30 p	
Snyder	KSNY†	1450	Mon	8:30 p	
Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	12:45 p	
Sulphur Springs	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:45 p	
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p	
Texarkana	KTFSS*	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	Sat	3:30 p	
Weslaco	KRGV*	1290	Wed	9:45 p	
	KRGV-TV**	5	Fri	8:30 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	
	KWHO*				
Vernal	KJAM*	1340	Mon	6:00 p	
	KJAM**	1340	Sun	3:00 p	
VERMONT					
Newport	WIKI*	1490	Wed	9:30 p	
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p	
	WTWN**	1340	Sun	8:30 p	
VIRGIN ISLANDS					
Christiansted,	WIVI*	1230	To be announced		
St. Croix	WSTA**	1340	To be announced		
St. Thomas					
VIRGINIA					
Arlington	WEAM**	1390	Tues	10:00 p	
Bedford	WBLT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p	
Charlottesville	WCHV*	1240	Mon	7:30 p	
	WCHV**	1240	Thurs	9:00 p	
Crewe	WSVS*	800			
Fairfax	WFVR**				
Galax	WBOB†	1400	Mon	9:30 p	
Hopewell	WHAP*	1340	To be announced		
	WHAP**	1340	To be announced		
Lexington	WREL*	1450	Sat	7:15 p	
	WREL**	1450	Sun	6:30 p	
Norfolk-Hampton	WVEC-TV*	15	Sat	5:00 p	
Newport News	WACH-AM**	1270	To be announced		
	WACH-TV**	33	To be announced		
Richmond	WMBG*	1380			
Roanoke	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun	3:00 p	
Staunton	WAFC*	900	Sun	12:00 n	
Suffolk	WLPN*	1450			
	WLPN**	1450			
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	To be announced		
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p	
WASHINGTON					
Colfax	KCLX*	1450			
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	4:30 p	
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p	
Yakima	KYAK*	1390			
WEST VIRGINIA					
Bluefield	WKOY†	1240	Mon	9:30 p	
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p	
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon	9:30 p	
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon	9:30 p	
New Martinsville	WETZ*	1330	Fri	10:00 a	
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV**	4	Sun	5:00 p	
Ronceverte	WRON*	1400			
	WRON**	1400			
Wheeling	WKWK*	1400	Sun	10:15 p	
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	9:30 p	
WISCONSIN					
Appleton	WBHY†	1230	Mon	8:30 p	
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon	8:30 p	
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon	8:30 p	
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon	8:30 p	
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon	8:30 p	
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon	8:30 p	
La Crosse	WLTX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p	
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	8:00 p	
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced		
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p	
Reedsburg	WRDB*	1400	Sun	6:30 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	
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	

## Hear Ye! Hear Ye!

Do you find it difficult to reply to the F.F. poll questions with a straight "yes" or "no" answer?

Why not express your views on such questions by writing letters to the editors of newspapers. If your letters meet the requirements of our Letters to Editor Contest (See Contest Page), send us a clipping for contest entry.

Speak up! You may help others to take an active interest in current affairs!

## November Poll Question Winners

An award of \$10.00 each has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

- 1st: **LOMA ANDRUS**  
Box No. 408  
Huntsville, Arkansas
- 2nd: **MARTIN BORBECK, S. J.**  
St. Thomas Church, P.O. Box 366  
Harlem, Montana
- 3rd: **MISS MAUDIE JO FIELDS**  
1801 Avenue D  
Brownwood, Texas
- 4th: **ANN CUNNINGHAM**  
10855 South Maplewood Avenue  
Chicago 43, Illinois
- 5th: **LEO KOLB**  
1642 North Richmond Street  
Chicago 47, Illinois
- 6th: **EUGENE J. HANSES**  
6747 Eichelberger  
St. Louis 9, Missouri
- 7th: **ENOLA CHAMBERLIN**  
Route 1, Box 76  
San Bernardino, California
- 8th: **MRS. MAY S. NEWBERRY**  
21 Watauga Apartments  
Nashville 3, Tennessee
- 9th: **MRS. T. THOMAS**  
Room 1508, 15th and 8th Avenue  
New York 11, New York
- 10th: **AGNES AKANA**  
P. O. Box 788  
Brooklyn, New York
- 11th: **JOSEPH PUSATERI**  
238 Bond Street, Apartment 12-D  
Brooklyn 2, New York
- 12th: **GEORGE DURST**  
P. O. Box 61  
Jamaica, New York
- 13th: **THOMAS JAME CURRIE**  
1630 K Street  
Lincoln, Nebraska
- 14th: **MRS. ROY E. CHAFFEE**  
Lansing, Minnesota

## FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes November 5

Yes No

- Should U. S. have power development priority over private enterprise?  
  Is there now any difference between Republican and Democratic parties?  
  Has Washington taken over jobs that ought to be left to the states?  
  Should Red China be seated in the United Nations?  
  Should more businessmen be in our national government?  
  Should we let Russians study our agricultural and industrial methods?  
  Should we allow planes from other countries to fly over USA?  
  Would you agree to the exchange of blueprints with Russia?  
  Should personal income taxes be cut even if the budget is not balanced?  
  Is 90 per cent of parity the answer to the farmer's problem?  
  Should we release surplus food for U.S. victims in disaster areas?  
  Would you favor emergency national lotteries for disaster relief funds?  
  Should the United States withdraw from the United Nations?  
  Should labor unions contribute funds for political purposes?

Remarks \_\_\_\_\_

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) NO. AND ST. CITY AND STATE

• PLEASE NOTE: We are discontinuing the mailing of poll cards, and voters are requested to write in your votes by listing your answers on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which you have no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.) and mailing to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). Your votes shown in this manner, or indicated on the above form, represent your ballot in the Facts Forum Poll.

I enclose \$2.00 for 1 yr. subscription to Facts Forum News.

## LAST MONTH'S POLL RESULTS

% Yes

- 12 Do you feel anything was gained by Big Four Conference at Geneva?  
 2 Can dollar doles buy global goodwill?  
 94 Does CIO-AFL merger mean more labor influence in our government?  
 6 Is the Voice of America achieving its objectives?  
 6 Is the Republican Party anti-labor?  
 6 Should a person who expresses his views on any subject be persecuted?  
 9 Do you believe the Status of Forces Treaty fair to our GI's abroad?  
 98 Do you believe there are Communists in our national government?  
 95 Should the minutes of the current Geneva Conference be published?  
 99 Was release of four airmen Red bait to induce further concessions?  
 16 Has the leadership in Washington been loyal to Republican Party?  
 96 Is inflation hurting retired people?  
 90 Is U.S. Foreign Aid Policy only a tool of Communist expansion?  
 98 Can free nations get confused by peace conferences until Russia strikes?

This Month's Slogan:

**"PATRIOTISM IS FREEDOM'S KEY"**

Submitted by

BILL HAMMER, JR.

6 Peter Cooper Rd., New York 10, New York

*Hear... See...*

# FACTS FORUM PROGRAMS



FACTS FORUM—RADIO

FACTS FORUM PANEL—RADIO

FACTS FORUM PANEL—TV

REPORTERS' ROUNDUP—RADIO



From Maine to California, Alaska to the Philippines\*

REFER TO RADIO AND TV  
SCHEDULES IN THIS ISSUE