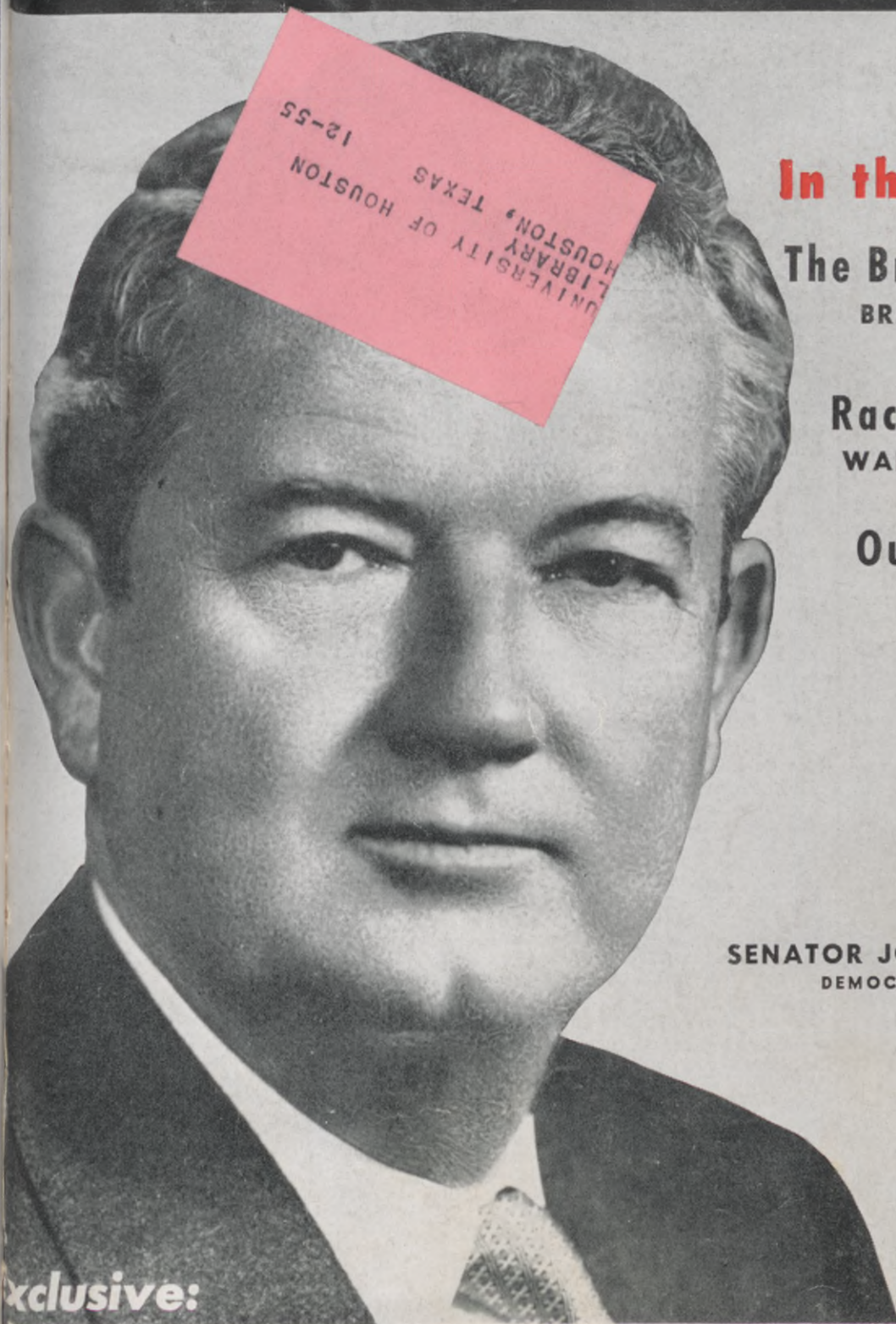


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In this Issue:

The Bricker Amendment

BRICKER and LEHMAN

Racial Segregation

WARREN and EASTLAND

Our Agricultural Economy

BENSON

SENATOR JOHN J. SPARKMAN
DEMOCRAT OF ALABAMA

Exclusive:

Russia's Universities of Revolution

by MONTGOMERY M. GREEN, Lt. Comdr., U.S.N.R.

Provocative Prose

"I dare not undertake to assure you that your liberties and your happiness may not be lost! . . . BEWARE! BE CAUTIOUS! You have everything to lose! . . . We live in the only government that ever existed which was framed by the deliberate consultations of the people. Miracles do not cluster. That which has happened but once in 6,000 years cannot be expected to happen often. Such a government, once gone,—might leave a void to be filled for ages with revolution and tumult, riot and despotism!"

—DANIEL WEBSTER
July 4, 1802

"The idea of imposing restrictions on a free economy to assure freedom of competition is like breaking a man's leg to make him run faster."

—MORRIS R. SAYRE

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government."

—GEORGE WASHINGTON

"Peace is not made by compromise. It does not grow out of expediency. Peace is not a flower growing in the world's formal garden. It is rather a product of the blacksmith's forge—hammered out on the anvil of sacrifice and suffering . . . heated in the fires of devotion to righteousness . . . tempered in the oil of mercy and goodness . . . Peace is a costly thing."

"There are things that are deeply and dangerously wrong with America, and the true patriot is he who sees them, regrets them, and tries to remove them."

—FROM PETER MARSHALL'S SERMON
"The American Dream"
A Man Called Peter

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

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

Readers Report

Help Restore, Preserve and Improve

From Norman Lombard, president of the Institute of Applied Citizenship, 550 Fifth Ave., New York 36, N. Y.:

"I note your request that readers inform you of their anti-Communist activities. We would appreciate it if you would carry a paragraph suggesting that your readers write us for a copy of our folder, 'WHAT YOU CAN DO' to help restore, preserve, and improve our American system.

"You will see that we are opposing communism but are proceeding along lines somewhat different . . . in that we urge intelligent, informed, and patriotic Americans to get into politics where, it is our thesis, the final engagement in the current phase of the ideological war of the individual against the power complex will be fought."

Wishing for Self-Destruction?

A graduate psychologist, Executive Secretary Frances B. Lucas, National Defense, N.S.D. A.R., feels the so-called "Wishing Well" tests given to children in some schools "undermine the self-confidence of American children" and asks, "Has this test been given to YOUR children?"

A sample of some of the "Wishing Well" remarks which children have been asked to check as being among their personal problems:

1. I wish our family had more money so we didn't have to go without so many things.
2. I wish my vote really counted.
3. I wish I knew why people say that everyone is equal when some people have more money than others.
4. I wish my parents did things that would make me feel more love toward them.
5. I wish someone would help me to see the place of religion in my life.

Plaudits to the Press

Praiseworthy indeed are newspaper clippings sent to us from readers across the country showing patriotic presentations in their local press.

Among papers applauded: the *El Paso Times* and the *Omaha World-Herald* for their full-page "Primer for Americans;" the *Manchester (N. H.) Union Leader* for its full-page reproduction of the Declaration of Independence, and the *New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times* for its rotogravure feature, "Fight for the Union."

O'er the Home of the Brave

In the Cleveland, Ohio, public square, the American flag now flies at a higher level than the United Nations flag due to the efforts of John G. Collister. In a suit filed a year ago, Collister charged that, contrary to federal law, UN flags were being flown at the same height as American flags in the public square. He described this action as an attack that weakens the sovereignty of the government of the United States.

The matter wasn't settled until recently when the judge, attorneys, and a courtroom audience including a group of patriotic women had walked two-thirds of a mile in 92-degree heat to the square and had argued the matter at length while looking up at the fluttering banners. Mayor Anthony Celebrezze settled the issue by ordering that American flagpoles in

Of, by, and for Facts Forum News readers

the square be raised forty inches so there would be no doubt but that Old Glory topped all other flags flying nearby.

So Proudly Hailed

Meanwhile in New Hampshire, Veterans of Foreign Wars (Manchester Central Post No. 4424) have passed a resolution asking the state legislature to proclaim June 14 of each year as Flag Day and to make it a legal holiday in New Hampshire.

It is the hope of the VFW post that such action would result in a fuller observance of Flag Day with all citizens joining veterans, civic, and patriotic organizations in paying respect to the American flag.

Patriotism Stems from Grass Roots

How grass roots ideas can grow to national proportions is exemplified by a move in Grand Rapids, Michigan, to encourage widespread appreciation of the Constitution of the United States through an essay contest.

Thousands of young Americans throughout the country now focus their attention on the Constitution through the essay competition sponsored by the National Association of Real Estate Boards. The idea born in Michigan has grown to include more participating schools and students each year. Last year more than 1,400 essays were entered.

The national winner was Ann Turner, honor student at Thomas Jefferson High School, Richmond, Virginia. Her winning essay, "What the Bill of Rights Means to Me," opens:

"I am the Bill of Rights. I represent America. I dwell in her churches, her courts, her newspapers. I protect her people. Long ago my way was paved, my destiny established. I hold the rights of all Americans. I am their watchword, their beliefs, their stronghold. So long as I may ring the words of freedom, I am the basis of their lives, and in me rests the law of a nation."

Your Thanks — Our Spurs

Comments like the following spur this column's efforts:

Mrs. H. A. Gnade of Ackley, Iowa, writes, "I want to address this portion of my letter to 'Readers Report' ('On the Alert' column of *Facts Forum News*). This column appears to be a sort of gathering station for things American."

Operation Dies' Appendix

Neil E. Wetterman, president of The Protect America League, Inc., sends this information:

"Planning to reproduce the long sought after Martin Dies' Appendix IX. This is a nonprofit project in which sufficient finances will be raised by advance subscription for the seven-volume set. We feel it will contribute much to those who are giving of their time to preserve our American way of life as set forth in our Constitution and the Declaration of Independence."

For further information, contact the League at Box 8, Oakley Station, Cincinnati 9, Ohio.

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

FACTS FORUM NEWS

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SEPTEMBER, 1955

Number 8

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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 all views, believing that it is the right and the obligation of the American people themselves to learn all the facts and come to their own conclusions.

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Photo Credit, Page 7: Flag, Underwood & Underwood

ON OUR COVER—The Honorable John J. Sparkman, (D.), distinguished U. S. Senator of Alabama is currently participating in the new Facts Forum radio series with Senator William E. Jenner, (R.), of Indiana.

FACTS FORUM NEWS, September, 1955

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I take time on this Flag Day to express my appreciation in receiving *Facts Forum News*; it is outstanding in its field and I sincerely hope will find its way into every citizen's home.

IRA W. WHITE
1720 Beca St.
Corvallis, Ore.

I am a subscriber to your magazine. I think it should be in every home in America. I shall do my part to help.

MRS. GILBERT A. RALSTON
14305 Huston Street
Sherman Oaks, Calif.

I have been a constant listener to your forum on Radio Station KRTV, Hillsboro, Oregon, and find it very enjoyable and educational.

MR. MERVYN W. JOHNSON
Pacific University, Apt. C-5
Forest Grove, Ore.

I think these polls bring out the opinions of all true lovers of the liberties under the Constitution of the United States.

T. A. GOUGH
2446 E. 6th St.
Montgomery, Ala.

Facts Forum News always publishes the truth about our service men and women that did wonderful work in Korea, the torture and hardship they went through as prisoners of war, and their mistreatment as P.O.W.'s.

VICTOR VICSIK
P. O. Box 1342
Fort Worth, Texas

I wish that your readers who share my high regard for *Facts Forum News* would ask their libraries to subscribe to it. It can be done by either making the request on a slip of paper at the library, or by writing the Chief Librarian.

PATRICIA McDONOUGH
25 Monroe Place
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Facts Forum News has inspired contemplation in me and in many others of my acquaintance on matters we would not perhaps have even considered.

JOHN WATTS
3247 Lawnview
Corpus Christi, Texas

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Russia's Universities of Revolution

by Montgomery M. Green

LT. COMMANDER, U. S. NAVAL RESERVE

PERHAPS the most closely guarded secret of world communism, cut off from view by the Iron Curtain and shrouded in unbelievable security precautions, is the system of colleges for professional revolutionaries that annually turn out thousands of skilled agitators to bedevil the free world. Although this educational program has been in action for thirty years, and has graduated political saboteurs estimated to number a minimum of 100 thousand, its very existence is unknown to most people in the West.

Such Communist cold war leaders as Ho Chi Minh, Klement Gottwald, Josip Broz (Tito), Jomo Kenyatta (head of the Mau Mau) and many more have attended these colleges centered in Moscow. Other Communist big shots from all over the world are known to have lectured at these schools during visits to the U.S.S.R. and to have sat in on numerous conferences with the Kremlin leaders. These foreign visitors have included Mao Tse-tung, Li Li-san and Chu Teh of China, Palmiro Togliatti of Italy, W. Pieck of Germany, Otto Kuusinen of Finland, Earl Browder and William Z. Foster of the U.S.

The reason for the super-secrecy with which these schools have been surrounded is that they constitute the most successful cold war weapon yet developed by world communism. How did the

Chinese Communists learn how to demoralize and disintegrate the superior Nationalist forces and take China with little fighting? How did they know how to organize China in four years to a point where they could fight the United States to a standstill in Korea? Where did they learn the negotiating techniques with which they outwitted first Gen. Marshall, and later our people at Panmunjom? The answer is that for twenty-five years they had been studying these things at the Eastern University, also known as the Institute for the Toilers of the Orient, in Moscow.

Where did the Communist leaders of Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the Balkan countries learn how to purge and keep enslaved these nations that were seized for them by the Red Army? They learned at the International Lenin University or at the Western University in Moscow.

Where did the American Communists learn how to organize fronts to do their bidding? Where did they learn the tricks of propaganda through which they often can induce capitalist newspapers and liberal scientists and scholars to echo their line? They learned all of this at the Lenin University in Moscow.

By the waging of political warfare the Communists have expanded their realm

from less than 200 million people in 1945 to a total of over 800 millions ten years later. Is it any wonder that they do their best to keep these methods secret from their enemies?

Nevertheless, partial information has filtered out. The writer has talked or corresponded with a half-dozen former students of the Lenin School who attended during the early thirties and have long since renounced communism. Additional information has been derived from other sources which will be identified below.

As far as is known by leading authorities on communism in this country no Lenin School students have come forward to reveal their stories in the post-war years. There is evidence, however, that the school program continued until the war, and that it has been resumed since the war.

There are three principal types of schools teaching political or subversive subjects in the Soviet Union. These are, (1) the schools for domestic administration, (2) MVD-MGB or Secret Police schools, and (3) schools of political warfare.

The first of these trains Soviet and satellite bureaucrats and administrators. The second trains saboteurs, terrorists, spies and couriers for foreign operations, and the third specializes in foreign propaganda and organization, or political warfare. The basic difference between the MVD-MGB and the political warfare courses is that the former deals mainly with physical things like assassination, torture, and secret communications, while the latter deals principally with matters of the mind such as theory, agitation, labor union infiltration tactics, and radio and newspaper work.

All three of these types of schools have partially overlapping curricula. Thus, the MGB student learns some Marxist-Leninist theory, while the political warfare schools include some work on secret police subjects and on government administration.

The MGB college at Leningrad usually had 30 per cent Russians and 70 per cent foreigners. Lenin University had 10 per cent Russians, being trained for foreign service, and 90 per cent foreigners.

There are certain other schools about which little is known beyond the fact of their existence. One such, described in the non-fiction writings of Arthur Koestler, is the "Sexpol" which stands for political sex. At this institution students were trained in abnormal sex practices to be used in espionage and political blackmail work.

At the time of the early thirties, which is the period about which we have the most information, the known Soviet political warfare school setup was as follows:

International Lenin University, in Moscow. For students from Western Eu-

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rope, North America, and parts of South America.

② *Eastern University*, in Moscow. For Chinese students, and those from South-east Asian countries.

③ *Western University*, in Moscow. For students from agrarian and semi-agrarian countries; Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the more backward South American countries.

④ *Tiflis*. For students from the Middle East.

⑤ *Tashkent*. For India and South Asia.

⑥ *Krasnoyarsk* (or some nearby city in that part of eastern Siberia). For China, Japan, and Southeast Asia.

⑦ *Academy of Red Professors*, in Moscow. A five- to seven-year course on political warfare and Marxist-Leninist theory for top-hole foreign and Russian theorists. The length of the course of study is most significant since it is equivalent to the training time offered in the West for a scientist or a physician. Most of the faculty members at the Lenin School are "Red Professors."

⑧ *Leningrad and Vladivostok*. MVD-MGB (or G.P.U.) schools. The former for Western and Russian students; the latter for Chinese and Southern Asians and Soviet students from the eastern Asiatic regions of the U.S.S.R.

⑨ *Sverdlovsk University*, at Moscow for training Soviet bureaucrats.

The above is, no doubt, only a partial list of Soviet subversive schools. But the terrifying thing about the picture is that the United States and the rest of the West have no political warfare schools at all! For thirty years the Communists have been training political warfare experts. We have trained none. Is it any wonder we are losing the cold war?

Because Lenin University is the college attended by most American students in the U.S.S.R., there is more information available concerning it than about the others mentioned. There follows an account of the operation of that school drawn from the experiences of three graduates. They are Joseph Zack Kornfeder, an American born in Slovakia; William Odell Nowell, an American Negro, born in Georgia; and John Hladun, a Canadian of Ukrainian extraction from Winnipeg. The origins of these men gives a significant clue to the kinds of minority group citizens on whom the Communists like to work.

Kornfeder was the first of the three to join the party, and the first to go to Moscow for special training. His story helps explain why so many people, uprooted by the first World War, turned to communism. Born in the Austro-Hungarian empire on a tenant farm he went as a child to the slums of postwar Vienna, the same breeding ground for trouble that produced Adolf Hitler. At the age of seventeen he began drifting around



—Wide World Photo
The main building of Moscow's "old" State University on Revolution Square opposite the Kremlin. Now houses what the Soviets call "humanities" studies.

Europe, living on his trade of tailoring, and picking up various languages, German, French, Italian and Spanish. In 1916, already a Socialist, he came to this country and lived in the Yorkville section of New York. In 1919 he joined the newly formed Communist party of the U. S. A. After surviving the customary party feuds and changes of leadership, and achieving the rank of Central Executive committeeman he was selected in 1928 by the Soviet General Gussev, then the resident underground Comintern boss of U. S. communism, to go to Moscow for special political training. He filled the requirements in force at the time by having been a party member for over five years, and being in good health and under 35. Also required was ap-

proval from the American Politburo.

George Minc, a G.P.U. agent, furnished the citizenship papers of one Samuel Fox, and with these and a comrade who signed a false affidavit, Kornfeder obtained a passport in that name. Incidentally, this George Minc was later thought to have played a key role in the assassination of Trotsky and was to achieve additional notoriety when he drunkenly tried to rape a chambermaid in a Copenhagen hotel.

With his false passport and assumed name, Kornfeder sailed on a Hamburg-American liner to Germany. In Berlin the Soviet Consul quickly granted him a visa which was stamped on a separate sheet of paper so that his passport would



—Wide World Photo
Recently-built Moscow University skyscraper, one of a group of structures built on Lenin Hills on the outskirts of Moscow to house scientific and engineering studies.

show no evidence that he had gone to Russia. When the train crossed the Polish-Soviet border under a huge sign reading "Proletarians of the World Unite," the Communists among the passengers ecstatically chanted the "Internationale." Although the towns along the railroad were in advanced stages of decay, and the people ragged and emaciated, the exaltation induced by the approach to Moscow, the Holy City of communism, blotted out these impressions. At the Moscow station he hired a droshky and directed it to 15 Ulitsa Vorovskaya, the address of the Lenin University, where he found that he was expected. He was assigned to a dormitory room along with two Latin Americans and an Irishman.

The university buildings and grounds occupied a square block surrounded by a wooden fence. The main building, which bore no outward sign as to its nature, was the columned former mansion of a ballerina, said to have been the favorite of the Czar. Her bedrooms were now classrooms and her ballroom the lecture hall. The school had opened in 1925, and in 1927 a second building was put up, a six-story brick structure with dormitories upstairs, classrooms, library and offices on the ground floor and a cafeteria in the basement. The dormitory rooms held from two to four beds with straw mattresses over boards. There were central heating, showers, and flush toilets.

The university accommodated 300 students living on campus and 300 more living outside. Ten per cent of the students were women and if a couple could show that they had a liaison before entering the school they were assigned a private room together. (The Western University numbered as many or more students, and the Eastern University, also known as the Institute for the Toilers of the Orient, took up to 1200. The enrollment at the schools in other parts of the U.S.S.R. is not definitely known). The rest of the campus was taken up by a 1½ acre drill ground, and a building for weapons training where uniformed Red Army instructors taught the mechanics of a dozen type of machine guns, and of hand grenades, rifles, pistols and homemade bombs. Off campus there was a shooting range (shared with the G.P.U.) and an abandoned railroad station and siding where lessons were given in derailing trains and exploding locomotive boilers.

Lenin University students were allowed travel expenses to and from Moscow, and 50 rubles (about \$13.00) a month pocket money. Also subsistence allowances were paid to dependents left at home. Much of the 50 rubles went into "voluntary" contributions to various Soviet patriotic causes.

The curriculum was extremely ardu-

ous—to an extent where the students were left little time to circulate among the Russian population. Students were up at 6 a.m. for thirty minutes of calisthenics under a Red Army instructor. Breakfast was at 7 a.m. of black bread and red caviar. Classes were from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. with an hour's break for lunch. Then there was lots of homework for the evenings. On Saturdays classes were out at 3 p.m., but the load of homework allowed little time for outside activity.

There were six-month, one-year, and three-year courses. It was determined during an initial three-month probation period which students were qualified for the longer courses.

Perhaps the most significant thing about this college was the faculty. The regular teachers were mostly Russians with a few Central and Western Europeans. But the special lecturers were the top hierarchy of world communism. Kornfeder heard Stalin lecture once, Molotov three times, military men such as Tuckachevsky, Vasiliev and Budenny; and all of the Comintern brass including Dimitrov, Manuilsky, Kuusinen, Bela Kun, S. Losovsky and Togliatti. There could be no clearer proof than this of the importance of this political warfare college in Soviet eyes.

When a prominent lecturer was talking the entire student body would listen by earphones with simultaneous interpretations. The five languages used were Russian, English, German, French and Spanish. In routine classes, the students were divided up into their language groups with interpreters where needed.

The five principal subjects taught at the Lenin University were:

Leninism. This included conspiratorial operating techniques, agitation and propaganda, and United (Popular) Front strategy.

Party Structure. Organizing for civil war, and the party's function in directing same. Politburo, and district committees. Labor, factory and armed forces fractions and cells; everything modeled on Soviet pattern.

Marxian Economics. Das Kapital, and other textbooks excerpted from Marx and Engels. Some bourgeois economic theory taught for purposes of argument.

History of the Soviet Union. The Socialist movement in Czarist times. Nihilism, Anarchism, Decembrists, 1905 Revolution, and history of the Bolshevik Civil War.

Secondary subjects of instruction were:

Agriculture. The peasant in backward countries.

Labor Union Organization. Strike strategy. Local strikes as the prelude to the general strike and more advanced forms of civil insurrection.

Front Organizations. (How the Com-



—Wide World Photo

Joseph Zack Kornfeder, American graduate of the Lenin School in Moscow, who renounced communism in 1934.

unist tail can wag large segments of the Capitalist dog).

Military Training. Sabotage, guerrilla tactics, bomb-throwing, demolition, weapons handling.

The above has been greatly condensed from notes taken by Kornfeder while at the Lenin University. It may be valuable however to reproduce the following note verbatim:

Precondition for Successful Armed Insurrection:

1. Economic collapse and chaos.
2. Demoralization and dissension in governing circles.
3. Defeat of the government in a foreign war or its inability to keep things going as a result of exhaustion following the war.
4. Ability of the party to take advantage of the situation.

It is submitted that the above is a perfect capsule description of China in 1945. And, thanks to the training received by Chinese Communist party cadres in Soviet schools, the party was able to "take advantage of the situation."

Among the principal textbooks used at the Lenin school were:

On War, by Clausewitz.

Construction of the Red Army During The Revolution, by A. Ousenko.

The Civil War, Military Problems And Civilian, by Bubnov, Kamenev, and Eydeman.

Red Army And Civil War Politics, by S. T. Gussev.

The Class War, by Tuckachevsky.

Civil War Politics And Insurrection, (Excerpts from Lenin's writings).

A glance at this list ought to convince even the most "liberal" educator or gov-

ernment official in the West of the warlike nature of communism.

The formal college course described above does not however present the whole story, since the students were given practical as well as classroom training. As part-time activity the three-year students were attached to various branches of the Comintern or Profintern (Labor International) for work that took precedence over classes. Kornfeder was attached to the Anglo-American secretariat. He and many other students were also encouraged to write for *Pravda* and other official organs and to contribute radio scripts for propaganda broadcasts beamed at the countries of the student's origin. Extra pay was given for this kind of writing.

At the end of the course most students were required to write a thesis, usually on the subject of their home countries as related to some revolutionary theme. But in the cases of certain unusually apt students, private coaching would be substituted. Kornfeder received such coaching from Dmitri Z. Manuisky, then the dean of the college (later Foreign Minister of the Ukraine).

It was during these private talks that Manuisky laid down the dictum on "peace" that recently has had the New York *Daily Worker* in a froth. What Manuisky told Kornfeder was this:

"War to the hilt, between communism and capitalism, is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in twenty or thirty years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The Capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist!"

The New York *Daily News*, alarmed by U. S. acquiescence to the projected Four Power conference "at the summit," wrote an editorial around this Manuisky prediction which had been published in an article in the periodical, *Human Events*, in 1953. The *Daily Worker*, with front page fanfare, challenged the *News* to reveal its source, claiming that the quotation did not appear in the published works of Manuisky in the Library of Congress.

Probably the alleged library research was humbug, as any Communist would know that such a statement would never appear in the exported works of a high Soviet official. At any rate the *News'* chief editorial writer put the *Worker* neatly in its place by suggesting that if

the quotation was missing it no doubt had been removed by "the Ministry of Truth" as in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-four*. The significance of the outburst in the Communist press however is that the Communists are desperately anxious to discredit any intelligence that has leaked out of their revolutionary command center.

Kornfeder had a short private interview with Stalin backstage at the Bolshoi Theater during a ballet. Standing in a little buffet, from which the bartender was dismissed before the conversation began, they talked through an interpreter for a half-hour over black caviar, smorgasbord and vodka. Stalin asked questions about a factional fight in the American Communist party. The impressive thing about the episode is the interest displayed by Stalin in a foreign student and in the politics of the American party.

During his two-month summer vacations Kornfeder traveled in south Russia and the Caucasus with several other students. On one of these trips, while in the Kuban, the students were startled when the local party secretary was killed by a sniper. A few weeks later at Kislovodsk, in a primitive region of the Caucasus, they were awakened in the night by gunfire. In the morning it developed that the resident G.P.U. chief and his No. 2 man had been lured into a mountain ambush and shot. In Moscow Kornfeder reported on his trip to S. Losovsky, a high Comintern official, and described these incidents with some puzzlement. Losovsky at once became very impatient and superior. "You Americans are children in these matters," he snapped. "There is not a single day that from

three to twelve Soviet officials are not assassinated. *The class war is going on all the time.*"

The experiences of John Hladun and William Odell Nowell at Lenin University were roughly parallel to Kornfeder's, though they attended several years later.

Hladun, a Canadian of Ukrainian extraction, was drawn into the party through a Greek church social club that Canadian Communists had penetrated. An interesting facet of his story is that when he sailed for Europe on the way to Moscow he was instructed to talk to fellow passengers in the most reactionary language he could devise.

Another part of his story that also illustrates the precautions taken to keep the Lenin school secret was the handling of his passport. It was taken up by a "special section" of the Comintern upon his arrival, and he was assigned the cover name of John Logan to use while in Moscow. The point was that no student was supposed to know the true names of his classmates. Hladun says that there were 6,000 foreign students being trained when he was in Moscow in 1931.

Nowell is one of the Lenin University Negroes who has long since become an anti-Communist. Others are Leonard Patterson and Manning Johnson, both of whom have testified before congressional committees. Another, Claude Lightfoot, is still a Communist and was recently a defendant in a Smith Act trial, and the object of oceans of crocodile tears in the Communist press.

While at the school, Nowell had the extraordinary gall to buck a pet idea of Comrade Stalin's. This supposedly all-knowing "leader and teacher of the working class" had delivered himself of the brilliant theory that American Negroes must be encouraged toward "nationalism." This meant that, come the revolution in America, there would be established a "black belt" republic comprising all the southeastern states from South Carolina through Texas, the white population to be exterminated or transported to slave labor camps elsewhere. The Negroes in the northern states were to be collected into enclaves apart from the whites so that they could dictate their own affairs.

Nowell, as spokesman for most of the American Negroes then in Moscow, argued that American Negroes were trying to get away from segregation, not exaggerate it, and that therefore this was a poor way to attract them to communism. Needless to say, "the great I Am," Stalin, rejected this heresy. Nowell was lucky to get home alive, and there is evidence that the "black belt" theory is still Kremlin policy. It is also thought that a certain prominent Communist Negro singer has been promised the Commissarship of such a black "Soviet Socialist Republic"



—Wide World Photo

William C. Nowell, American Negro who attended Lenin University, testified as a prosecution witness in the Communist conspiracy trial that a 1930 Communist party convention supported setting up a Negro nation in the U. S. He also told of Red activities in the labor movement.

(with the West Indies thrown in as a sweetener).

Another cheering revolt by Negro Americans against Soviet dogma happened somewhat earlier. On the assumption that American Negroes were an exploited Colonial class, they were assigned not to Lenin University, but to the Institute for the Toilers of the Orient. The living conditions among the Orientals, the skimpy food, the bug-ridden barracks, were so far below the standard of the American Negroes, that they staged a strike, perhaps the only successful one in Soviet history, and were reassigned to the Lenin University.

Some of the students who were sent to Lenin University for the short course after 1930 had only nominal experience in the Communist party. This relaxation of entrance requirements, it is assumed, was due to the coming of the depression and a Soviet belief that the time for revolution was near. It was largely these short term, depression-motivated Communists who later broke away and told the story of their revolutionary schooling.

The writer interviewed one such former student, a man of Slavic origin, who now is a successful small businessman in Pittsburgh, and whose name is omitted for that reason. When sent to Moscow, he was 20 years old and had only a little secondary education. When interviewed he gave the impression of being not very interested in politics. Probably the party considered him worth the trip to Moscow because he belonged to a minority group and because he was a steelworker and thus inside a key industry.

At any rate the period of quick and comparatively nonselective training at Lenin University seems to have ended in 1933 when this country recognized the Soviet Union. Part of that deal was that Russia would cease trying to subvert our government. Of course the Soviets had not the slightest notion of keeping the agreement, but the occasion did cause them to tighten security, at least where American students were concerned, and the school was moved out of Moscow so that foreigners in the capital could no longer see it. The new site, housing the entire Comintern, was some 20 miles southeast of Moscow deep in the forest on a side road off a main highway. Igor Bogolepov, a former Soviet Foreign Office counsellor who escaped to the West, visited the place in early 1940. He describes it as surrounded by a high wooden fence enclosing an area of at least a square mile. The single gate was flanked by guard towers, and the security check upon entering unusually strict. At the rear of the compound were two large one-story buildings housing Comintern offices and classrooms. The remainder of the area was taken up with a central parade ground, surrounded by two-story

barracks in diagonally slanted rows. Eudocio Ravines, a Peruvian ex-Communist, also describes a visit to this Comintern center in 1938 in his book *The Yen-an Way*.

Incidentally, Ravines was the recipient in 1934 of the type of special revolutionary training given to foreign Communist leaders considered too important and busy to go through one of the colleges. His teachers were Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh and Li Li-san, top Chinese Communists, who were quartered in a dacha several miles outside Moscow where their presence could not be detected by Western diplomats or newsmen. The latter precaution was of the greatest assistance to Left Wingers in the United States and elsewhere who were still claiming as late as 1949 that the Chinese Communists had no connection whatever with the Soviet Union. These Chinese worthies coached Ravines for two weeks on how to set up a "popular front" movement, which he later succeeded in doing in Chile.

There is evidence that Lenin University was in business up to the beginning of the war. John Lautner, an important U. S. Communist who left the party since the war, states that to his personal knowledge American students were sent to Moscow as late as 1937. This means that the three-year students would have stayed into 1940.

However, the school was definitely closed when the Soviet Union was invaded in 1941. Bogolepov tells of meeting several faculty members on a train to Tashkent in that year. Since Tashkent is the site of a political warfare college for Indians and others it seems possible that at least this outlying institution stayed open through the war, but this is conjecture.

It is known, however, that many Comintern personnel were utilized during the war for training prisoners of war. Heinrich von Einsiedel, a grandson of Bismarck and an ace German fighter pilot, bears witness to this. In his book, *I Joined The Russians*, he tells of the "Na-

tional Committee for Free Germany and League of German Officers" which he joined after being shot down at Stalingrad. The supposed leaders of this not very successful committee were high-ranking German generals, but it was actually organized and run by German Comintern leaders Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbrecht and Otto Braun.

Since Hungarians, Rumanians, Italians, Spaniards, and Finns also fought on the eastern front, it is likely that other Comintern personnel from Lenin University also worked on prisoners of those nationalities.

Since the war the secrecy cloaking these schools has been very dense. We know that Americans are being sent for short term training to Prague, Czechoslovakia. Matt Cvetic, former F.B.I. counterspy in the Pittsburgh area, described to the writer the "holier-than-thou" air about the returning students. Whether this sort of decentralization has diminished the importance of the Moscow-situated schools we do not know. We do know that the Soviets officially "abolished" the Comintern in 1943 as a gesture in return for American war materials. This was *strictly* a gesture however, and the functions of the once semi-autonomous Comintern were merely attached to the Kremlin apparatus.

The only logical conclusion that can be drawn from the entire picture is that such a successful operation must be continuing. To date our reaction to the Kremlin's political warfare offensive, staffed by these Moscow-trained shock troops, has been about as effective as spears against tanks, or bows and arrows against airplanes.

Let us hope devoutly that the recently proposed three-billion-dollar-a-year "Sarnoff Plan," which includes an American political warfare training program for a cold war counterattack against communism, will be adopted by President Eisenhower, and that it will reverse the tide that so long has run against the cause of freedom.

One From One Leaves Two*

by OGDEN NASH

*Higgledy piggledy, my black hen,
She lays eggs for gentlemen.
Gentlemen come every day
To count what my black hen doth lay.
If perchance she lays too many,
They fine my hen a pretty penny;
If perchance she fails to lay
The gentlemen a bonus pay.*

*Mumbledy pumbledy, my red cow,
She's cooperating now.
At first she didn't understand
That milk production must be planned;
She didn't understand at first
She either had to plan or burst,
But now, the Government reports,
She's giving pints instead of quarts.*

*Fiddle-de-dee, my next-door neighbors,
They are giggling at their labors.
First they plant the tiny seed,
Then they water, then they weed,
Then they hoe and prune and lop,
Then they raise a record crop,
Then they laugh their sides asunder,
And plow the whole kaboodle under.*

*Abacadabra, thus we learn
The more you create, the less you earn,
The less you earn, the more you're given,
The less you lead, the more you're driven.
The more destroyed, the more they feed,
The more you pay, the more they need,
The more you earn, the less you keep,
And now I lay me down to sleep.*

*Included in the address given by J. Howard Pew at the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense in Washington and reprinted by *Guardians Of Our American Heritage*.



The FLAG of The UNITED STATES of America

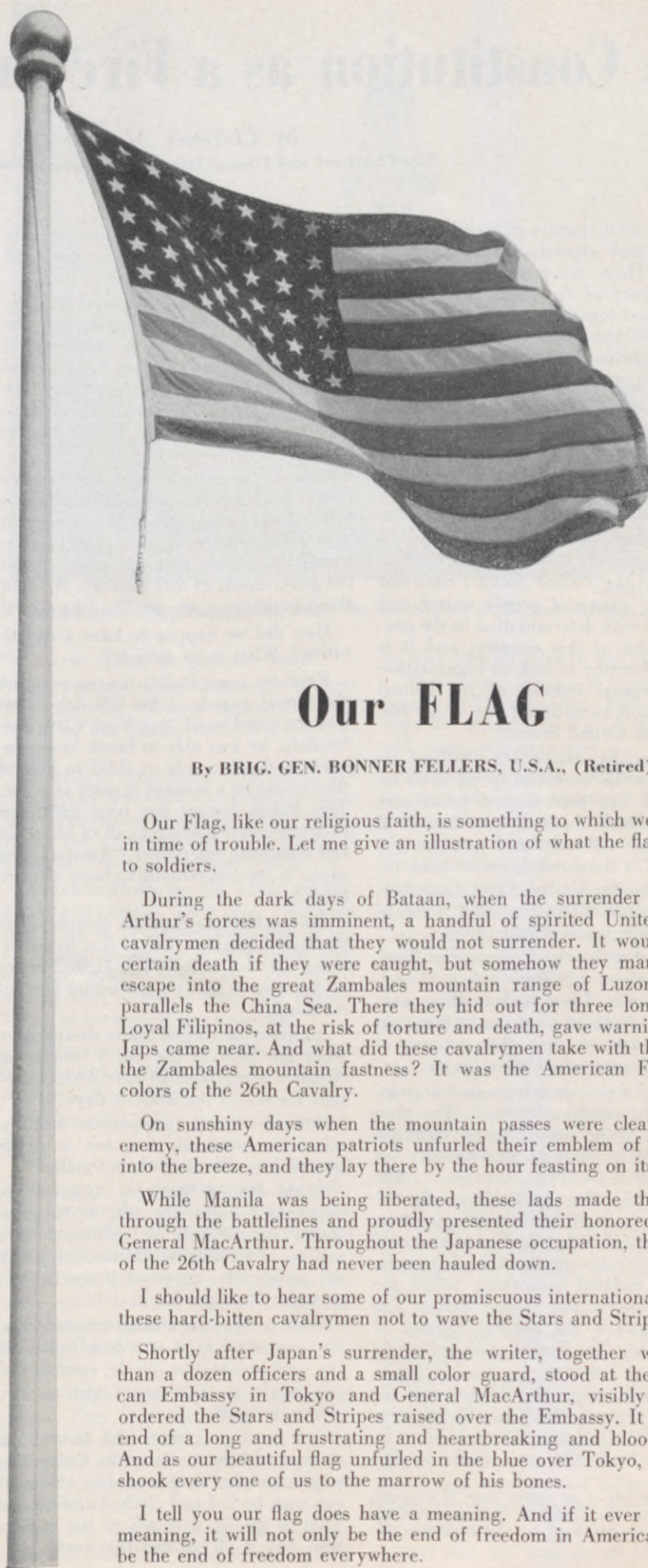
By LLOYD AND LEILA WHITNEY

It has been well called the "Flag of the Rainbow, Banner of Stars" because it has been the symbol of a dynamic people who pinned their hope on faith, and hitched their wagon to a star.

But the American Flag is more than this, for of all the flags since the world began, there is none so full of meaning as the Stars and Stripes. It embodies and enshrines five thousand years of man's upward struggle for liberty.

It is the Pilgrims dying in that first dreadful winter at Plymouth. It is the Minute Man holding his ground at Concord and Lexington. It is Washington and his army at Valley Forge, sick, starving, and freezing in rags. It is Washington, Jefferson and Franklin at Philadelphia in their common desire to promote and protect the welfare of every man. It is John Marshall laboring as Chief Justice to establish this government of laws. It is Abraham Lincoln brooding over a broken and divided nation, with charity for all.

It is the courage and perseverance of the early settler, who, with only his bare hands and a few crude tools, hacked his way through the primeval forests of New England, pioneering his way across the Alleghenies and Appalachians, into the Great Plain, and across the greater Rockies, until there stood forth a mighty nation built by personal initiative,—a friendly challenge to the world; a monument to what free men can accomplish; a tribute to the American form of government that, in its inception, gave first consideration to the individuality of man, his hunger for freedom, his faith in himself and his God, and his desire for the expression of this divinely endowed impulse.



Our FLAG

By BRIG. GEN. BONNER FELLERS, U.S.A., (Retired)

Our Flag, like our religious faith, is something to which we all turn in time of trouble. Let me give an illustration of what the flag means to soldiers.

During the dark days of Bataan, when the surrender of MacArthur's forces was imminent, a handful of spirited United States cavalymen decided that they would not surrender. It would mean certain death if they were caught, but somehow they managed to escape into the great Zambales mountain range of Luzon, which parallels the China Sea. There they hid out for three long years. Loyal Filipinos, at the risk of torture and death, gave warning when Japs came near. And what did these cavalymen take with them into the Zambales mountain fastness? It was the American Flag—the colors of the 26th Cavalry.

On sunshiny days when the mountain passes were clear of the enemy, these American patriots unfurled their emblem of freedom into the breeze, and they lay there by the hour feasting on its glory.

While Manila was being liberated, these lads made their way through the battlelines and proudly presented their honored flag to General MacArthur. Throughout the Japanese occupation, the colors of the 26th Cavalry had never been hauled down.

I should like to hear some of our promiscuous internationalists tell these hard-bitten cavalymen not to wave the Stars and Stripes!

Shortly after Japan's surrender, the writer, together with less than a dozen officers and a small color guard, stood at the American Embassy in Tokyo and General MacArthur, visibly moved, ordered the Stars and Stripes raised over the Embassy. It was the end of a long and frustrating and heartbreaking and bloody trail. And as our beautiful flag unfurled in the blue over Tokyo, emotion shook every one of us to the marrow of his bones.

I tell you our flag does have a meaning. And if it ever loses its meaning, it will not only be the end of freedom in America, it will be the end of freedom everywhere.



The Constitution as a Fire Insurance Policy

by Clarence Manion

Noted Lecturer and Former Dean, Notre Dame School of Law

WE live in a country of tightly-organized and expertly-directed special interests. There has never been a time in the history of the world when there was grouped together in one country so many well-financed, well-oriented, and tightly-organized special interests of men and women, and all of these special interests know what they want.

The farmers in Seattle knew what they wanted and they resolved in favor of it. The doctors in Chicago knew what they wanted and they resolved in favor of it. And so did the brewers at New Orleans and the manufacturers in Boston, and so all over the country.

In all of the United States I have not found any group of people united and organized with determination in the general interest of this country, and it is precisely because of lack of organization in the general interest of the United States that it is critically late in the history of the United States.

Occasionally, there are chilling reminders in the headlines in the news accounts. It has been several years now since you read about the government of Guatemala, suddenly and peremptorily seizing 230 thousand acres of land belonging to the United Fruit Company. Two hundred thirty thousand acres of land is quite a gob of geography.

Now, what did the United Fruit Company do about it? They didn't do anything about it. There isn't anything anybody can do about a seizure of that type in Guatemala or any other country of the world except the United States.

We had a similar seizure in this country a few months afterward. The then President of the United States seized the steel mills in what he undoubtedly believed was a justifying emergency. The case went to the court. Ultimately the Supreme Court of the United States quite casually decided that the President would have to give the property back because he had violated something called the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution is the general interest of this country. The Constitution is the real business of the farmers, the merchants, the manufacturers, the doctors and the lawyers. If there wasn't any Constitution of the United States, there wouldn't be a farmer in Seattle, or a doctor in Chi-

cago — there wouldn't be any private business in this country. We would all be working for the state.

The Constitution of this country is the difference between Guatemala and the United States. That is the measure of difference between the Iron Curtain and the free world. And there isn't any free world outside of the geographical limitations of our country. Please understand that.

And the thing that makes our country free is not its geography, not its glorious history, not its traditions. The thing that makes the country free is the constitutional limitations that are placed upon the government of this country. Without those limitations, we would all be slaves.

How did we happen to have a constitution? What is its genesis?

Recently some Polish lawyer ran past the armed guards of his UN delegation into the freedom of New York City. Fortunately, he was able to break loose, because he had no wife or child in Poland who would be a hostage in such an event. This Polish lawyer has been telling us ever since as a preface to all of his radio and television interviews, "America," he says, "is the last remaining hope of mankind."

Do we have to have an escapee from the Iron Curtain to tell us that to underscore the fact of it? "The United States of America is the last remaining hope of mankind."

Suppose the United States disappeared from the face of the earth tonight as Atlantis is supposed to have disappeared into the sea in the ancient days?

Atlantis was a prosperous, healthy, scientific continent, too, but it disappeared from the face of the earth.

If the United States of America disappeared tonight, the rest of mankind would immediately be subjected to a torture so terrible, so demoralizing that the people who survived it would envy us who didn't survive it.

That is what the United States means. As long as we exist as a free, independent, and prosperous people, communism can attain no permanent victory anywhere on earth.

Let me repeat that. The fact of our existence gives the lie to the Communist pretension that only in a state of slavery can men be fed and clothed and housed. That is the lie they sell to the millions who buy it all around the world.

Well, as long as people live in a free, prosperous, strong, and independent United States of America, the world can look and see in us the refutation of the Communist claim.

And so I tell you that we have a moral obligation, not only to our children, but to our brothers and sisters around the world, to keep the United States free and strong and independent. We need, in other words, to reindulge in our minds and to reestablish in our vocabularies the word and the meaning of American patriotism. That word has dropped out of America's lexicon.

It needs to be revived, because American patriotism is the best hope of the world, just as America's security and independence are the best hope of the world.

The United States of America to which the world looks hopefully and enviously is the incarnation of four basic facts, and here is where our education has fallen down. I don't mean education merely on the campus. I mean the adult education that ought to be going on all the time.

America, through our dereliction, and perhaps through our forgetfulness, has forgotten the four basic facts upon which the whole glory, grandeur, and future of this country logically swing.

What are the four facts of American life? Well, it so happens that they were spoken with the first breath of the new life of the republic. There was a time when the United States was not the hope and the envy of the world at all. There was a time when the United States was a vacant lot and on to that space came a group of determined, patriotic men, men who were passionately devoted to liberty and independence. There on the vacant lot that was America in 1776, these men wrote a document called The Declaration of American Independence.

As a matter of fact, "independence" was the last and least important thing declared in that document. They didn't call it a "declaration of independence." They called it a "declaration," and they began that declaration with a ringing statement of truth, of fact. They called them self-evident truths, and there were just four of them. I tell you that when those four basic facts are denied, doubted, or discounted, America will collapse, definitely, whether we are overrun militarily or not.

"We hold this truth to be self-evident,"

*This article is an edited copy of a speech given before the Louisiana State Bar Association and copyrighted by the *Louisiana Bar Journal*.

they said. Fact No. 1: "That all men are created." There is a God, in other words. God is the No. 1 fact of American life. God exists; not as a matter of faith, if you please, but as a matter of fact. Now, that is a stipulation that goes into every lawsuit that is tried in this country, every right that is protected. The fact of God is stipulated in the Declaration of Independence.

No. 2. "We hold this truth to be self-evident," they said. This is a fact: "That all men are created equal." Note that precise expression, "created equal"; human equality.

That is the most bedeviling phrase in anybody's language. The Russians are selling a brand of human equality around the world and people are buying it by the millions under the false pretense that everybody can be made equal to just anybody else. They like that idea.

What is the fact about human equality? Here is the stipulation, here in the Declaration of Independence, it says that all men are created equal. All men are equal in God's sight, in other words; and for that reason, they are equal before the law of the land, because if I have learned anything about the law of the land in my brush with it for many years, I have concluded that the law of this land, if it is any law at all, is merely a projection of the law of God. Equality before God and equality before the law, and beyond that inequality in every conceivable way. That is the stipulation of fact in the Declaration of Independence.

The inequality of human nature is provisionally designed; it is not accidental. It is a part of the natural law.

The stipulation of this fact in the Declaration of Independence has a significance that all of us have overlooked for years. Here is the refutation of the Socialist-Communist contention, and here is one of the cornerstones of the republic, and then you skip on to the other stipulation: human rights.

They have been wrestling with an international covenant in the UN ever since they got together. What rights men have, so on, and so forth.

Well, the Founding Fathers disposed of that. Factually, for the record and for posterity, they said, "We hold this truth to be self-evident."

No. 3: That all men are endowed, not by the state or the Constitution or the Bill of Rights. All men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; by their Creator, by God. And amongst these is life and liberty. It is significant that life and liberty are spelled out. It is significant here that life is just as important as liberty, and liberty is just as important as life in this document.

You recall an important time in American history when Patrick Henry said,



—Wide World Photo

Independence Hall, Philadelphia, where the Constitution of the United States was framed.

"Give me liberty or give me death."

He was not being oratorical; he was being factual. He was speaking in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence.

Liberty is important. You can't sell liberty any more than you can sell your life. Liberty can't be swapped for security or for anything else. It is a gift of God that needs to be preserved.

And then finally the No. 4 fact, the fact about government. They said, "We hold this truth to be self-evident, that to secure these rights, to protect these gifts of God, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Government, in other words, is what? Government is man's agent for the protection of God's gifts.

Government, not a master, but a servant.

Why is it a servant? Because we like it that way? It is a servant, logically and inexorably, from the fact of the matter. The fact of God puts government down into subordinate service.

If it wasn't for the fact of God, government would be God, without limitation, and that is why every tyranny that ever stalked the earth is godless and materialistic.

You think these are religious arguments. They are not. They are legal arguments. There isn't any basis for the protection of human rights except the fact of God, the subordination of government.

How are you going to keep government subordinated? How are you going

to keep this monster in subjection?

They knew it was a monster; they feared it. The Founding Fathers of this republic shook with fear at the thought and sight of government.

Washington had a word for it. Washington said that government is like fire, a dangerous servant, a fearful master. Government was never more accurately described than that.

I remember it well, because in the fifth grade I had to write it 500 times. I have forgotten what I did to earn the penance, but I will never forget what I wrote, and I wish my children had to write it 5,000 times: "Government, like fire, is a dangerous servant and a fearful master."

It is precisely like fire. The Founding Fathers knew it. They had seen the fire of government sweep back and forth across the human race for 6,000 years, burning the God-given rights of man to a crisp at least once in every generation.

They resolved that it wouldn't happen in America, and so they took this fire which they lighted in the Declaration of Independence, and they tied it down behind iron walls and barbed wire entanglements. They encased it; they disbursed it; they checked and balanced it. They took the fire and distributed it through the towns and cities and parishes of the states. They took a little bit of the fire, a very little bit, and put it in a place called Washington, D. C.; and wherever they put the fire of government, they checked and balanced it between the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary.

And why did they do all this? They

did it to prevent the fire from concentrating, from coming together and making a destructive conflagration. That is the rationale of the check and balance system.

And what is our Constitution, then? Our Constitution is a fire insurance policy to protect us from being destroyed by a conflagration which inevitably results when fire gets together and gets out of control.

What do you visualize when you see the distribution of these fires? What constitutional doctrine does it epitomize? The constitutional doctrine of states' rights.

And what is the modern application of states' rights today in a cold war? Can the Communists conspire to grab a government where the powers are distributed in that manner? They cannot.

Back in 1912, Woodrow Wilson said that a concentration of governmental power is what always precedes the death of human freedom.

"Bring the powers of government together," he said, "all in one place, and human freedom is dead."

And today at this critically late hour in our history, the Communists say, "A concentration of governmental power is what must precede the death of human freedom," and they prove it. They have proved it fifteen times in fifteen European countries.

How did they capture Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia? Did they capture them by dropping bombs and marching men? Oh, no. They captured those countries first by concentrating the power of police, concentrating power over elections, concentrating power over land; and once the power over the land, the elections, and the police were conveniently brought together in one place, that power was grabbed by the Communists through conspiracy from the inside, and the country was communized without firing a shot.

Now, after having tried the experiment fifteen times, successively and successfully, why should they abandon it here?

They won't abandon it here. We will have to prepare ourselves against the possibility of a military attack, but we must also arm ourselves against the sneak play that has been effective in every country that the Communists have captured since the end of World War II.

What is our best protection against the concentration of power which will be the prelude to the Communist conquest? States rights, constitutional states rights, the distribution of powers throughout the forty-eight states of the Union. Constitutional states rights is your best defense against communism.

I was told that the greatest frustra-

tion that the Communist conspirator finds in this country is the Constitution of the United States. Not the FBI, not the Pentagon; the Constitution.

Why? Because when the Communist looks for the centralized power over the police, he can't find it. It is in forty-eight states of the Union. When he looks for centralized control over the ballot box, he can't find it.

The Founding Fathers have distributed it in forty-eight states of the Union. When he looks for centralized control over the land, the prelude to the redistribution of the land from the kulaks to the peasant, he can't find it.

The Founding Fathers have put control of the land in the forty-eight states of the Union. We didn't do it. The Founding Fathers did it.

And so it is with education; so it is with agriculture; and so it is with health and human welfare. All of these things are reserved under the tenth article of the Bill of Rights to the states and to the people.

What is liberty? Liberty is the limitation of government.

What is tyranny? Tyranny is unlimited government. That is the way to define liberty and tyranny, and you can prove it quite definitely. The government of Russia is without limit. The government of Germany under Hitler was without any limitation, whatsoever. The government of Mussolini and his Fascist state was without any legal limitation, whatsoever. The government of the United States has imposed upon it a limitation prescribed by the Constitution "thus far and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." Every man is limited by law in this country and every governmental agency and every governmental agent is likewise limited by law.

Why? Because freedom is an inalienable God-given right, and freedom is defined in the words, "governmental limitations."

Communism is unlimited, concentrated governmental power; and where governmental power is concentrated and unlimited, nobody is free.

We may defeat communism in Indochina. We may throw it back militarily in Korea, and we may help suppress it in Europe, but if at the same time we pay for it the price of unlimited, concentrated governmental power in America, we have lost the battle while our backs were turned. Don't think the Communists do not know the weak side in our line. That is the hole through which they crawled in fifteen countries.

Who is going to keep governmental power limited and unconcentrated?

Ask yourselves that question, fellow Americans. Then, God helping you, you will shed your apathy and complacency.

Again we are asked
Do we need . . .

The B

SEN. JOHN W. BRICKER of Ohio

"... the power of the administration has been growing at such a rapid pace recently that their influence over legislation is greater than possibly it's ever been in the past, or was contemplated in the original Constitution."

SEN. HERBERT H. LEHMAN of New York:

"It strikes me as wholly illogical to claim that a treaty might stand above the Constitution, when we know that, as internal law, a treaty can be overridden by legislation which must be subject to the Constitution."

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
Secretary of State:

"No limitations upon the treaty-making powers are explicitly defined in the Constitution or decisions of the Supreme Court. But the treaty-making power is not an unlimited power. All of the Supreme Court cases which deal with the subject are uniform to that effect."

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT?



FOR

Senator Bricker Interviewed on Facts Forum's Reporters' Roundup

Senator John W. Bricker, sponsor and author of the Bricker Constitutional Amendment, was questioned recently on "Reporters' Roundup" by a panel of well-known and able reporters: Mr. L. Edgar Prina of the *Washington Evening Star*; and Jack Doherty of the *New York Daily News*. Mr. Robert F. Hurleigh, nationwide news commentator and Director of Mutual Broadcasting System's Washington operations, served as moderator.

PRINA: Senator, will you state briefly the aim of the proposed Bricker Amendment to the Constitution of the United States?

BRICKER: It's very simple. The first section of the Amendment would prevent any treaty or international agreement from violating any of the terms of the Constitution. The second section would prevent treaties and international agreements entered into by the President and foreign powers from becoming internal law except through action of the Congress, and if they affected the rights of the states, through the action by the state legislatures. The third section would require a roll call vote of the Senate before the ratification of a treaty submitted by the President.

PRINA: I see, Senator, many of the proponents of the Amendment say that it would reduce or prevent the abuse of the treaty-making power. Now can you point to any abuse of this power by a President in the last four years, or since you first introduced the Bricker Amendment?

BRICKER: They have been very careful not to send any amendments down, within recent months anyway, that would violate the principle of the Amendment. There was one last year—that was the treaty with Israel which would have permitted professionals to practice in this country without regard to alienage, which would have set aside the constitutions of many of the states which require citizenship for doctors and lawyers, and set aside the laws of many more states which have the same requirements in them. For instance, to illustrate, if that treaty had also carried a provision to the effect that one who had been admitted to the practice of the professions in that country could likewise practice in this country without educational requirements or examination, that would have set aside likewise state laws and state constitutions, and that was admitted by Dean Griswold of Harvard in his cross-examination in the hearings.

PRINA: I see, Senator, but can you point to one treaty, say in the last four years, which in your opinion would not have been concluded and approved by the Senate if there had been a Bricker Amendment?

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AGAINST

Senator Lehman Expresses His Views Before U. S. Senate

Our Constitution has been in effect 165 years, and during that long period it has been amended on only thirteen separate occasions. In only one instance was a constitutional amendment which had been approved ever repealed. That was the prohibition amendment, which had been enacted in haste and under the pressure of propaganda, and was repealed only after a debate which deeply divided the country and detracted the attention of the public from much more vital and basic issues of the time.

Our Constitution has now worked well for 165 years, and has been an effective document for the protection of the freedoms and liberties of the American people. There have been very few instances where there has been any occasion for the people or for any states to claim that their rights have been abridged by reason of the treaty-making power of the United States. That record is a rather good one.

WARNS AGAINST HASTY ACTION

So I warn the Senate against hastily approving, on an emotional basis, anything so fundamental as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Once approved and ratified, should it later develop to have been an unwise undertaking, it would be a difficult thing to undo. Let us consider carefully and soberly what it is proposed that we do. I hope we do not do it; in fact, I am very confident we will not do it.

I am convinced that the supremacy of the Constitution over treaties and executive agreements, if necessary to be reaffirmed at all, and their relationship to internal law, should be reaffirmed and clarified at this time by joint resolution, rather than by amending the Constitution.

If there were, in fact, any substantial question as to the supremacy of the Constitution, a constitutional amendment would be not only appropriate but imperative. But in a situation like the one actually before us, where there is no sound ground for doubting the supremacy of the Constitution, an amendment of the Constitution would create more confusion and uncertainty than it could conceivably remove.

In actual practice, we know from our recent experience that the Congress has not been indifferent to the consequences of Supreme Court decisions. Within the past decade the effects of Supreme Court decisions have been remedied on at least four occasions. Congress provided for state regulation of the insurance business, after the Supreme Court had held it subject to the federal antitrust laws; the claims for portal-to-portal pay were extinguished by act of Congress

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Senator Bricker Interview

(Continued from Page 11)

BRICKER: That would not have been approved? Yes—Genocide is over in the Foreign Relations Committee now. The Covenant of Human Rights no doubt would have been submitted long ago, because the State Department and the President have stated that they were in favor of it. There are many other ILO Conventions that have been entered into that have been submitted to this country to be submitted to the Senate for ratification.

PRINA: Yes, but Senator, what I was getting at—don't you think the two-thirds rule, the two-thirds of the Senators present procedure, would have stopped such treaties?

BRICKER: Far from it. I think if it hadn't been that this amendment had been submitted and so much attention given to it by the members of the Senate and by the public generally throughout this country, many of them no doubt would have passed without any reservation. You remember that the Senate in the treaty with Israel which I mentioned a moment ago did put in reservations protecting the rights of the states in their constitutions and in their state laws as to citizenship, realizing always that a lawyer has to take an oath of obligation. He is really an officer of the court. In fact, he has to be a citizen of this country and pledge allegiance to our constitutional system of government.

PRINA: Senator, Secretary of State Dulles before he became Secretary of State said that there has been a trend toward trying to use the treaty-making power to effect international social changes. Do you believe this is true, and if so, can you cite any examples?

BRICKER: Oh, I know it's true. The specialized agencies of the United Nations, which are acting independently of course, have drafted between one hundred and two hundred treaties to be submitted to the United States which would affect the internal laws of this country, and Mr. Humphries, who was the manager or the administrative secretary of that first commission, said very definitely that what we are trying to do is something revolutionary. Heretofore the rights of a citizen within his country have been his rights in relation to his own government, and determined internally, while what we are trying to do is revolutionary, in applying international law to the citizens of the various countries that are participants to these treaties.

DOHERTY: Senator Bricker, if your amendment became the law of the land—would that affect our relationship within the United Nations?

BRICKER: It is not intended to. We would still be a member of the United Nations, and it wouldn't affect our par-

ticipation there at all. That's a compact of the nations, an agreement, a treaty—it is not a government in any way, shape or form, and our internal relations in this country, the laws of the United States and the various states of the Union are no matters for the United Nations to consider. In fact, the Charter itself says, in Article II, Paragraph 7, that this shall not affect the internal affairs or the domestic affairs of the participating countries, and it wouldn't have been ratified had that not been in there. Secretary Stettinius, you remember, sent a letter to the Senate confirming that, saying that in no way would it ever be used to interfere with the domestic matters of the participating countries. No sooner was the ink dry on the parchment than these specialized agencies that have been set up set about their task of drafting treaties which under our peculiar phrasing in the Constitution do become the supreme law of the land, and as Mr. Dulles said, very definitely and rightfully, in his speech to the American Bar at Louisville, that is a very dangerous power. Treaty law is superior to congressional law because congressional law has to comply with the terms of the Constitution; treaty law does not. He said that a treaty can transfer powers from the states to the Congress, from the Congress to the President, or to some international authority. They can cut across the rights given to the people in the Bill of Rights and set aside the provisions of the Constitution.

PRINA: Well, Senator, couldn't the Congress simply by passing another law supersede the action of a treaty?

BRICKER: In domestic affairs they could if they wanted to violate the terms of the treaty. I think that has been sustained by the Supreme Court. What they will do in the future nobody knows under the present wording of the Constitution, but if they could, it would then take to override the veto of the President two-thirds of the Senate and two-thirds of the House, and it took two-thirds of the Senate to get the treaty adopted; therefore, it would be very difficult to get two-thirds of the Senate to override a veto of the President, or even two-thirds of the House if the House were narrowly divided, because the power of the administration has been growing at such a rapid pace recently that their influence over legislation is greater than possibly it's ever been in the past, or was contemplated in the original Constitution.

PRINA: Approval of a treaty takes two-thirds of those present—it doesn't take two-thirds of the Senate.

BRICKER: There have been treaties ratified with two or three people on the

floor. I remember three that were ratified when I was in the chair one day when only six members were on the floor.

PRINA: Senator Bricker, is it true that the United States is one of the very few nations where a treaty can change purely domestic rights and duties without the approval of the national legislature?

BRICKER: Yes. Most other nations of the world have to have parliamentary or congressional action, whatever you might call it, before a treaty becomes domestic law. That's true in England, true in Canada, it's true in Germany—all the great countries in the world, and in a modified form in France, Mexico, Cuba and the Philippine Islands.

PRINA: Do you think then that is the answer to the opponents of the Amendment who say that such an amendment would completely hamstring the conduct of foreign affairs?

BRICKER: That is not only the answer, but our Constitution is stronger than any other, even including those I have mentioned—in making a treaty the supreme law of the land domestically.

PRINA: Well there is also this to consider in that connection, is there not, that the Supreme Court has ruled no treaty may entail anything forbidden by the Constitution.

BRICKER: Years ago there were decisions to that effect, and in the last century there were a lot of decisions to the effect that a treaty could not set aside the provisions of the Constitution. That has all been outlawed now, and the rule has been changed entirely in Missouri against Holland and in subsequent cases—in the Curtiss Wright case, for instance—and the Supreme Court has never held unconstitutional a provision of any treaty for the simple reason that the Supreme Court has said time and time again these are political matters and the Supreme Court doesn't enter into them; but in the Missouri against Holland case Justice Holmes wrote an opinion in which he said that a treaty doesn't have to comply with the Constitution, and it did set aside Article 10 of the Constitution.

PRINA: Oh, I don't say comply with it, but it can't allow something that is expressly forbidden by the Constitution.

BRICKER: Well, it did in that case.

PRINA: Do you think that the Migratory Bird case did that?

BRICKER: In that case it did. Powers were reserved to the states under the Tenth Amendment. And the Supreme Court in the decision said very definitely that under a treaty you transfer those powers from the states to the Congress, and they upheld the act of Congress which had been denied before the treaty was in existence. Now it wasn't necessary—I grant you it's a very fuzzy opinion, and in my judgment it isn't a sound opinion, but that's the law of the land and it has been followed up since that time in other cases, and further than that—the Supreme Court held that the so-

The Bricker Constitutional Amendment failed by only one vote to get the required two-thirds majority when last considered in Congress. Now, for the third time, United States Senator John W. Bricker, Republican of Ohio, has proposed a constitutional amendment which would provide that no treaties or international executive agreements with foreign powers become domestic law in the United States without prior approval of Congress. Critics contend that the Bricker Amendment would be an invasion of the powers of the executive branch and would hinder the President in foreign relations. Senator Bricker and those supporting his amendment feel that they are in a stronger position in view of the recent revelations in the publication of the Yalta Papers of President Roosevelt's secret agreements with Stalin. Supporters say, too, the Bricker Amendment is designed to protect the United States from any peculiar pacts passed by the United Nations.

called Litvinoff Assignments of Russian insurance funds could be effective without ratification by the Senate. In other words, an executive agreement becomes of the same status of a treaty, the supreme law of the land, and did transfer those funds and did violate the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibits the federal government from taking property without due process of law.

DOHERTY: Senator, as a matter of cold turkey politics, there isn't much time left in this session of Congress, certainly, for consideration of your amendment.

BRICKER: Well, nobody knows how much time is left in this session of the Congress. Of course, if it is on the calendar it will be up next year. The end of this session does not kill legislation at the end of the session. I am very hopeful that it can be passed upon this year. If not, and the leadership will not bring it up for one reason or another—and I don't know what that reason might be because I think it's the most important thing we have got outside of keeping the government going by appropriations—if they do not bring it up I certainly shall push to get it up first thing next year so as to give the House time to pass upon it next year.

DOHERTY: Well, Senator, in case it does come up next year, mightn't it get all confused and mixed up in the big political battle for control of the White House in 1956?

BRICKER: Oh, you don't know what it will get confused in. The issues are very clear-cut. The opposition is pretty well defined now. We know what it is and where it comes from.

DOHERTY: Some of it comes from the White House.

BRICKER: Some of it has in the past. The President has now said that he is not opposed to an amendment which would prohibit a treaty or international agreement from violating any terms of the Constitution, and Mr. Dulles also testified, as you remember, in the hearing to the effect that he did not want the President to have, and I am quite confident the President himself does not want the President to have, power to make law

individually for the people of this country. Those are the two most important parts. Now if we get the third section, which requires a roll call vote, and that means a quorum before the vote is taken, you have some additional protection there also on the matter of treaties.

PRINA: Is there any sort of compromise that might be worked out between you and the administration?

BRICKER: It may be. I have always been willing to compromise. I worked on it, a year or, you remember, two years ago very diligently to get something that would be satisfactory to the people downtown. The fact is that this is a legislative matter. It's a matter for the Congress under the Constitution—the President doesn't sign it; he can't veto it. Now the President has a perfect right to say, if it affects his position, what that effect will be. I have felt time and time again that the White House has gone too far in its opposition by having personal contact with Senators in order to determine what their vote might be. I have had no hesitancy in saying that to them, and have said it publicly time and time again, and I believe it to be true. Then in the ratification even by the legislatures of the states, the governor can't veto that ratification. That's a legislative matter entirely, for the simple reason that policy-making is a matter for the Congress of the United States. The Executive is an executive. He carries out the laws of the Congress, and the amending section to the Constitution got this provision just as close back to the people as it could, and left it solely, properly, in the hands of the policy-making power of the government, which is the Congress and the legislatures of the states.

HURLEIGH: Senator Bricker, the Bricker Amendment was not aimed at the present administration, was not aimed at President Eisenhower.

BRICKER: No, it was drafted and filed long before he became President or became candidate for President.

HURLEIGH: And yet, sir, the very fact that he has in a sense led the opposition in the administration against the Bricker Amendment—has that not now put him

in a position that would cause him a certain amount of trouble next year if he allowed this to be postponed and become a political issue?

BRICKER: I don't think so at all. He has already suggested that he is content with an amendment which would prohibit a violation of the Constitution by any treaty or executive agreement. In fact, that is the essence and the substance of this whole thing. Now the second section is to merely make that effective, because as you know, in Missouri against Holland the Supreme Court held that a treaty doesn't violate the Constitution—it's the supreme law of the land, under the terms of the Constitution, though it was never intended to be that. When you read the history of our country and the Constitutional Convention, you immediately realize that such an interpretation was the furthest thing from the thought of Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison or any of the other leaders.

PRINA: Senator Bricker, aren't there many other cases you could cite that would show that the Supreme Court has ruled that no treaty made overrides the Constitution?

BRICKER: Oh, they never have said that a treaty violated the Constitution at all because until 1945 . . .

PRINA: Not violate it, but they made it clear that it couldn't.

BRICKER: No, no, that's not the law now, because Missouri against Holland reversed all that, and then Curtiss Wright said that the treaty-making power is a matter of sovereignty, and then the Pink case said that even an executive agreement can violate a section of the Constitution, and it set aside not only the decision of the Supreme Court of New York, the laws of New York, but the fifth article of the first ten amendments.

PRINA: Actually, in a treaty which does affect domestic rights and duties, would it not be necessary for the Congress to pass laws to carry this treaty into effect?

BRICKER: That's what I want done, and that's the purpose of the Amendment as far as the internal law is concerned. But now no. Now, it becomes the supreme law of the land as soon as the treaty is ratified by two-thirds of the

Senate present and voting. There isn't any question about that, and all the pettifogging that the opposition has done—and there has been much pettifogging—all of it doesn't in any way reverse the decision of the Supreme Court. It simply adds confusion to the issue, which is a clear-cut one; first, that a treaty must, like the laws of Congress, be under the Constitution—one supreme law, the Constitution of the United States—and that it shall not become domestic law until the Congress makes it so, Congress being the policy-making power for the laws of our people. Now what business is it of Britain or France or Japan or Russia or a national of those countries as to what *your* relationship to *your* government is, what *your* rights in relation to me might be—that's domestic.

PRINA: Senator, what I was primarily thinking about in this connection was enabling legislation, legislation that would be necessary to actually carry out these supreme laws that are laid down by treaties.

BRICKER: Well, of course, then you immediately bring the law under the Constitution because it's an act of Congress then and isn't above the Constitution or outside of its terms.

DOHERTY: Senator, as a matter of cold turkey politics again, wouldn't this force the President to come to Congress hat in hand every time he wanted a treaty?

BRICKER: Oh, far from it. Treaties would be enacted just exactly as they are now. They would be negotiated by the President and the State Department. They would be sent down to the Senate for ratification. They would be ratified and they would become the supreme law of the land as far as any international relationship is concerned. Formal treaties are primarily and totally supposed to represent a sovereign nation in relation to another sovereign nation, and should have nothing to do with internal laws. Nobody ever contemplated that they should until this fuzzy opinion of Justice Holmes in Missouri against Holland said that they could make domestic internal law in our country, and then when all of the specialized agencies of the United Nations started to work on everything from labor relations to insurance laws to socialized medicine to the rights of a mother in employment, wages and hours; until they started to work on those things the danger did not become apparent. The first red flag, of course, was the Covenant of Human Rights, which, if it had become the supreme law of the land, as it would if ratified by the Senate, would place your right and mine to free speech, freedom of the press, the right to worship God, the right of assembly, and of petition to Congress—make them subject to the laws of the country, and even subject to international dictates, and then if they created the International

Court of Criminal Justice, which is now in formation, an American citizen could be taken any place in the world and tried before that court on which we might or might not even have one member—we would never have any more than that—and he wouldn't have the protection of the Constitution of the United States in that trial, the right of indictment by grand jury, the right to be confronted with witnesses, the right to public trial; and of course the right to trial in the district or the state wherein the crime was committed would be entirely taken away from him.

HURLEIGH: Senator Bricker, many of your supporters believe that John Foster Dulles, as an international attorney of repute, prior to taking over his cabinet position as Secretary of State, had been in effect a supporter of the Bricker Amendment and had said so in speeches, yet after he became Secretary of State he tended to reverse his position. They claim that this was due to the political situation and his having become a member of the Cabinet. Have you any feelings on that?

BRICKER: No, you would have to ask Mr. Dulles to answer that question, but I do know that he made the most clear-cut statement at Louisville on the dangers of treaty law that had been made by any prominent lawyer in the United States, with the exception of those who have testified here in the . . .

HURLEIGH: Are you saying, Senator, that Secretary Dulles in his Louisville speech spoke out in favor of the Bricker Amendment or an amendment of this sort?

BRICKER: He said that treaty law is a very dangerous law, that it is paramount to the laws of Congress because it doesn't have to conform to the Constitution. It can transfer powers from local governments to Congress, and from Congress to the President or to an international body, and further than that, it can set aside the rights of the American people given in the Constitution.

PRINA: But Senator, he said subsequently, I believe, that while treaty law is liable to abuse, such abuse has not taken place, and he and many others have pointed out, or have asked why, after nearly 170 years without the Bricker Amendment, we suddenly need it to guarantee these safeguards to the citizens of the United States?

BRICKER: Well, because the whole philosophy is changed. The State Department, if you remember, under Mr. Truman and Mr. Roosevelt, and immediately after the United Nations was organized, took the position that there is no longer any difference between domestic and international law, that anything the General Assembly takes up becomes international in character, anything we would enter into a treaty about is international, and no longer is there any protection on domestic law, so with that philosophy there is a complete turn-about on the part of the administration—taking to themselves the power under treaties to make laws for the people of

the United States first, and second, that the President himself by executive agreement can make laws. Now remember the Potato case, in which the Attorney General in his brief on certiorari in the Supreme Court said that unless the right of the President to set aside a law of the Congress were sustained there would be over a hundred other such executive agreements that would fall. I have asked what they were; I haven't been able to get them. I asked Mr. Brownell in the last hearing to submit for the record a list of those to which he referred. That means that the President of the United States himself, by executive agreement, is making law, amending the laws of the Congress, and a great deal of that amendment has been in secret, and maybe we don't know what it is yet.

HURLEIGH: Are the Bricker backers getting a fair break, Senator, in the hearings conducted by Senator Kefauver, who is deeply bitten perhaps by the presidential bug?

BRICKER: Oh, yes, we got to present our case thoroughly and adequately, and since that time Senator Kefauver called his subcommittee together, which reported out the Amendment as it was submitted by a vote of three to two. I have no complaint with the way the hearings were conducted or with the action of the subcommittee since that time.

HURLEIGH: What about Republican claims that if it wasn't for the Bricker Amendment last year, Republicans would control the House and Senate now?

BRICKER: I don't know that it had anything to do with it. The Republican party largely supported this amendment. It was in the platform of the last National Convention, and if that isn't Republican doctrine I don't know where you are going to find it.

HURLEIGH: Well, perhaps Senator Ferguson in Michigan did not support it enough.

BRICKER: Well, he supported it in the beginning. He was one of the signers to it, and then saw fit at the last not to support it. That might have had something to do with his election. I don't know—you will have to ask the people of Michigan about that.

HURLEIGH: Well, perhaps if it did have anything to do with his election and he is not now in the Senate, it would have changed the Senate.

BRICKER: Yes, if he had been elected and there had been no other changes. There was another one who was defeated, you remember, that also switched in the middle of this, and that was Guy Gillette out in Iowa. He was one of the original signers and he reversed his position, and he stayed home too.

HURLEIGH: With President Eisenhower's administration against you, who are your chief supporters for the Amendment?

BRICKER: The American people.

Bricker Amendment Necessary to Maintain Basic Freedom

By SID HARDIN, Texas lawyer news-analyst, who warns that without the Bricker Amendment American independence will soon be lost.

The Bricker Amendment, in substantially the form introduced as Senate Resolution Number 1 last January, is the most important piece of legislation before the Congress of the United States.

Unless it is adopted, this country will presently lose its independence; its citizens will lose their property rights and other freedoms. Most of our resources will be siphoned off to other peoples who will control a world government.

The Bricker Amendment, if adopted, will guarantee three legal and constitutional principles: (1) it will prevent the constitutional rights of American citizens from being abridged or destroyed through treaties with foreign powers, or by means of executive agreements with foreign powers; (2) it will block the easy road through which our country could be made a province of a world government; and (3) it will keep American soldiers under American courts, when on duty in foreign lands.

During the first 131 years after the adoption of our federal Constitution the United States government negotiated 1789 treaties with foreign powers, and all such treaties concerned only relations between sovereign governments. No one ever heard of a treaty with a foreign power having anything to do with domestic law or the private rights of American citizens — until the advent of strange political doctrines in the United States by the international wings of both major political parties.

Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic party; and Alexander Hamilton, the founder of the Republican party, — both declared that the Constitution of the United States, as written, limits the treaty-making powers strictly to relations between sovereign powers and does not extend beyond that point; and no treaty can abridge the powers of the states or trespass upon the rights of private citizens. In Federalist Paper Number 75, Alexander Hamilton makes that very clear. The legal doctrine of the Supreme Court of the United States, that a treaty or executive agreement made with a foreign power can abridge the rights of the states and set aside and nullify the private rights of American citizens, first originated in the *Migratory Bird case*, *Missouri vs. Holland*, in which a left-wing Supreme Court of the United States held that a treaty with a foreign power could — and in that case did — abridge the American Bill of Rights. Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes warned of the implications of

that decision and none paid any attention to him.

Next came the *Pink case*, in which the Supreme Court of the United States held that an executive agreement, never ratified by the United States Senate, made between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Litvinoff, the personal representative of Joe Stalin, was superior to the Bill of Rights of the federal Constitution; and the President of the United States, through an executive agreement with a foreign power, had the power and authority to void any or all provisions of the federal Constitution.

The first lawyer to become alarmed over that decision was John Foster Dulles, who now thinks the decision in the *Pink case* is good doctrine, and who recently refused to testify at a committee hearing on the Bricker Amendment.

The United Nations Charter was ratified in July, 1945, and in the *Steel Seizure case*, the Justice of the United States Supreme Court and two associate justices wrote a minority dissenting opinion holding that the adoption of the United Nations Charter vested the President of the United States with the powers of a dictator. They expressly held that the adoption of the charter gave the President power to seize the private property of American citizens without compensation in violation of Article V of the American Bill of Rights. *The American people missed dictatorship in that case by only two votes on the Court.* The Constitution provides that all treaties with foreign powers must be ratified by the United States Senate, but there is no provision as to the required number of senators that must be present. Consequently, most of the treaties being made today are ratified by less than five senators; but under the law of the *Pink case*, an executive agreement made secretly and without the knowledge or consent of the Senate may nullify the Constitution of the United States.

There is now a determined drive in the United States to make this country a province of a world government through some treaty or executive agreement. The passage of the Bricker Amendment will make that impossible.

One of the first treaties negotiated by John Foster Dulles after being promoted from an assistant to Dean Acheson to Secretary of State under the Republicans, was the Status of Armed Forces Treaty, which deprives all American servicemen and women in the armed

forces of the United States of their rights as American citizens the moment they set foot on any foreign shore, and absolutely abandons them to the laws and the courts of strange lands. *That was the decision of the federal court in the Keefe case tried last year in Washington.*

The Status of Armed Forces Treaty has recently been extended to Japan and the first victim was the wife of an American soldier who forgot to turn off the electric iron. Her rented house burned down and she was imprisoned for arson. Forty other countries are in line to join others in that treaty with the United States government; it is soon to be extended to every country in the world where American soldiers may be stationed.

But get this — please — John Foster Dulles, members of the State Department, politicians, and others, including members of Congress and United States senators, reserve their rights as American citizens, when abroad, and are subject only to American courts for any offenses committed in foreign lands. *Why do they reserve their own rights and abandon American soldiers to strange laws and cruel punishment?* The Bricker Amendment will restore to American soldiers their rights as American citizens under the Constitution of the United States when on foreign duty; it will guarantee to the American soldier the same rights he risks his life to defend.

Offenses carry different punishments in different countries. In most all foreign countries one accused of crime is guilty until he proves himself innocent; while in America he is innocent until his guilt has been established by legal and competent evidence beyond a reasonable doubt. Every right granted the American citizen accused of crime is denied the accused in most foreign lands; and with the American soldier or any member of his family the mere accusation results in punishment because he has no means of proving himself innocent before a judge in a land where trial by jury is unknown.

In some foreign lands the theft of a fig, a stick of wood, or other item of little value, is punished by cutting off both hands and both feet. The most cruel and unusual punishments prevail in Asiatic countries and in the Middle East for petty offenses; and American soldiers will be subjected to them when the Status of Armed Forces Treaty is extended as contemplated by John Foster Dulles and the present Republican administration.

The Bricker Amendment is being supported in the United States Senate by the conservative wings of both the Republican and Democratic parties; and is being opposed by the international wings in both parties. The President is

a political prisoner of the international wing of his party, and therefore opposes the Bricker Amendment.

The Status of Armed Forces Treaty authorizes the civil authorities of any country that has signed the treaty, in which American soldiers are stationed, to arrest soldiers who may be charged or suspected of any crime. There is no limitation as to the number who may be arrested; and consequently, an overnight change in government could take place, and the next day the whole American army might be arrested and taken under some phony charge and held under the terms of a treaty negotiated by John Foster Dulles. *Naturally, we do not anticipate such a thing, but there*

is nothing in the treaty to prevent it.

There is no hope that the Supreme Court will set aside the judicial precedents of the Holland, Pink and Keefe cases. The majority of the members of the court are committed to the precedents of the cases and the policies of the United Nations. Only through a constitutional amendment, such as the Bricker Amendment, can the guarantees of the American Bill of Rights be restored. Only through repeal of the Status of Armed Forces Treaty can the rights of men and women in the armed forces be preserved while on foreign soil.

What can you, as a private citizen, do to make secure the constitutional

guarantees of American freedoms? What can you do to bring about the repeal of the Status of Armed Forces Treaty? What can you do to force the United States Senate to enact the Bricker Amendment and thereby render void the provisions of any treaty that conflicts with the American Bill of Rights? *There is much that you can do!* When the American public demands these things — *they will come to pass!* If you are opposed to the supernational world government proposed by the United Nations to replace the Constitution of the United States — then register your opposition NOW with your United States senators and your party leaders. It is later than you think.

Senator Lehman's Views

(Continued from Page 11)

in 1947; the state fair-trade laws have been revived; and unilateral determinations in the executive branch are no longer binding upon businessmen having contracts with the government.

OVERRIDE CONSTITUTION?

The congressional power to enact legislation superseding a treaty as internal law has been clearly established by the Supreme Court. An act of Congress having this effect, like any other act of Congress, must be in pursuance of the Constitution, and therefore subordinate thereto. It strikes me as wholly illogical to claim that a treaty might stand above the Constitution, when we know that, as internal law, a treaty can be overridden by legislation which must be subject to the Constitution. If a treaty can stand no better than an act of Congress, to my way of thinking it follows that a treaty must be subject to the Constitution in the same degree as an act of Congress.

The decisions of the Supreme Court afford no basis for any claim or fear that treaties may override the Constitution. In fact, the statements on this subject in the Supreme Court's opinions are definitely in accord with our traditional concept of constitutional supremacy. For instance, I find the following in an opinion of the Supreme Court, written in 1870:

It need hardly be said that a treaty cannot change the Constitution or be held valid if it be in violation of that instrument.

Why did this "need hardly be said?" Obviously because the Supreme Court felt there was no real question about it. I feel exactly the same way.

There appeared in today's issue of the *Washington Post* an excellent article by the very able and distinguished columnist, Walter Lippmann, in which he

clearly points out the impossibility of reaching an agreement regarding the meaning of the various compromise proposals on the Bricker Amendment which have been put forward. He also states there is no question regarding the supremacy of the Constitution to any treaty.

I am no constitutional lawyer. The court decisions and arguments to which I have referred have been furnished me by constitutional authorities and I draw them to the attention of the Senate and the public for their further consideration. But as a layman, I cannot see that any new or startling doctrine was promulgated by the Migratory Bird decision of 1920, the now famous case of *Missouri against Holland*.

Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, writing the opinion in the Migratory Bird case, went out of his way to forestall any disquieting inference of a revolutionary change in our constitutional law. He said:

We do not mean to imply that there are no qualifications to the treaty-making power.

The Migratory Bird decision sustained a federal law implementing a treaty even though the law dealt with a subject which would have been within the exclusive control of the states if a treaty had not been involved. This means simply that the treaty power is supreme over state law, as the Constitution says it is, in any matter which is an appropriate subject for a treaty; and this supreme power is plenary, sufficient to do the full job required of a treaty.

There appeared in the *New York Times* this morning a very interesting, illuminating, and educational article, in the form of a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* from the distinguished lawyer, Mr. Arthur H. Dean. Special

Ambassador to Korea. The letter reads as follows:

INTERPRETING AMENDMENTS— MIGRATORY BIRD RULING DISCUSSED IN RELATION TO BRICKER PROPOSAL

To the Editor of the *New York Times*:

In the last few days there have been increasingly frequent references by the proponents of the Bricker Amendment and in commentaries on the constitutional debate which it has precipitated to the 1920 decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Missouri v. Holland*. This decision, so it is asserted, established that a treaty could override the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution.

If this assertion is correct the provision included not only in Senator Bricker's original amendment, but also in the compromises proposed by Senators Knowland, George, and McCarran, respectively—that a treaty provision which conflicts with the Constitution will not be of any force or effect—will not be a mere restatement of existing law but may in fact inadvertently reintroduce by the back door the controversial "which" clause of the Bricker Amendment.

The facts in *Missouri v. Holland* were that after two lower federal courts had held a federal statute regulating the shooting of migratory birds to be unconstitutional on the ground that such regulation of wild life was not within the specifically enumerated powers delegated to Congress, the United States and the United Kingdom (acting for Canada) entered into a treaty providing for reciprocal legislation establishing specified closed seasons for migratory birds. When Holland, a United States game warden, sought to enforce the implementing statute, Missouri sued to enjoin him from doing so on the ground that the act was an unconstitutional interference with rights reserved to the states by the Tenth Amendment, which provides that:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

REAL VERSUS FANCIED LIMITS

Mr. Justice Holmes, but not speaking for a unanimous Court, upheld the constitutionality of the treaty and statute on the basis that the treaty was within the treaty-making power specifically delegated to the federal government by the Constitution, and that the implementing congressional statute was necessary and proper to execute an expressly delegated federal power.

and hence within Congress' power under the "necessary and proper" clause which authorizes Congress:

"To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers (the enumerated powers of Congress), and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof."

No question of the statute overriding or conflicting with the Tenth Amendment was involved: The Tenth Amendment by its express terms reserves to the states or the people only those powers not delegated to the United States or prohibited to the states. The treaty power and the necessary and proper power were both expressly granted to the United States and the treaty power was expressly prohibited to the states by the framers of the Constitution and by the states themselves in ratifying the Constitution. Hence, these two powers are not among the powers reserved to the states by the Tenth Amendment.

With respect to the real as opposed to the fancied constitutional limits on the treaty power, Justice Holmes found that the Migratory Bird treaty did not contravene any constitutional prohibitions and that the treaty dealt with a matter which can be protected only by national action in concert with that of another power.

DANGER OF MISINTERPRETATION

If in some future case the Supreme Court were to be convinced that today's amenders viewed *Missouri* against *Holland* as a case in which a treaty and treaty-implementing congressional legislation were given effect despite the fact that they conflicted with the Tenth Amendment, the proposed provision that a treaty conflicting with the Constitution shall not be of any force might very well be taken as intended to reverse *Missouri* against *Holland* and to establish the Tenth Amendment as a limitation on the treaty power and Congress' treaty-implementing power. If this came to pass, Congress' power to enforce treaties would then be restricted to the legislative powers of Congress in the absence of a treaty.

This would mean that in areas not falling within these powers of Congress it would be necessary for the state legislatures to implement a treaty. This is exactly the effect that the so-called "which" clause of Section 2 of the Bricker Amendment avowedly seeks and the compromises seek to avoid. Hence, any compromise amendment purposely omitting the "which" clause, yet declaring a treaty conflicting with the Constitution null and void, should provide that it is not intended to limit the treaty power or Congress' power to implement a treaty under the necessary and proper clause, to Congress' powers in the absence of a treaty, or, at the very minimum, carry with it a clear statement to this effect by its sponsors on the floor of the Senate.

The easiest and surest way of avoiding subsequent judicial misinterpretation of an amendment merely designed to declare and restate existing law is to refrain from making any amendment at all. Otherwise there is always the danger that a court will strive to give some other meaning and effect to the amendment.

ARTHUR H. DEAN.

New York, February 2, 1954.

I see nothing revolutionary in the doctrine which has been described.

A really revolutionary decision would have gone in the opposite direction and undermined the treaty power in disre-

gard of precedent dating back to 1796, when the treaty ending the War of Independence was enforced against contrary state legislation.

The 1796 decision was dictated by the language of the supremacy clause of the Constitution, which was framed expressly to permit treaties made prior to 1788, prior to the effectuation of the Constitution, to override state laws.

This effect could not have been given to treaties negotiated before 1788 if the supremacy clause had provided that treaties, like ordinary federal legislation, must be "in pursuance" of the Constitution. There was no Constitution before 1788. Thus the supremacy clause refers simply to treaties "made or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States." Of course all treaties entered into subsequent to the adoption of the Constitution were made pursuant to the Constitution, and subject to it.

In view of this historical background, and the substantial practical reason for the precise wording of the supremacy clause, I can see no basis for any inference that the Constitution would permit its safeguards to be nullified by means of a treaty.

We have the word of James Madison, the father of the Constitution himself, that treaties are subordinate to the Constitution. At the Virginia Convention he met Patrick Henry's argument that treaties would be, as the supreme law, paramount to the Constitution, by saying that "the supremacy clause made treaties paramount only to the laws and constitutions of the states."

We also have the word of an overwhelming majority of the leading modern experts in the fields of constitutional law, American history, and international relations.

OPPOSED BY LAW-SCHOOL DEANS

Last summer the distinguished senior senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Wiley] solicited the views of law-school deans and professors of constitutional law in all parts of the country on the need for a constitutional amendment on the treaty power, and the almost unanimous reply was—and I think I am quoting the distinguished senator from Wisconsin accurately—that no such amendment was necessary even to declare the supremacy of the Constitution over treaties.

Amending our Constitution is a serious business. On only thirteen occasions in our entire history has this important step been taken. We should, therefore, hesitate to propose a constitutional amendment which appears to be merely a restatement of the existing law. President Eisenhower told a press conference last spring that it would seem anomalous to amend the Constitution simply to show that it is going to be the same as it always has been. But I wonder whether such an amendment might turn out to

involve something more serious than an innocuous anomaly.

A basic principle which the courts apply in interpreting a statute is that the statute in question is presumed to have a substantial purpose; in other words, that the legislators did not enact it just for exercise.

This presumption is much stronger in the case of a constitutional amendment, which requires a two-thirds vote in each house of the Congress and ratification by three-fourths of all the state legislatures.

Can it be taken for granted that a future Supreme Court would hold that the long, complicated task of amending the Constitution had been undertaken by Congress merely to repeat what was already the law; or might not the Court be ingenious in finding that in some way or other—unbeknownst to those of us who are now deliberating upon it—the proposed amendment did, in fact, change the present meaning of the Constitution?

KNOWLAND AMENDMENT CONSIDERED "DANGEROUS"

In this connection it is interesting to recall some of the things that were said last August [1953] by the senior senator from Ohio in commenting upon a substitute measure proposed by the distinguished senior senator from California. This measure would have amended the Constitution along substantially the same lines as those which I have been discussing thus far. The senator from Ohio said of this substitute measure:

The court must give it some meaning.

And he also said:

It would be a vain and utterly ridiculous thing to repeat in a constitutional amendment that which is already in the Constitution.

Senator Bricker further referred to the Knowland proposal as "a probably dangerous amendment to our fundamental law."

And he also characterized it as "preposterous."

In his view it was a proposal which "might shift vital foreign-affairs responsibilities to the Supreme Court."

He felt that it might cause the Supreme Court to abandon its rule against passing upon political questions.

Other persons commenting upon the same proposal have raised the possibility that the Supreme Court might find that the treaty power had actually been cut back—perhaps to the extent of outlawing the principle of the Migratory Bird decision and the 1796 precedent on which it was based. Thus we might find that the highly unfortunate "which" clause of Senate Joint Resolution 1 had, by a sort of reverse English, slipped into our Constitution after all.

We would do well to bear in mind that many decades might elapse before the Supreme Court would be called upon

to construe such a constitutional amendment. It is now more than eighty years since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment; and the Supreme Court is still trying, in the school-segregation cases, to determine what force should be given to various statements in the congressional debates on that amendment in the late 1880's.

The perspective which accompanies the passage of time is not free of inaccuracy. Remoteness can produce a loss of detail. The legislative intent, which may now seem to us so sharply defined, can become blurred as the decades go by. What assurance do we have that the intent will be found to have been one of restating the law rather than changing it? Who has the power or authority, under our form of government, to make this intent so clear as to remove any doubt on this score for all time?

WOULD HANDICAP STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNISM

Moreover, the evil of such an amendment would lie not only in the possibility of an unfortunate construction by the Supreme Court, but in the mere existence of a constitutional question affecting, and therefore clogging, the treaty power.

We all know that the uncertainties of constitutional law can be a source of very great difficulty to the American businessman. But to adopt a constitutional amendment which might becloud the law on the treaty power would be to place an unnecessary handicap upon the representatives of our country in their dealings with other nations.

We cannot afford to assume any further handicap in these times when the outcome of the struggle against communism depends so largely upon how successful we are in strengthening the alliance of all freedom-loving nations and peoples. In these perilous and confusing years, if our country is to act on the world scene with any chance of success, it is a primary requisite that the authority of our representatives should be absolutely clear cut.

Finally, in reference to the Knowland proposal and also to Section 1 of the Bricker resolution, it is unthinkable to me that our Constitution, particularly the fundamental guaranties in the Bill of Rights, could be overridden by a treaty. So far as I know, no treaty has ever been made which purported to have this effect. I find it impossible to assume that any such treaty would be agreed to in the future by a President of the United States and two-thirds of the Senate, both elected by and responsible to the American people. Even granting this unlikely of all contingencies, I cannot imagine that the Supreme Court, the guardian of our most sacred traditions, would permit the Constitution to be overridden in this way.

On top of all this, how can we conceive that the Congress would be so supine and helpless that it would not immediately pass a law restoring the supremacy of the Bill of Rights over any such hypothetical treaty? With a Congress as helpless as that, our situation would be hopeless anyway; and I am opposed to redesigning our Constitution which has stood for 165 years, in order to provide for hopeless situations.

MIGHT BRING MORTAL HARM

In reference both to Section 2 of the Bricker resolution and also to Section 2 of the George proposal, there is no need for a constitutional amendment limiting the President's power to make executive agreements.

In my opinion, whatever advantage might be gained through such an amendment would be outweighed by the serious risk of mortal harm to our country if the executive branch should be saddled with a procedure which might cause delay and confusion in an emergency crying for swift and decisive action. I, therefore, oppose at this time a constitutional provision along the lines of any now pending before us to require congressional action before an executive agreement can have effect as internal law.

Under the Constitution as it now stands there is a wide area in which executive agreements are inferior to acts of Congress. Within this area an executive agreement will have no force if inconsistent with an act of Congress. It makes no difference whether the act of Congress was passed before or after the executive agreement was made.

In a case decided only last year a federal court denied effect to an executive agreement which was inconsistent with a prior act of Congress. Within this wide area, then, where congressional enactments prevail over executive agreements, I regard the existing safeguards as generally adequate. If there are loopholes, they should be studied and proper remedial legislation carefully drafted in whatever form that legislation should best take. Certainly at this time I can see no need for a constitutional amendment of any kind. I wish to make it completely clear that I am against any constitutional amendment in any form and of any character at this time. I consider all such amendments to be dangerous, and we should not even consider them. I want no misunderstanding with regard to my stand on that subject.

WOULD CRIPPLE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY

Outside of this area, the George proposal, in my judgment, would seriously cripple the President's authority as Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces. This is a matter of vital importance in time of war.

In modern times our wars have been fought, not single-handed, but with allies.

In the past four decades we have fought three coalition wars. For nearly seven years out of the last twelve, we have been engaged in coalition wars. To forestall the calamity of a third world war, we are now building the strongest possible alliance against the threat of Communist aggression.

Executive agreements can provide for a wide variety of routine matters in a military alliance. They are also a means of carrying out important decisions which demand and require swift action.

In my opinion, the constitutional amendment proposed by the distinguished senior senator from Georgia [Mr. George] would be a tragic handicap in time of war. Suppose, for instance, the enemy made a surprise attack on Alaska and it was necessary to rush a Canadian motorized division from eastern Canada to support our troops in Alaska.

Under present law, an executive agreement could instantly open the way for this Canadian division to use our superior highway network. This, however, would affect many provisions of internal law, and under the George Amendment an act of Congress would be required before agreement could be made effective.

Let me suggest a further variation of this problem. Suppose our intelligence agencies should intercept a message indicating a possible but not certain attack upon Alaska, like the attack on Pearl Harbor, without a declaration of war. Our countermeasures in such a crisis would require not only speed but complete secrecy. How would either speed or secrecy be possible if the Constitution barred the way until the Congress could act?

These contingencies, and many more that might be cited, are by no means improbable. In fact, they are relatively simple situations. We cannot foretell what kind of complicated emergency might arise in a supersonic atomic blitzkrieg.

This is a most serious consideration. I believe it would be reckless of us to approve the George proposal without thorough consideration of all the implications involved. I have mentioned just those few implications which have occurred to me. I say that an amendment to our Constitution, such as the George proposal or any of the others pending before us, must be carefully examined by all the appropriate committees, including the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I am deeply troubled by the prospect of a constitutional amendment evolved from a hasty political compromise. Without detracting in any way from the sincerity and diligence and patriotic intentions with which a number of senators have worked in recent weeks to bring about a compromise of the issues raised by Senate Joint Resolution 1,

I am compelled to say that in my view any such compromise would be fundamentally wrong.

We all know the valuable function of compromise in our national life. But compromise must not be reached at the expense of beclouding our Constitution and conceivably even jeopardizing our national security. If compromise is needed to preserve the unity of any party, let that compromise be at the expense of some lesser object than the Constitution of the United States, the basic charter of our liberties, the bedrock of our institutions.

AN ALTERNATIVE IN KEFAUVER RESOLUTION

I do not wish to appear to be against everything. I think there is a constructive alternative pending before us.

The substitute measure proposed by the senior senator from Tennessee and cosponsored by eleven other senators, including myself, offers, in my opinion, the most appropriate disposition of the issues which have been raised by Senate Joint Resolution 1. The Kefauver resolution provides, first of all, for the presence of a quorum in the Senate, and a record of the yeas and nays, upon the ratification of all treaties. It applies the same safeguard to both houses of the Congress whenever a constitutional amendment is to be submitted to the states.

This provision was originally, I am proud to say, my proposal. I introduced it on July 18 last year [1953] as a single resolution to amend the rules. Since then it has been agreed to in principle by all groups in the Senate and in the country. It is reflected in the Knowland proposal as well as in others pending before us. In my proposal and in the Kefauver resolution, all this would be accomplished, not by cluttering up the Constitution, but by simply amending the internal rules of the Senate and the House of Representatives. As the distinguished senator from Ohio told us last August, this is the "proper way to handle it."

But this substitute measure, the Kefauver resolution, being a joint resolution and nothing more, would of course substitute for the various constitutional amendments which have been proposed. But it will serve a valuable purpose by recording clearly and unmistakably the only valid and substantial grounds upon which such amendments are alleged to be based.

Furthermore, if this substitute is adopted, no one will be able to say in future times that by rejecting the constitutional amendment pending before us, we implied that treaties may override the Constitution. Any such argument would be knocked out by this substitute measure, which solemnly affirms "that the Constitution of the United

States is superior to all treaties and other international agreement." It further affirms the duty of the courts to invalidate treaties and international agreements conflicting with the Constitution; and it proclaims our constitutional attributes of national sovereignty and independence as incident to the making of treaties and other international agreements. It is because these things are so—not because they are not so—that there is no need or basis for a constitutional amendment.

AMENDMENT EVIDENCES EXTREMIST THINKING

The bitter dispute over the treaty power seems to me in large measure symptomatic of the tensions of the world in which we live. There is an increasing tendency, in this atomic-supersonic age, to think and talk in extremes.

Our country is now beset by vociferous minorities at opposite ends of the political spectrum. At one end are those who would subvert our freedoms and our national security in the interests of the Soviet Union. At the other end are those who in the name of national security are apparently willing to throw overboard the essence of American liberty.

In the middle of the bewildering crossfire from these two extremes, the rest of us are seriously trying to work out the safe course to both security and freedom.

The dispute over the treaty power has provided a parallel situation. To a large extent this dispute was touched off by a few ill-considered opinions of inferior courts and a few poorly reasoned law-review articles containing statements which have been described to me as being fallacious almost to the point of irresponsibility. These opinions and articles were the product of extremist thinking, bent upon a quixotic pell-mell rush into all-out world government. The fallacies of these statements, and the lack of authority for them, are obvious upon calm analysis. But at the other extreme the ostrich isolationist element in our country seized upon these statements and brandished them as hobgoblins to frighten the American people. "Wake up, America," they cried. "Get the United States of America out of the UN. Get the UN out of the United States of America."

In between these extremes stand the great majority of the American people, devoted as ever to our American traditions.

The Kefauver substitute joint resolution gives no ground to either extreme. It reaffirms the determination of the American people to work out their salvation within the time-tested framework of our Constitution as it stands today and as it will, I pray God, remain for ages to come.

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Quemoy, Matsu Still Explosive

The question, "Should We Defend Matsu and Quemoy?" was the subject of the initial broadcast in a new series of Facts Forum radio shows featuring two U. S. Senators who hold opposing views on vital public issues. Presenting their viewpoints concerning this extremely important question are Senator John Sparkman, Democrat of Alabama, and Senator William E. Jenner, Republican of Indiana.

Remarks of Senator Sparkman:

Just a few months back there was much talk of a possible war between the United States and China over two small islands, Quemoy and Matsu, just a few miles from the mainland of China. There was grave concern that should there be such a war, Russia would join with the Chinese Communists and World War III would be on. Most people saw no justification for involving the United States in a destructive war over these two small plots of ground that from time immemorial have been a part of the China mainland. Even so, I stated that I would back the President and the military if they thought the defense of these islands essential to the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores. I said, and I still say, that if the President, on the advice of the military leaders, decides to defend Quemoy and Matsu in order to defend Formosa, he should say so in clear and unequivocal language so that there would be no doubt in the minds of the Communist leaders as to our stand.

I stated that failure to take a firm stand would plague us throughout the United States, throughout the months ahead. That I was absolutely right is evidenced by the fact that here in July, five or six months later, we're still arguing whether or not we should defend these islands, and we still have an explosive situation which could flame into war without the proverbial moment's notice.

That a conflict has not already taken place between our forces and those of Red China is the miracle of 1955. It's not the foresight in leadership of this administration that has brought about this miracle, rather it grows out of a chain of events resulting from the good common sense of others in and out of our government and from the programs

of the last several years that have done so much to build friendship between us and other nations.

Let's take a very brief look at this chain of events. It was well-known during the last half of 1954 that the Chinese Communists were concentrating forces to drive the Chinese Nationalists from such offshore islands as the Tachens, Quemoy and Matsu, and, eventually, to invade Formosa and the Pescadores.

Shortly after Congress convened in this session, on January 24th to be exact, the President asked for congressional approval of the Formosan Resolution authorizing him to defend Formosa, the Pescadores and "related positions." He did not specify just what the "related positions" were. That he did not do so was one of the several weaknesses of his resolution. Another weakness was the fact that he was asking for congressional approval of an authority which the Constitution of the United States already vested in him. Many suspected that the President did so for political considerations. Even so, the Democrats pushed the resolution through because, while we felt it unnecessary, we wanted to make certain that in the defense of Formosa there was no disagreement among us.

In April there was held the now noted Bandung Conference. Our government did not participate in this conference but actually it did what it could to discourage it. Because of our postwar programs, however, that have done so much to help non-Communist people in Asia and elsewhere, there was demonstrated at this conference a strong anti-Communist and pro-Western sentiment. Spokesmen for such countries as Ceylon, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines and other non-Communist countries made clear that while they dislike West-

ern colonialism, they dislike communism even more. The surprising show of anti-Communist feeling caused the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai to make a partially conciliatory speech in which he suggested possible negotiation with the United States over the status of Quemoy and Matsu.

Almost the very next day Senator George, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, picked up the challenge of the Chinese Premier and urged that our own government express the same willingness to try to settle without war and on honorable terms any dispute with any nation, even including the Chinese Communists.

Governor Adlai Stevenson and other leading citizens also brought pressure to bear to offset the "war at any price attitude" of a small but highly vocal



—Wide World Photo
These Chinese prisoners leaving Korea are part of 22,000 who rejected communism and are now part of the Chinese Nationalist army on Formosa.

group in this country. Favorable reaction was so strong that the President and his Secretary of State were forced to take steps to help ease the tension, to consider the wishes of our allies, and to express willingness to negotiate the explosive Quemoy-Matsu situation. For all practical purposes we have had during the past few months a cease-fire in the Formosa Straits.

I've briefly sketched the development as to how the grave danger of war with Quemoy and Matsu originated and later subsided. The thing for us to keep in mind is this: that our commitment is to defend Formosa, and that Quemoy and Matsu are only incidental to that. And whether or not we fight to defend them depends on whether or not their defense is essential to the adequate defense of Formosa.

Remarks of Senator Jenner:

We have recently had a somewhat angry debate over the question, why should we defend Quemoy and Matsu? The debate has died down, in the emphasis on Geneva, but the problem is as important as ever.

Quemoy and Matsu are little dots on the map of the world. They are close to the shore of Asia, thousands of miles away from the United States. Why should we defend them perhaps at the risk of a world war? Obviously Americans should not defend two islands off the coast of China for any reason except that their action would benefit America. I do not mean by that to belittle the importance of Free China, quite the contrary. I mean that no one can honestly promise that the American government will hold to a course of action unless that action will benefit the United States. The Free Chinese see that clearly.

The fairest way to deal with other nations is to admit at once that enlightened, self-interest forms the most reliable basis for international cooperation. So, our question now says, is it to American interest and America's self-interest to defend Quemoy and Matsu? We must not be diverted by the non-essential fact that these islands are small and far away. Quemoy and Matsu are small—but so was Bunker Hill. Quemoy and Matsu are far away—but so was Corregidor. They are foreign territory—but so was Berlin, when we decided to set up the Berlin airlift.

Why are Quemoy and Matsu important in connection with American defense? Their significance lies in the fact that these two little islands are like Formosa—links in the chain of free nations which stand guard on the frontiers of the Communist empire. The importance of a link is not whether it's large or small, near or far away. The strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest



—Wide World Photo
A U. S. destroyer patrols the waters off troubled Formosa, Pacific stronghold of the Chinese Nationalist army.

link, because if one link goes the chain is useless.

If Quemoy and Matsu were lost to the side of freedom, the Communists will have a break-through point in the circle which guards the free world. At one moment they are pressing for a break-through in the Formosan Straits, at another time in Europe or the Near East, but the Communists are always pressing for a break-through somewhere. The loss of any territory in the free world endangers every nation which hopes to keep its freedom. Quemoy and Matsu are links which if broken would open the way to Formosa.

Politically, Formosa is not an island, but a fortress—a main fortress on the frontier of freedom. Formosa is the bastion on which a half-a-million Asian fighting men can find a foothold to act as a constant threat to Red China, and to prepare themselves to recapture the mainland. Quemoy and Matsu are a part of the fortifications of Formosa. They threaten the harbors of Amoy and Foochow and prevent the Red Chinese from using them as a jumping-off place to attack free Formosa. They are also listening posts. They are near the mainlands so that guerrillas can get into Red China and perhaps get safely out. Most important of all, they block the efforts of Red China to ship soldiers and equipment from North China and Korea south, by sea. China has few railroads. She must use sea routes. So long as we can block the short and easy coastal sea routes from north to south, we deter Red China from starting new wars in Korea and Indochina.

The Communists are not making a loud uproar over Quemoy and Matsu just because they want to add to their real estate holdings. No, indeed. They want Formosa because it is a fortress with a half-a-million armed men, trained and eager to fight for their own soil and their own people. They want Quemoy and Matsu because these little islands

are the front gates to the fortress of Formosa. It is easy to see why the Red Chinese want those Free Chinese armies driven from their fortress and scattered like chaff in the winds to all quarters of the earth.

Can the United States stand idly by while this army of freedom is scattered and broken? Obviously, no. If the Free Chinese army does not hold its fortress on Formosa to block Red China, who must guard the break they leave in the line? The planes that attacked Bataan and Corregidor started from Formosa. Who sprung into the breach when the Philippines fell? The little white markers on the graves in New Mexico, in California, in Indiana and Maine tell the story.

If the stronghold of Formosa falls, more white crosses will stand upright in the cemeteries from one end of the United States to the other. It is all-important for American security to strengthen every fortress in the border zone that surrounds the Soviet empire.

Wherever free people want to defend their homeland they are protecting the entire free world. It is to the interest of America to give the Free Chinese everything they need to defend their fortress, Formosa, and its gateways, Quemoy and Matsu.

We help ourselves if we give them a modern navy, a modern air force, and amphibious landing forces. The Soviet leaders will give Red China the most modern equipment to threaten the free world. When we strengthen these island strongholds, we are taking the only road to peace by the only means the Communists understand.



—Wide World Photo
A Chinese Nationalist soldier stands guard on a sandy beach somewhere along Formosa's shoreline as Chinese Reds on the mainland continue their threats to attack the island.

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Andalusia	WCTA*	920	Mon	7:15 p
	WCTA†	920	Mon	8:30 p
Anniston	WSIC*	1390	Wed	7:30 a
Atmore	WATM*	1580	Tues	9:15 a
	WATM**	1580	Sun	12:30 p
Auburn	WAUD*			
	WAUD**			
Birmingham	WBRC*	960	Tues	6:30 p
	WBRC**			
Brewton	WEBJ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	WEBJ**			
	WRAG**	590		
	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Clanton	WFMH*	1300	Thurs	7:15 a
Cullman	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Sat	12:15 p
	WMSL†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WMSL**	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*	560	Sun	12:15 p
	WIRB**	560		
Eufaula	WULA**	1240	To be announced	
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	1:00 p
	WWWF**	990	Sun	12:30 p
Florence	WOWL*	1240		
	WJOI*			
	WJOI**			
	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Ft. Payne	WGAD*	1350	Sun	12:45 p
Gadsden	WGWD*			
	WGWD**			
Geneva	WGEA*	1150	Sun	12:45 p
	WGEA**	1150		
Greenville	WGYV*	1400	Thurs	9:15 p
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*			
Jasper	WWWB**			
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Mobile	WMBB*	1480	Wed	7:00 p
Monroeville	WMFC*	1220	Sun	5:30 p
	WMFC**	1220	Sat	10:30 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600	Mon	7:15 p
	WAPX**			
	WSFA-TV**	12	Sat	2:30 p
	WJJJ†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOV-TV**	20	Wed	6:00 p
Oneonta	WCRL*			
	WCRL**			
Opp	WAMI*	860	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*	1250	Sun	5:00 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
	WELR**	1360	Sun	12:45 p
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	3:30 p
	WWWR**	920	Sun	
Selma	WHBB*			
	WHBB**			
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*			
Troy	WTIF*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
	WTIF**	1490		
Tuscaloosa	WJPD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WJRD*	1150		
	WTBC*			

ALASKA

Anchorage	KFIA-TV**	2	Thurs	6:30 p
Fairbanks	KTVF-TV**	11	Thurs	7:30 p

ARIZONA

Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
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
	KFSH-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
	KSSC*		To be announced	
Magnolia	KVMA*	630	Sun	3:30 p
Mena	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Mountain Home	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Paragould	KDRS*			
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

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I have been enjoying *Answers for Americans* very much since it started on television here several weeks ago. It is a first-rate program of great worth.

JAMES BAUMGARTNER
229 Fairmont Drive
Birmingham 9, Alabama

I certainly wish there were more publications on the market like yours, helping in the fight to save our nation and its Constitution.

FRANCIS W. TAFT
11607 Laurelwood Drive
Studio City, California

Congratulations to a nonpartisan publication that is truly nonpartisan. I look forward to receiving your publication monthly.

CLARENCE A. WILLIS, JR.
Allen & Boyce Aves., "Lake Pines"
Laurel, Delaware

That June issue was just marvelous . . . we learned as we never did before about the "Status of Forces Treaty"—about Oppenheimer.

PEGGY WINK
Box 1556
Boynton Beach, Florida

It is my personal opinion that your organization is doing a very wonderful job in awakening our people, not only to their many wonderful heritages and privileges, but also to the salient facts the majority of our local papers fail to print for one reason or another.

JAMES R. HARTMAN
137 Wainwright Pl.
Stratford, Conn.

I am very happy a subscription to *Facts Forum News* has been entered in my name as a gift. It is my intention and pleasure to aid your efforts to encourage and maintain Americans' interest in our democracy.

LYNWOOD F. PERKINS
122 Hazelton St.
Valdosta, Georgia

I have listened to the *Forum* for years, yet am surprised to learn how many have never heard of it. Each of your topics has been interesting and revealing . . .

R. A. HENDERSON
215 Laser Blvd.
Hot Springs, Arkansas

Just a few lines to tell you what *Facts Forum News* is doing for my community. My copy is read by each one who comes to my office, and the Public Opinion Poll is checked to see how close they are to the answers. The discussions get hot and heavy.

MILDRED FLYNN
Justice of the Peace
Congerville, Illinois

CALIFORNIA

Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	1:00 p
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
	KDAC**	1230	Mon	9:00 p
Hollywood	KCOP-TV**	13	Sun	11:00 p
Los Angeles	KHJ†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Sun	7:30 p
Ontario	KOCs*	1510	Sun	
Oroville	KMOR*	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KAFP*	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV**			
San Diego	KFMB-TV**	8	Sat	1:00 p
San Francisco	KGO*	810	Sat	10:30 a
	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	9:30 a
San Luis Obispo	KVEC-TV**	6	Sun	7:00 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
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

CONNECTICUT

Waterbury	WATR-TV**	53	Fri	6:30 p
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DELAWARE

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WMAL*	630	Sun	9:15 p
	WEAM**	1390	Tues	10:00 p
	WTTG-TV**	5	Sun	5:30 p
	WINX*			
	WOOK*			

FLORIDA

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

St. Augustine	WSTN*			
Sanford	WTRR*			
West Palm Beach	WIRK-TV**	21	Sun	7:00 p

GEORGIA

Atlanta	WSB*	750	Thurs	6:45 p
Columbus	WDAC-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	WGAJ†	550	Mon	9:30 p
Griffin	WKEL†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Monroe	WMRE*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
Statesboro	WWNS†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Swainsboro	WJAT*	800	Sun	5:15 p
Toccoa	WLET†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon	9:30 p
Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon	9:30 p

HAWAII

Hilo	KILA*	850	Sun	8:45 p
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IDAHO

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

ILLINOIS

Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	8:30 p
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
Du Quoin	WDQN*			
Harrisburg	WEBQ**	1240	Wed	2:00 p
	WEBQ**	99.9	Wed	8:00 p
Kewanee	WKEL*	1450	Sun	12:15 p
	WKEL**	1450	Sun	1:00 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC**	1370	Sun	3:30 p
Litchfield	WSMI*	1540	Sun	
Mt. Carmel	WVMC*			
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
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

(Continued on Page 32)

*Facts Forum; **Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters Roundup

HOPE IS NOT ENOUGH

By John R. Alison

President, Air Force Association

This article is reprinted from the June issue of *Air Force Magazine* because of the continuing urgency of the international situation involving imprisonment of American citizens in Red prison camps.

The recent release of the eleven airmen points up the urgency for action regarding the 5,270 Americans reported by the State Department as still imprisoned by the Soviets, and 944 American POW's still on the Pentagon list as unreturned.

LAST month, in this same space [editorial page of *Air Force Magazine*] we discussed some of the problems which are facing the men and women of our armed forces and, for understandable reasons, those of the Air Force in particular. Some of you may have noted what appeared to be a glaring omission in that editorial.

No mention was made of one Air Force personnel problem about which we feel most deeply, the terrible plight of the fifteen unfortunate American Air Force fliers who have been languishing in Red Chinese prisons for as much as two and a half years.

I didn't talk about the captured fliers last month because it appeared that it might do more harm than good. The conference of Asiatic nations at Bandung was scheduled to begin on the day the May issue of *Air Force Magazine* came off the press. There was an optimistic feeling at the headquarters of the United Nations, in our State Department, and in the Pentagon that the time was ripe for Chou En-lai to make a magnanimous gesture of peaceful propaganda by offering to release our airmen as a possible gambit at the conference.

Several factors combined to generate this feeling of optimism. For one thing, our State Department had granted permission for the seventy-six Chinese students being detained in this country to return to Red China if they wished. There had been an exchange of correspondence between Chou En-lai and the UN Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld, which seemed to hold out some

hope that the prisoners might be released. It was also reported that President Eisenhower had suggested, on a man-to-man basis, that General Zhukov of the U.S.S.R., as an old soldier himself, intercede personally on behalf of the captured fliers. And there were other straws in the wind which made it appear that a strong stand on the part of the Air Force Association at that particular time might upset a delicately balanced apple cart.

But Bandung has come and gone. And the American airmen are still counting the days and trying to remember what their loved ones look like. The only change in their status is the fact that the Chinese Red Cross has agreed to distribute relief parcels sent to the prisoners from their families and friends. Some saw in this a softening of the Communist Chinese attitude. But better-informed people tell me that this is more likely an easy way for the Chinese to get the prisoners equipped with warm clothing and food for a long, cold winter. So optimism has been replaced by pessimism. Even Mr. Hammarskjöld, who has pursued negotiations in the patient manner of classic diplomacy, acknowledged at a recent news conference that he was beginning to feel "a certain impatience."

I'm sure I speak for all members of the Air Force Association when I say that "impatience" scarcely begins to express our feelings on the matter. I'm angry. The Air Force Association is angry. The majority of the American people should be angry about this travesty on justice and civilized international conduct.

Just recently I attended the convention of the California wing of AFA, at Fresno. There the Ladies' Auxiliary passed a resolution which was subsequently adopted by the entire convention. I think it expresses what I mean. Stripped of the "whereases," here is the gist of it.

Diplomatic efforts to release the fliers have failed. The unjust imprisonment of our servicemen for political purposes is an invasion of human rights and an act of aggression against the United States. The matter is corroding the moral fiber of our nation and, if not corrected, cannot help but adversely affect the readiness of our young men to answer their country's call. Since Soviet Russia has armed, equipped, and assisted Communist China in her acts of aggression, it is incumbent upon President Eisenhower to place the blame for this aggression where it belongs—upon Soviet Russia. The President, therefore, should take decisive action directly with the U.S.S.R. to obtain the release of these fifteen airmen and all other United States servicemen now held in Red prisons. Further, the wives and mothers of the nation are entitled to know what action their government will take if their husbands and sons are imprisoned under similar circumstances in the future.

This is pretty strong talk. But we've given the "sweet talk" approach a good try over the past several months. It hasn't worked. That it hasn't is no reflection on either the skill or the patience of our negotiators. But sitting down at a conference table without some bargaining



U. S. soldiers leaving a Communist truck at the Panmunjom Operation Big Switch point in August, 1953. Unfortunately, all American POW's were not included in the exchange.

—Wide World Photo

alternatives is like going to an auction without any money in your pocket. You can bid like crazy but you can't buy anything. When the Red Chinese say "No," our negotiators have to back off and start all over again.

I'm not in favor of using human lives to bargain with. Neither is our government. We let the Chinese students go with no strings attached. We hoped this act would solidify our moral position and that world opinion might exert enough pressure on the Red Chinese to cause a shift in their attitude. We hoped that the efforts of the UN Secretary General would bear fruit. We hoped that the Bandung Conference would force a change. We have been living on hope. So have the imprisoned airmen. So have their wives, their children, their parents. But hope is not enough. You can't exist on it indefinitely without faith. And surely the faith of these men in all of us here at home must be beginning to totter.

There used to be a saying on our western frontier — "Talk's cheap, Mister." It was another way of saying, "Put up or shut up." It seems to me we're reaching that stage in our maneuvering with the Communists.

The nub of the whole matter, the essence of the moral clash between democracy and totalitarianism, is distilled and exhibited in microcosm in the case of the fifteen airmen. On the one hand, we have a deep and basic belief in the innate dignity of the individual, of the right of every man to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

On the other hand, we find a callous



—Wide World Photo

Communist China's Premier Chou En-lai extends clenched fists at meeting with his top team during the negotiations in June, 1954, when the U. S. sought to gain the release of Americans held in China.

disregard of human rights, with the individual subordinated to the tyrannical whims of an all-demanding state. Fifteen lives—be they Russian, Chinese, or American—mean nothing to the Communists. But if we really believe in the fundamentals on which our nation was founded, then these fifteen lives should mean everything to us. And if this all be true, then hand-wringing and palavering have served their purpose and more drastic measures are in order.

Last fall, in my capacity as president of the Air Force Association, I wrote a letter to the President of the United

States. I would like herewith to repeat the concluding portion of it as an indication that what we said then still goes:

"We commend your interest in the release of these unjustly imprisoned American citizens and your public statements in this regard. We assure you that firm action to meet this critical situation will receive the support of the Air Force Association and, we believe, the support of other Americans."

The situation is still critical and firm action is still called for—the sooner the better.

FLOOD OF SCIENCE FICTION SEEN BY AUTHOR SHEEAN

People making reservations for the first trip to the moon, if and whenever that might occur, and today's children pretending they are spacemen from Mars substantiate Vincent Sheean's observation before a Facts Forum audience—that science-fiction is in the foreground in modern American literature.

Best-selling author Sheean, joining Facts Forum's radio and television panel in a discussion of current literature, said, "Most of the new books that fall into my hands appear to give their emphasis to a kind of story material, particularly stories of science-fiction, horror, suspense, and so on, which did not interest people so much twenty or thirty years ago.

"In the 1920's there certainly was an outbreak of very good writing with Hemingway, Scott Fitzgerald, Sinclair Lewis, and Edna Millay, I would say, and a number of others. But it was an

exceptional decade; there aren't many like that in our whole history. The question of whether writing has deteriorated may be answered by saying that writing has changed."

Mr. Sheean went on to say, "If we go further back into the great periods of American literature, the greatest being, I suppose, New England, we find a very much more deliberate tempo in writing. What has happened among the very young writers, some of whom do write science-fiction (and some talented young men are writing science-fiction at this moment), is that they have increased their tempo so that the reader is almost breathless by the time he reaches the middle of the book. Sentences get shorter; all the words are shorter—everything more punched."

Asked if he thinks the reading of comic books and crime stories encourages juvenile delinquency among teen-

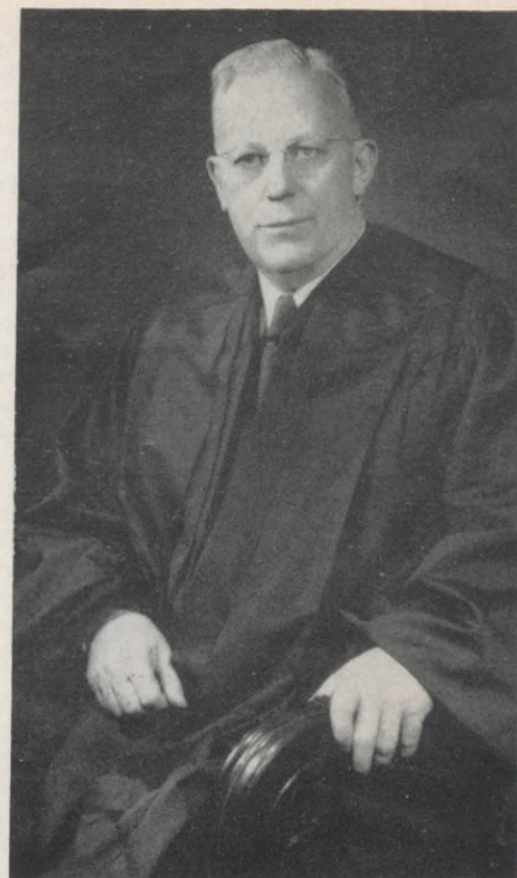
agers, Mr. Sheean replied, "Obviously something encourages juvenile delinquency and since comic books have won their enormous appeal in the last ten or twelve years, I suppose we must assume that they have something to do with it. I must say, however, from personal experience, that the children do outgrow them.

"They go through a phase of reading nothing else, but that passes. I don't know what weight is to be given to the comic book among all the other elements of a child's environment and education in the growing-up process."

He continued, "It is obvious that this thing is new. The tremendous dominion that it has is new, and it cannot be without influence upon any sensitive, growing mind. That's obvious. But the extent of the influence and how it's counteracted or helped along by other elements in our lives, I don't know. It isn't very healthy that children be told every ten minutes that the whole world may be blown up, and they are told that from morning to night by their own parents."

Controversy on racial segregation continues to rage despite the Supreme Court decision that segregation is unconstitutional.

Presented here is the decision of the Supreme Court, and following it a speech by Senator James O. Eastland questioning the validity of the authorities cited in the decision.



—Hessler Studio

Chief Justice Earl Warren

Opinion of the
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
in the cases involving

Segregation in the Public Schools

*Cases Numbered 1, 2, 4 and 10 — October Term, 1953**

Mr. Chief Justice Warren delivered the opinion of the Court.

These cases come to us from the states of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.¹

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive

the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U. S. 537. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious im-

portance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction.² Argument was heard in the 1952 term, and reargument was heard this term on certain questions propounded by the Court.³

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-war amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons

*See reference in Editor's Note at the end of this *Opinion* to additional decisions rendered in May and October, 1954.

born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time.⁴ In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public education had already advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race.⁵ The doctrine of "separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, supra, involving not education but transportation.⁶ American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education.⁷ In *Cumming v. County Board of Education*, 175 U. S. 528, and *Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U. S. 78, the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged.⁸ In more recent cases, all on the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U. S. 337; *Sipuel v. Oklahoma*, 332 U. S. 631; *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U. S. 629; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U. S. 637. In none of these cases was it necessary to reexamine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in *Sweatt v. Painter*, supra,

the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be held inapplicable to public education.

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented. Here, unlike *Sweatt v. Painter*, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors.⁹ Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, supra, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, supra, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible

considerations: "... his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the *Kansas* case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

"Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."¹⁰

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority.¹¹ Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.¹²

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question — the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws.* ... It is so ordered.

*[EDITOR'S NOTE: The Supreme Court upheld this decision that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional by additional opinions rendered in May and October, 1954, after further arguments were presented on these and related cases.]

Footnote References:

- ¹ In the Kansas case, *Brown v. Board of Education*....
In the South Carolina case, *Briggs v. Elliott*....
In the Virginia case, *Davis v. County School Board*....
In the Delaware case, *Gebhart v. Belton*....
- ² 344 U. S. 1, 141, 891.
- ³ 345 U. S. 972. The Attorney General of the United States participated both Terms as *amicus curiae*.
- ⁴ For a general study of the development of public education prior to the Amendment, see Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (1953), Pts. I, II; Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (1934 ed.), cc. II-XII....
- ⁵ *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wall. 36, 67-72 (1873); *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U. S. 303, 307-308 (1879):
"It ordains that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. What is this but declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States, and, in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color? The words of the amendment, it is true, are prohibitory, but they contain a necessary implication of a positive immunity, or right, most valuable to the colored race—the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation

against them distinctively as colored — exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps toward reducing them to the condition of a subject race."
See also *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U. S. 313, 318 (1879); *Ex parte Virginia*, 100 U. S. 339, 344-345 (1879).

- ⁶ The doctrine apparently originated in *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 59 Mass. 198, 206 (1849), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a state constitutional guarantee of equality. Segregation in Boston public schools was eliminated in 1855. Mass. Acts 1855, c. 256. But elsewhere in the North segregation in public education has persisted until recent years. It is apparent that such segregation has long been a nationwide problem, not merely one of sectional concern.
- ⁷ See also *Berea College v. Kentucky*, 211 U. S. 45 (1908).
- ⁸ In the *Cumming* case, Negro taxpayers sought an injunction requiring the defendant school board to discontinue the operation of a high school for white children until the board resumed operation of a high school for Negro children. Similarly, in the *Gong Lum* case, the plaintiff, a child of Chinese descent, contended only that state authorities had misapplied the doctrine by classifying him with Negro children and requiring him to attend a Negro school.
- ⁹ In the Kansas case, the court below found substantial equality as to all such factors. 98 F. Supp. 797, 798. In the South Carolina case, the court below found that the defendants were proceeding "promptly and in good faith to comply with the court's de-

cree." 103 F. Supp. 920, 921. In the Virginia case, the court below noted that the equalization program was already "afoot and progressing" (103 F. Supp. 337, 341); since then, we have been advised, in the Virginia Attorney General's brief on reargument, that the program has now been completed. In the Delaware case, the court below similarly noted that the state's equalization program was well under way. 91 A. 2d 137, 149.

- ¹⁰ A similar finding was made in the Delaware case: "I conclude from the testimony that in our Delaware society, State-imposed segregation in education itself results in the Negro children, as a class, receiving educational opportunities which substantially are inferior to those available to white children otherwise similarly situated." 87 A. 2d 862, 865.
- ¹¹ K. B. Clark, *Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development* (Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1950); Witmer and Kotinsky, *Personality in the Making* (1952), c. VI; Deutscher and Chein, *The Psychological Effects of Enforced Segregation: A Survey of Social Science Opinion*, 26 J. Psychol. 259 (1948); Chein, *What are the Psychological Effects of Segregation Under Conditions of Equal Facilities?*, 3 Int. J. Opinion and Attitude Res. 229 (1949); Brameld, *Educational Costs, in Discrimination and National Welfare* (McIver, ed., 1949), 44-48; Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (1949), 674-681. And see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (1944).
- ¹² See *Bolling v. Sharpe*, *infra*, concerning the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment.

What's the Story Behind the SEGREGATION "AUTHORITIES"?

Speech of HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND of Mississippi,
before the Senate of the United States on May 26, 1955.

Somewhat more than one year ago I pointed out in an address on this floor that the Supreme Court had been indoctrinated and brainwashed by left-wing pressure groups; that individual members of the Court were influenced by and were guilty of grossly improper conduct in accepting awards and emoluments from groups and organizations interested in political litigation before the Court and bent on changing and destroying our American way of life; that such reprehensible conduct placed a question mark by the validity and the integrity of their decisions in cases in which these groups were interested, of which the school segregation case is one.

Today, I am calling upon the Members of the Senate to consider an even more serious problem. The Court has not only arrogated to itself powers which were not delegated to it under the Constitution of the United States and has entered the fields of the legislative and executive branches of the government, but they are attempting to

graft into the organic law of the land the teachings, preachments, and social doctrines arising from a political philosophy which is the antithesis of the principles upon which this government was founded. The origin of the doctrines can be traced to Karl Marx, and their propagation is part and parcel of the conspiracy to divide and destroy this government through internal controversy. The Court adopts this propaganda as "modern scientific authority."

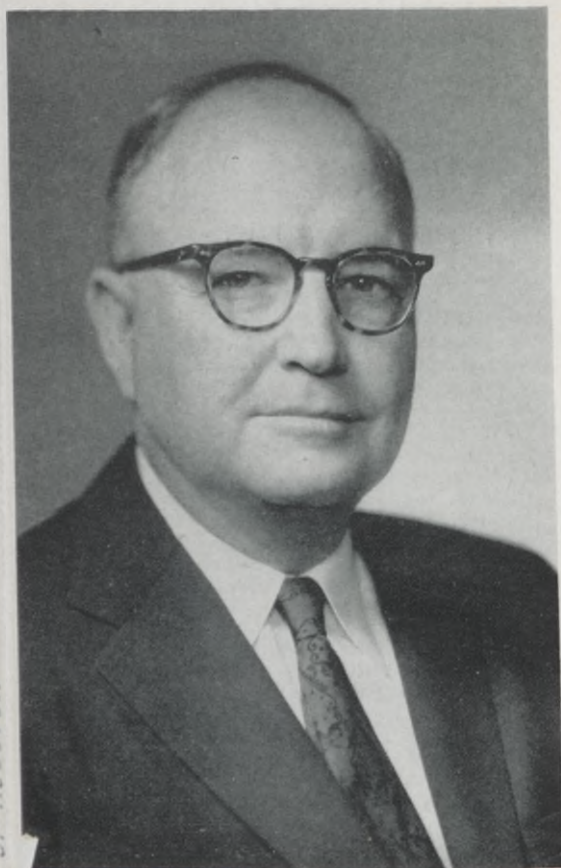
NO PRECEDENT EXCEPT IN RUSSIA

In the long legal history of this country, there has never before been a time when an Appellate Court or Supreme Court of the United States relied solely and alone on scientific authority to sustain a legal decision. I am informed that in the long history of British jurisprudence, there has never been a time when the high courts of England have resorted to such dubious authority, but that their decisions have been based on the law. My information is that the one

time when the high appellate court of any major Western nation has resorted to textbooks and the works of agitators to sustain its decision was when the high court of Germany sustained Hitler's racist laws.

What the Bar and the people of the United States are slow to realize is that in the rendition of the opinion on the school segregation cases the entire basis of American jurisprudence was swept away. There is only one other comparable system of jurisprudence which is based upon the winds of vacillating, political, and pseudo-scientific opinion—the Peoples' Courts of Soviet Russia. In that vast vacuum of liberty, the basis of their jurisprudence is the vacillating, ever-changing winds of pseudo-authority. And that today is the basis of American jurisprudence as announced by a unanimous opinion of our Supreme Court.

Justice Frankfurter handed down an opinion as late as April 28, 1952, with the concurrence of Chief Justice Vinson



Senator James O. Eastland

—Radian Bachrach

and Justices Burton, Minton, and Clark, in which he absolutely denied the competence of the Court to pass upon issues such as those presented in the segregation cases. He said:

"Only those lacking responsible humility will have a confident solution for problems as intractable as the frictions attributable to differences of race, color, or religion. . . . Certainly the due-process clause does not require the legislature to be in the vanguard of science—especially sciences as young as human sociology and cultural anthropology. . . .

"It is not within our competence to confirm or deny claims of social scientists as to the dependence of the individual on the position of his racial or religious group in the community."

The Supreme Court, unable to relate science to the Fifth Amendment, has done an unheard-of thing. It has now found scientific authorities to attempt to sustain its view of what the Fourteenth Amendment should mean. Who are these authorities? From what background do they come? What has been the nature of their work and activities?

THE "MODERN" AUTHORITIES

Let us consider the so-called modern authorities on psychology cited by the Court as its authority to change and destroy the constitutional guarantees of the reserved natural right of the people of the states of the Union to freedom of choice and of the states to regulate their public schools.

K. B. CLARK

First, they cited one K. B. Clark, a Negro, so-called social-science expert employed by the principal plaintiff in the segregation cases, the NAACP, whose lawyer argued these cases before the Court. To say the least, it is the most unusual procedure for any court to accept a litigant's paid employee as an authority on anything, let alone as an authority on psychology, to put him above the Constitution itself.

THEODORE BRAMELD

Then, too, we find cited by the Court as another alleged modern authority on psychology to override our Constitution, one Theodore Brameld, regarding whom the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives are replete with citations and information. He is cited as having been a member of no less than ten organizations declared to be communistic, Communist-front, or Communist-dominated. His name has frequently appeared in the news columns of the *Daily Worker*.

Brameld, according to the Communist official *Daily Worker* of February 28, 1949, signed a statement of the Committee for Free Political Advocacy defending the twelve Communist leaders.

Again, on December 10, 1952, the *Daily Worker* shows that Brameld signed an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist party convicted under the Smith Act.

And, again, on February 10, 1938, the *Daily Worker* shows Theodore Brameld to have signed a letter in defense of the appointment of Simon W. Gerson, a Communist, to the staff of Stanley Isaacs.

His name appears on a brief submitted by Cultural Workers to the Supreme Court in October, 1949, on behalf of the ten convicted defendants engaged in the motion picture industry, who were charged with contempt of a congressional committee for refusing to affirm or deny membership in the Communist party in response to committee questions.

He was affiliated with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as shown by the *Daily Worker* of August 10, 1950, which committee was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released on June 1 and September 21, 1948, and was redesignated by Attorney General Brownell, April 29, 1953, under provisions of Executive Order 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist party in the United States."

He was listed by the *Daily Worker* on January 11 and 25, 1938, as a supporter of the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The American League for Peace and Democracy was established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interest of the Soviet Union" and "was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International."

This is shown by report of Attorney General Biddle, *Congressional Record*, September 21, 1942; by report of Attorney General Clark—letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; and by Attorney General Brownell in his memorandum of April 29, 1953. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States" by its report of January 3, 1939, and other reports cited March 29, 1944.

There is the public record of Theodore Brameld, who was cited by the Supreme Court as a modern authority on psychology in support of its racial integration decision of May 17, 1954. This record not only was available to Chief Justice Warren and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court upon request, but this record of Brameld was made up partly by an Attorney General who is now a member of the Court which rendered that decision, and by official printed report of the administration of Chief Justice Warren when he was governor of the State of California.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Also cited by the Court as one of its modern authorities on psychology to overthrow the accepted meaning of a provision of the United States Constitution was one E. Franklin Frazier. The files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives contain eighteen citations of Frazier's connection with Communist causes in the United States.

He signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, hailing the War Department's order regarding commissions for Communists. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited by the Attorney General in letters furnished the Loyalty Commission on December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948, as subversive and Communist and, now listen, as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations ostensibly having no connection with the Communist party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and

supporters of their program." The special committee in its report of March 29, 1944, cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist party." On September 2, 1947, the special committee again cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general, but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

Frazier was a sponsor of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, which was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

E. Franklin Frazier published a pamphlet entitled "Seeing Is Believing" in 1947, as a member of the Council on African Affairs, Inc., of which he was a member.

The Council on African Affairs, Inc., was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

E. Franklin Frazier signed an appeal to lift the Spanish embargo sponsored by the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, as shown by the *Daily Worker* of February 8, 1939. The Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944.

In 1946, evidence in the House Committee on Un-American Activities showed that Frazier was a member of the Board of Directors of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy which was cited by the Attorney General as a Communist organization in a letter released April 27, 1949.

The same Frazier, as a member of the Civil Rights Congress, signed a statement defending the Communist party, as shown by the Communist *Daily Worker*, April 16, 1947. The Attorney General cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The Congressional Committee, in its report of September 2, 1947, cited the group as "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist party or openly loyal to it."

Frazier was named in the Communist *Daily Worker* of July 18, 1949, as one of the sponsors of a group defending the twelve Communist leaders on

trial. The same information appeared on the back of a letterhead of the National Nonpartisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the twelve Communist leaders, dated September 9, 1949, and in the *Daily Worker* of October 3, 1949.

In 1947, Frazier was a member of the executive board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. By the Special Committee report of March 29, 1944, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist-front organization; and on June 12, 1947, the Congressional Committee cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract Southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist party in the United States." . . .

Frazier was a sponsor of *Social Work Today*, in 1940, and he was one of those credited, by its publication in February, 1942, as having made it possible for *Social Work Today* to strengthen and prepare itself for the supreme test. *Social Work Today* was cited as a Communist magazine by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944.

E. Franklin Frazier was one of those who signed a statement condemning the "punitive measures directed against the Communist Party," as shown by the Communist *Daily Worker* of April 16 and 20, 1947. . . .

The same E. Franklin Frazier, according to the Communist official organs, *Daily Worker*, of October 19, 1950, and the *Daily People's World*, of October 23, 1950, was a sponsor of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress. In this connection, his photograph appeared in the *Daily People's World*. The congressional committee cited the World Peace Congress as a Communist-front among the "peace conferences" which "have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as a part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact."

Frazier signed a letter by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, on March 30, 1950.

The congressional committee, in its report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951, cited the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact as an organization which was formed to further the cause of Communists in the United States doing their part in the Moscow campaign.

The same E. Franklin Frazier, adopt-

ed by the United States Supreme Court as one of its leading modern authorities on psychology, was also a sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which the Attorney General cited, in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948, as subversive and Communist, and which the House special committee, in its report on March 29, 1944, cited as a Communist-front organization.

To round out his great career in the Communist cause, the same E. Franklin Frazier, according to the Communist official organ, the *Daily Worker* of March 5, 1951, signed a letter to President Truman, asking him to recognize the seating of the Communist Peoples Republic of China in the United Nations.

E. Franklin Frazier has been too prominently and frequently connected with Communist and subversive organizations for almost anyone in public life in Washington not to have been put on notice. Certainly, the highest Court of the land was more than careless in defending the Constitution by adopting E. Franklin Frazier as an alleged authority on modern psychology to override and overthrow the fundamental principles of our Constitution.

MYRDAL'S AMERICAN DILEMMA

The Court cited and adopted generally, and without reservation, as its leading authority on modern psychology, Myrdal's book *An American Dilemma*, when it said—and I quote from Chief Justice Warren's opinion: "And see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 1944."

Let us take a look and see what the Court adopted as its leading authority on modern psychology as the basis for its racial integration decision, when it adopted Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*.

In 1937 the Carnegie Foundation brought over Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, professor in the University of Stockholm. He was described by the corporation as a social economist. He called himself a social engineer. He was a Socialist who had served the Communist cause. He admitted he had no knowledge of the Negro question in the United States. He was hired to make an investigation of race relations in this country; was given an ample staff and funds for that purpose, and was told to publish his findings. On this project Myrdal naturally found himself in the company of those recommended by the Carnegie Foundation, of Alger Hiss fame.

MYRDAL'S CONTEMPT FOR U. S. CONSTITUTION

Myrdal has an utter contempt for the principles upon which the United States was founded and for the political system to which the people adhere. It is incredible that the Supreme Court could

have overlooked, if they read it at all, certain remarks that are contained in his book, on which the Court mainly bases its decision. Myrdal stated that the Constitution of the United States was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people." This is purely Communist propaganda, which was cited by the Supreme Court, and on which the Chief Justice of the United States based a very far-reaching decision looking to the destruction of our form of government. I have often wondered what was the source of the pro-Communist influence in the Supreme Court.

Myrdal shows that he did not write this 1,400 page book himself. He hedged himself about with many self-imposed restrictions and "value premises," so that the book has no scientific validity, either from the standpoint of biology, sociology, or psychology.

THE COOPERATIVE SOCIAL EXPERTS

Myrdal shows that his book was the work of several so-called social experts furnished him by the Carnegie Foundation, of Alger Hiss fame. It would be more in keeping with the facts, if, when Myrdal gave the names of most of these Carnegie Foundation "social experts," he had said that they were taken right out of lists of members of Communist and subversive organizations dedicated to the overthrow of our Constitution and the United States government, because that is the actual fact.

If Chief Justice Warren had only taken the time and trouble to refresh his memory from his own state's officially printed reports and records of his own administration as governor of his own state, he would have found, and he can still find, the names of these Myrdal "social experts" in the fourth report on un-American activities in California, 1948, and the sixth report published in 1951 on Communist-front organizations by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 and 1951 regular California Legislatures, when the Chief Justice was governor of the State of California.

Certainly Judge Warren cannot claim unfamiliarity with his own state official reports on such an important subject.

I shall give sixteen names furnished by the Carnegie Foundation as "social experts" to Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish "social engineer," for the writing of *An American Dilemma* adopted in full by the Court and their Communist connections according to the official 1948 California report, made at the time the Chief Justice was governor of California.

The tenor of that book is to the effect that the American form of government has outlived its usefulness, and that the Constitution of the United States is a plot against the common people of this country. That was the message of the

principal authority relied on by the Chief Justice of the United States in this far-reaching decision.

NAMES AND ORGANIZATIONS

The names and organizations with which the Myrdal advisers were affiliated are as follow:

Frank Boas was one of seventeen liberal leaders who signed a letter addressed to American Civil Liberties Union, supporting the Soviet Union; chairman of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, successor to the Communist-front, the Scientists' Committee; affiliated with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; member of the American Committee To Save Refugees; affiliated with American League for Peace and Democracy; member of the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization; affiliated with the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; affiliated with Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of the War; member of the Provisional Committee of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America; on advisory board of Films for Democracy; member of John Reed Clubs; member of National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights; associated with National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; affiliated with People's Peace; supported the Stalin-Hitler Line Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War; member of Russian War Relief, Inc.; signer of the statement defending the Communist Party; and listed as a well-known Communist and sponsor of Young People's Records.

All these Frank Boas organizations were shown to be Communist or Communist-front organizations in the official 1948 California report.

W. E. B. DuBois was a member of the National Committee of All-America Anti-Imperialist League; member of the American Committee for Indonesian Independence; affiliated with American League for Peace and Democracy; sponsor of China Conference Arrangements Committee; affiliated with Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; consultant to Committee for a Democratic Eastern Policy; contributed to the Communist official organ, the *Daily Worker*; and a signer of the Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union.

These organizations are listed as Communist or fronts:

Alain Locke was affiliated with American League for Peace and Democracy; sponsor of China Conference Arrangements Committee; sponsor of Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America; signer of Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union; among the instructors and guest lecturers of Jefferson School of Social Sci-

ence; associated with National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; signer of statement defending the Communist party; and member of Board of Sponsors of People's Songs, Inc.

All these are listed as Communist-fronts and Communist organizations.

Ira dea Reid was affiliated with American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; affiliated with Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; member of national board of National Sharecroppers Funds; and affiliated with National Citizens' Political Action Committee; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American League Against War and Fascism; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

All these organizations are listed as Communist or Communist-fronts.

Doxey Wilkerson was consultant to the Committee for a Democratic Eastern Policy, which is listed as a Communist-front organization.

Ruth Benedict, according to the *Daily Worker* of March 31, 1947, page 11, was the co-author of a pamphlet *The Races of Mankind*, which the War Department banned.

Charles S. Johnson was national vice-chairman of National Sharecroppers Fund; affiliated with American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

These organizations were listed as Communist-fronts.

Clark Foreman was one of the initiators of a National Congress on Civil Rights, out of which emerged the Civil Rights Congress; speaker at conference and vice-chairman of National Committee to Win the Peace; and vice-chairman of Progressive Citizens of America.

These organizations are listed as Communist-fronts.

Arthur Raper was a member of national board of National Sharecroppers Fund; affiliated with Council of Young Southerners; League of Young Southerners; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

These organizations were listed as Communist-fronts.

Lewis Webster Jones was national sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, successor to the discredited Communist-front, the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Rose Nelson was listed as Communist or Communist fellow-traveler, and textbook writer for use in public schools.

Sterling Brown was affiliated with League of American Writers, which is a Communist-front organization.

Eveline Burns was listed as Communist, textbook writer, and member

of Citizens' Committee for Better Education, a Communist-front.

Thomas Jones was advocate of United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, cited as a Communist-front organization.

T. Arnold Hill was co-operator-sponsor of *Social Work Today* which is a Communist periodical.

One of the so-called social scientists who also contributed to the writing of Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* adopted by the Supreme Court as its authority on modern psychology, was none other than E. Franklin Frazier, whose eighteen Communist organization connections I have already given.

An American Dilemma was written in largest part by American Communist-front members, such as E. Franklin Frazier, who contributed to twenty-eight portions of the book, and W. E. B. DuBois, who contributed to eighty-two different portions of the book. Altogether the Communist-front members identified with Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* contributed to 272 different articles and portions of the book officially adopted by the Communist party and by the Supreme Court as its authority for its racial integration decision of May 17, 1954.

That is the true picture presented by an analysis from the records of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the school segregation cases.

How can the Court expect the American people to accept its decision to change the accepted meaning of the fundamental principles of our Constitution when its decision is contrary to every other decision of the United States Supreme Court on the same question, and when its decision is now based on its adoption of members of Communist organizations and Communist writings as its authority to change fundamental principles of the Constitution?

This same Gunnar Myrdal has recently appeared in the news as directing the staff of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe in the preparation of a report regarding the foreign operation of the American Oil Industry. Myrdal's Commission feels that American oil companies "overcharged" their European customers for Middle Eastern oil, and hinted that some sort of international price control is the indicated remedy.

SATURDAY EVENING POST COMMENT ON MYRDAL

The *Saturday Evening Post* comments editorially that Myrdal is a Swedish Socialist. I quote:

... the author of a report on the race problem in the United States. In the course of this "monumental work" Myrdal described the adoption of the United States Constitution as "nearly a plot against the common people." It asks, "Is Myrdal the best authority a UN agency could rely on for a complicated study of the oil industry?"

It is a tragic commentary on the intelligence and judgment of the members of the United States Supreme Court that they would override the Constitution on the alleged evidence and opinion of such a "psychological" authority. It is the final indication as to the degree and extent that the Court has been "brainwashed" by pressure groups and is willing to sacrifice the people, the Constitution, and establish law to communistic and socialistic dogma and principles.

It is evident that the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases was based upon the writings and teachings of pro-Communist agitators and other enemies of the American form of government. The Chief Justice of the United States actually cites as authority for his decision a book, the thesis of which is that the Constitution of the United States is "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people." 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 very form of government which this Chief Justice and this Court are sworn to uphold. . . .

Mr. President, for the welfare of America, the resolution to investigate this setup should be adopted.

The Resolution

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision on May 17, 1954, in the case of *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.* and four related cases, which admittedly departed from the established law and precedents in declaring the "separate but equal" doctrine of separation of the white and black races was unconstitutional insofar as it applied to public school facilities; and

Whereas this decision was based solely and alone on psychological, sociological, and anthropological considerations, in that the Court stated: "Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority; and

Do you attend meetings of any sort? Why not take group votes on the *Facts Forum* poll questions to stimulate interest in self-government? Let us know how many voters are represented and the total number of "yes" and "no" votes on each question.

See this month's poll on page 65.

Whereas the footnote to the opinion lists six allegedly modern authorities and concludes with the sentence: "and see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (1944)," and

Whereas a provisional investigation of the authorities upon which the Supreme Court relied reveals to a shocking degree their connection with and participation in the world-wide Communist conspiracy, in that Brameld and Frazier, listed in the group of six authorities, have no less than twenty-eight citations in the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives revealing membership in, or participation with, Communist or Communist-front organizations and activities; and

Whereas the book, *An American Dilemma*, was prepared by a Swedish Socialist, who declared in the book that the United States Constitution was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people;" and

Whereas this book was the result of collaboration between Myrdal and certain alleged "scholars and experts" assigned him by the Carnegie Corp., of Alger Hiss fame; and

Whereas sixteen of these so-called scholars and experts who contributed to no less than 272 different articles and portions of the book have been cited numerous times as members of Communist and subversive organizations; and

Whereas the citation of these authorities clearly indicates a dangerous influence and control exerted on the Court by Communist-front pressure groups and other enemies of the American Republic and individual members thereof that is inimical to the general welfare and best interest of the Republic; and

Whereas this Senate, the sixteen sovereign states whose constitutions were nullified by the illegal decision of the Supreme Court, and all of the people of the United States are now entitled to know beyond doubt and peradventure the complete extent and degree of Communist and Communist-front activity and influence in the preparation of the pseudo "modern scientific authority" which was the sole and only basis for the decision of the Supreme Court: Now therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the Senate Committee on the Judiciary should proceed under its presently constituted powers to investigate the extent and degree of participation by individuals and groups identified with the Communist conspiracy, Communist-front organizations, and alien ideologies, in the formation of the "modern scientific authority" upon which the Supreme Court relied in the school integration cases.

(Continued from Page 22)

INDIANA

Bedford	WBIW*			
	WBIW**			
Bloomington	WTTV-TV**			
Evansville	WEHT-TV**			
	WEOA*			
	WEOA**			
Fort Wayne	WANE*			
	WOWO*			
	WOWO**			
	WINT-TV**			
Frankfort	WILQ*			
Indianapolis	WIBC*	1070	Sun	8:45 p
	WIBC**			
Kokomo	WIOU*			
Lafayette	WFAM-TV**	59	Mon	9:00 p
Linton	WBTO*			
	WBTO**			
Marion	WBAT*			
	WBAT**			
Muncie	WMUN*			
	WMUN**			
	WLBC-TV**			
Portland	WPGW*	1440		
	WPGW**	1440		
Salem	WSLM*			
Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
	WJCD**	1390	Sun	5:00 p
Terre Haute	WBOW*			
	WBOW**			
Vincennes	WTHI-TV**	10	Mon	4:00 p
	WAOV*			
	WAOV**			
Washington	WAMW*			
	WAMW**			

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*			
Marshalltown	KFJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Muscatine	KWPC*			
Oelwein	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
	KOEL**	950	Sun	7:30 p
Ottumwa	KBIZ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Pratt	KWSK*			
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	KNEK*	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sat	6:00 p
	KSEK**	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Salina	KSAL†	1150	Mon	8:30 p

KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL**	1290	Sun	6:00 p
	WCBL*	1290	Sun	9:30 p
Campbellsville	WTCO*	1150	To be announced	
Cumberland	WCPM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL†	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Henderson	WSON†	860	Mon	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX**	1300	Sun	5:30 p
Louisville	WGRG†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW**	730	Sun	1:30 p
Mayfield	WKTU*			
	WKTU**			
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Sun	2:00 p
Murray	WNBS*	1340		
	WNBS**	1340		
Owensboro	WVJS*	1420		
	WVJS**	1420		
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT**	960	To be announced	

LOUISIANA

Crowley	KSIG*	1450	To be announced	
	KSIG**	1450	Sun	4:00 p
	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
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

MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV**	2		
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MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Cambridge	WCEM**	1240	Sun	7:00 p
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

We would like to subscribe to *Facts Forum News* . . . We certainly enjoyed your television program and urge you to keep up the excellent work that you have been doing.

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Grosse Pointe 30, Michigan

I want you to know how very happy I am with your magazine, *Facts Forum News*. At last I am able to get the facts heretofore not published, and I am passing my copies on to other folk who are seeking the truth.

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Indianapolis, Ind.

Keep up the ideal work you are doing . . . It might wake up the public at last.

REV. C. LEUNISSEN

Odin, Kansas

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HARRY KRUG

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Kansas City, Missouri

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Thank God for *Facts Forum News*—the most powerful alarm since Paul Revere's ride.

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New Orleans, La.

. . . I never miss one of your programs [*Answers for Americans*] . . . there is no program which I enjoy more . . . you are doing a great service to the nation by bringing the issues before the people.

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Westbrook Junior College

Portland 5, Maine

I am so grateful for the excellent film that you have sent me. They will serve as a nucleus of a permanent film library. I am very much impressed by the excellent service that *FACTS FORUM* is giving to schools in making such film available.

MOTHER M. H. QUINLAN

Dean of Studies

Newton College of the Sacred Heart

Newton, Mass.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
	WTAO-TV**	56	Thurs	9:30 p
Pittsfield	WMGT-TV**	74	Fri	7:30 p
Southbridge	WESO*	970		
West Yarmouth	WOCB**	1240	Fri	9:30 p
Worcester	WWOR-TV**	14	Sun	3:00 p

MICHIGAN

Alpena	WATZ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV**	20	Mon	8:00 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WTVW-TV**	13	Thurs	7:30 p
Cheboygan	WCBY*	1240		
Detroit	WJBK*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Escanaba	WDBC†	680	Mon	8:30 p
Flint	WBBC†	1330	Mon	9:30 p
Grand Rapids	WFUR*	1570	Sat	12:30 p
	WFUR**	1570		
Iron River	WIKB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon	8:30 p
Lansing	WILS-TV**	54	Wed	7:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150		
Petoskey	WMBN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Saginaw	WKNX-TV*	57	Mon	3:00 p
	Retelecast		Sun	5:00 p
Saginaw-Bay City	WSGW†	790	Mon	9:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR**	1230	Sun	

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†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	10:15 p

MISSISSIPPI

Aberdeen	WMPA*	1240	Sun	5:30 p
	WMPA**	1240	To be announced	
Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMI**	570	To be announced	
Biloxi-Gulfport	WLOX†	1400	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	WCBT*	1050		
	WCBT**	1050		
	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
Corinth	WOMA*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Greenville	WGVN*	1260		
	WGVN**	1260		
Greenwood	WGRM*	1240		
	WGRM**	1240		
Hattiesburg	WFOR*	1400	Tues	7:15 p
Indianola	WMLA*	1400		
	WMLA**	1400		
Jackson	WJBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
	WJTV-TV**	12	Tues	6:00 p
	WLBT-TV**	3		
McComb	WAPF*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPF**	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO**	1230	Fri	6:30 p
Tupelo	WELO*	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
Joplin	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues	
Kansas City	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Lebanon	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
Maryville	KNIM**	1580	Fri	3:45 p
Moberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
Nevada	KNEM*	1240	Sun	1:05 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Sun	6:30 p
St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV*	2	Sun	1:00 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 a
	KSGM**	980		
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KWTO*	560		
Trenton	KTTN*	1600	Sun	5:30 p

MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	To be announced	
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLQ*	1230	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLQ**	1230	Sat	
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLF**	1370	To be announced	
	KXLF-TV**	6	Sun	9:45 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLK**	1400	To be announced	
Havre	KOJM†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat	9:00 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KXLJ**	1240	To be announced	

(Continued on Page 37)

*Facts Forum; **Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters Roundup

EZRA TAFT BENSON, Secretary of Agriculture, discusses

WHEAT *and our* AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

THE best estimate of the Department of Agriculture is that the total U. S. wheat crop this year will be around 830 million bushels—down 150 million bushels from a year earlier as a result of tighter acreage controls and serious drought in some areas. Adding 1955 production to our carry-over, it appears that wheat supplies for the 1955-56 crop year will total 1 billion, 863 million bushels. This figure is slightly below the total supply for a year earlier but it is still large enough to take care of our foreseeable domestic and export needs for more than two full years.

In the absence of short crops in the other major wheat exporting nations or much heavier than anticipated demands on the part of importing countries, it now appears that we may export around 260 million bushels of wheat in the 1955-56 marketing year. This would represent an increase of about 10 million bushels over exports for the current year, which in turn are some 33 million bushels above 1953-54. Despite this improvement, the total amount to be shipped during the new crop year will probably fall far short of the 335 million bushel average for 1949-53 and the 475 million bushel total achieved in 1951-52, when the Korean War was at its height.

We are able to maintain current wheat exports only through subsidies which have been averaging about eighty cents per bushel. During the twelve months ending March 31, this program cost approximately \$200 million, with the greater part of the total representing direct subsidy on wheat moving through commercial channels.

The hard fact is that we are not meeting world wheat competition on a quality basis. We are in a buyers' market. World agriculture has not only recovered from the devastation of war—it has moved on to new production heights. Exporting nations are competing vigorously for markets. The war-torn nations which welcomed donations of wheat of any quality a few years ago are back on their feet economically. They are spending their own money and demanding good milling wheat.

We must either meet world wheat competition on a price, quality and pro-

motional basis or content ourselves with a more limited market which can be maintained only through continuing and perhaps increasing government subsidies. I do not believe American wheat producers would willingly retreat to this secondary position. Is such a retreat advisable so long as we have the soils, the climate and know-how required to produce the high quality milling wheats which both foreign and domestic markets are demanding and will take? . . .

As Secretary of Agriculture I will do my utmost to promote quality wheat objectives throughout the nation.

In this connection, there are three current developments which deserve mention here:

First, the Department of Agriculture is now favorably considering a loan rate discount schedule which would be applied against inferior wheat varieties grown in 1956. Such a program could be a real deterrent to production of undesirable wheat varieties.

Second, the Department has undertaken a comprehensive review of official wheat standards which have had no ma-

jor revision since 1934. There have been important changes in the production and marketing of wheat during the last two decades. We need new standards which will recognize this progress.

Third, the Department this year will launch a broad scale try-out in the field of a new and improved method of testing the potential bread-baking quality of wheat. Developed by the Grain Division of our Agricultural Marketing Service, this method, known as the sedimentation test, is designed to measure both the quantity and quality of gluten in wheat. Time required for the test is 15 minutes or less. Several years of research have gone into this project. We are hopeful that extensive tests will confirm its practicability as a means of classifying wheat in a general way in accordance with baking potentiality. The enormous value of a simple and effective test of this kind is obvious.

These are some of the things the government can do and is doing to improve wheat quality. In a few moments I shall discuss other important activities which we are carrying forward—the loan and storage programs and the increased emphasis upon moving wheat into export channels.

Important as these programs are, let us never lose sight of the fact that farmers themselves, through their individual efforts, can make equally valuable contributions to a solution of our most pressing wheat problems. In fact, all of the government's efforts—the loan program, expanded storage facilities, export subsidies and increased emphasis upon quality factors—will be largely nullified unless farmers assume one great responsibility which is properly theirs. The government can't grow improved varieties of wheat. The job can be done only on the farms of America.

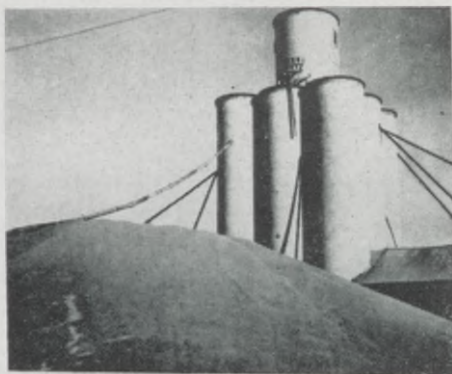
* * *

As you know, much of the poor wheat and even substantial quantities of medium-strength wheat have been moving into government ownership in ever-increasing amounts during recent years. Altogether, CCC acquired 41 percent of the 1 billion, 169 million bushel wheat crop of 1953. The final figure for the



—Wide World Photo

Wet but smiling, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson welcomes the rain with open arms during national plowing contests at Olney, Ill. Much of his time as top man in agriculture has been spent on problems relating to drought conditions in the Western states.



—Wide World Photos

Miles of fields like the Oklahoma wheat-field (bottom) have contributed to piling surpluses like the one overflowing outside elevators at Withrow, Wash. (top). Such surpluses have raised serious questions about the farm program — whether more or less government aid is necessary.

1954 crop may be about the same.

The break-down on this 1953 crop take-over is illuminating. It shows that CCC acquired 57 percent of the white wheat produced in the Northwest, 49 percent of the hard red winter wheat grown in Kansas and eight neighboring states, 34 percent of the hard red spring wheat from the Northern Plains states and 33 percent of the soft red winter wheat grown in the Midwest.

In terms of bushels, the government took title to 95 million bushels of white wheat, 204 million bushels of hard winter, 88 million bushels of hard spring and 90 million bushels of soft red winter wheat. Hard red winter wheat accounted for about 43 percent of CCC's total acquisitions during the year.

There is another set of figures which sheds further light on this subject. It is a compilation of the percentages of various classes of wheat used for human consumption within the United States. It shows this utilization over the five-year period, 1950-54.

During this time, as an average, 30 percent of the white wheat went into domestic food use, as did 39 percent of the hard red winter, 50 percent of the soft red winter, 64 percent of the hard red spring and 80 percent of the durum crop. In other words, the percentage of hard winter wheat going into domestic food consumption is below the national average of 45 percent and far under the percentages for some other classes of wheat.

It seems to me that all of the figures I have just cited raise a basic question

relating to proposals for a two-price or multiple-price program for wheat. Various plans for the implementation of such a program have been put forward and widely-discussed over the past thirty years or more. Such plans have been introduced during the present session of Congress.

The first premise is that this country should produce around one billion bushels of wheat each year to utilize its resources most effectively. Historically about half a billion bushels are consumed for food domestically during each year. Stated in simplest terms, the plan is to give the farmer a high fixed guarantee, perhaps at 100 percent of parity, for the 500 million bushels used for food within the United States. The rest of the annual production would either be supported at a much lower rate or allowed to seek its own price level as it moves into export channels and livestock feed outlets within this country.

Now let us apply this formula to a hypothetical case. Let us assume that Farmer Brown produces 2,000 bushels of Chiefkan wheat, almost none of which is likely to find its way into domestic food consumption. His neighbor, Farmer Jones, produces an equal amount of fine Comanche wheat, most of which will probably move into food use.

Does Farmer Brown get the same government payment for 1,000 bushels of inferior wheat as Farmer Jones gets for the same amount of high quality wheat?

Does the Dakota wheat farmer who has been producing top quality hard spring wheat for the commercial trade get the same treatment as his cousin in another area who has been growing much of his wheat for the government loan?

If the answer to these questions is yes — and it is except for minor qualifications — then the two-price or multiple-price plan falls far short of its announced objective of fair compensation to the farmer for the portion of his wheat production which moves into domestic food use. Instead it would perpetuate the injustices of the old rigid price plan which treated all wheat as virtually the same for the loan purposes. This concept unquestionably was a major contributing factor to the shift toward high-yielding, low quality wheats and the resultant surpluses which hang as an albatross about the necks of American wheat farmers everywhere.

Unless we redirect wheat production toward improved quality and at the same time reduce the incentives which have encouraged wholesale expansion of wheat acreage outside of the areas where it is most economically produced, we have only seen the beginning of our problem. Of course, we could extend the road to ruin. We could pave it with good intentions. But it would still lead straight to ruin.

The multiple-price plan for wheat involves other questions too. Farmers who produce feed grains have raised serious objections to such a program. Wheat-exporting nations have expressed the fear that a two-price plan would lead to dumping and generally demoralized world markets.

Now let us look briefly at another proposal which has been put forward as the salvation of wheat growers and, in fact, of all farmers. I refer, of course, to current efforts to restore price supports at 90 percent of parity for the basic commodities.

As you know, a bill to accomplish this passed the House of Representatives by a narrow margin, last spring. The required majority was obtained when a number of city Congressmen, who had voted against an extension of fixed supports in August of 1954, donned overalls for the day — at least figuratively — and were shepherded into the 90 percent of parity fold by a new farm leader, Mr. Walter Reuther.

Perhaps the poorest-kept secret in Washington today is that those congressmen who were joined by the labor leadership in the farm bill fight were expected to return the favor when Mr. Reuther's forces moved to increase the minimum wage scale to \$1.25 per hour or more.

In any event, it ought to be clear by now that the very program of rigid supports which contributed so greatly to our present problems will never solve them. The entire drop in farm prices and total farm income which has occurred since the Korean War peak of February,



—Wide World Photo

CIO President Walter Reuther, who tells a Senate Labor Subcommittee that an increase in the hourly minimum wage to \$1.25 is "morally right and economically sound," expected help on the wage bill from farm leaders whose efforts to restore price supports at ninety per cent of parity received his support.

1951, came about while we had supports at 90 percent of parity. Flexible price supports do not even become effective until 1955 crops move to market.

Rigid price supports have been employed as a sort of political smokescreen to hide one indisputable fact — the fact that it was not the 90 percent floor below but rather price ceilings at the top which controlled farm prices during and immediately following World War II. Inflation and the insatiable demands of war would have carried farm prices to much higher levels had there been neither price supports nor price controls. And I would remind Mr. Reuther's newly-found farm friends that he was one of the most energetic and vocal advocates of continued price controls long after the emergency had passed.

As all of you know, there is nothing new or revolutionary about flexible price supports. We had them for the basic commodities before World War II — ranging between 52 and 75 percent of parity and usually at the lower end of that scale. For example, wheat was supported at 52 percent of parity in 1938, 56 percent in 1939 and 57 percent in 1940. Strangely enough, some of the very people who will settle for no less than 90 or even 100 percent of parity price supports now were ardent defenders of the old program.

Everyone agreed when supports at 90 percent were inaugurated during World War II that this was strictly an emergency program, to end when we returned to more nearly normal markets and conditions. The platforms of both major parties in 1948 endorsed a return to flexible price supports as did the then President of the United States and his Secretary of Agriculture. . . . The Agricultural Act of 1948 provided for flexible price supports ranging between 60 and 90 percent of parity for the basic commodities, with a minimum level of 72 percent when average allotments or marketing quotas were in effect.

The following year, the principle of flexibility — this time between 75 and 90 percent of parity — was restated in the Agricultural Act of 1949, the so-called Anderson Act. With the outbreak of the Korean War the following year, Congress again postponed the effective date for flexible price supports but left this key provision for a long-range peacetime program in the law. Essentially, the Agricultural Act of 1954 cleared the way for the Act of 1949 to become effective as scheduled but limited the range of flexibility between 82½ and 90 percent of parity for 1955, with the full flexibility of the law to apply in subsequent years.

The measure recently approved by the House would extend for another three years a program born of wartime emergency — a program which the major po-



—Wide World Photo
Bound for overseas shipment, grain pours into the hold of a ship at New Orleans, La. Surplus grain from the midwestern plains is sent down the Mississippi River for shipment overseas to famine-threatened countries all over the world.

litical parties, all of the farm organizations and, in fact, almost everybody, agreed should come to an end when the emergency was over. Further extension of this program now would represent a retreat from reality—a definite backward step.

Experience clearly demonstrates that rigid price supports are self-defeating. They freeze agricultural production in unbalanced and uneconomic patterns. They discourage efficient utilization of farm resources. And, finally, when the surpluses which inevitably follow rigid supports make it necessary to apply controls, the farmer who has been growing quality products for the market finds himself in the same production strait-

jacket as the man who has been using the government loan program for a dumping ground.

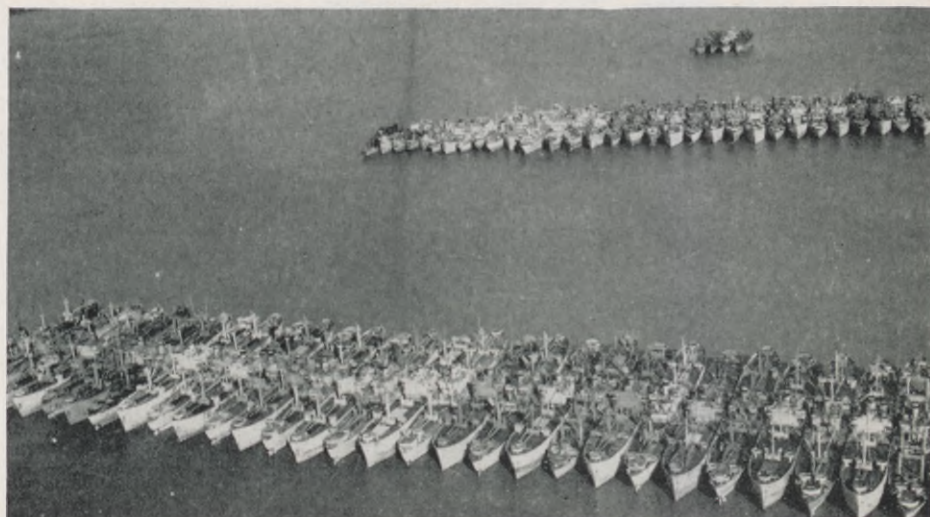
The long-term interests of agriculture demand a safer, surer and more workable approach to our problems.

The rigid price support system has failed to function effectively despite the unprecedented efforts and expenditures we have directed toward making it work. First, we undertook the greatest expansion of commercial and on-the-farm storage in history to make the loan on wheat and other commodities available to more farmers than ever before. We recognized that the loan meant little to the farmer who could not obtain suitable storage space and that such space had not always been provided in the past.

Altogether, 159 million bushels of commercial warehouse capacity have been built in the last two years under CCC's use-guarantee program. We provided 70 million bushels of space for wheat through use of the mothball fleet of the Maritime Administration. During the last two years, CCC has added some 300 million bushels of bin storage capacity to its facilities, bringing the total to 847 million bushels. We have underwritten construction of some 85 million bushels of farm storage space under the facility loan program. The 83rd Congress additionally provided a rapid tax write-off on farm storage construction. We have made emergency loans on wheat on the ground and in temporary storage to insure that no farmer would be excluded from the program.

We have sought and obtained from Congress increases in CCC's borrowing authority — first from \$6¾ billion to \$8½ billion, and then to \$10 billion, as surpluses continued to pile up in government ownership and under loan programs.

We have energetically moved surplus accumulations into channels of consump-



—Wide World Photo
The U. S. provided 70 million bushels of space for surplus wheat through use of the mothball fleet of the Maritime Administration, part of which is shown above as it lies at anchor in the James River at Norfolk, Va.

tion both at home and abroad on as large a scale as conditions would permit. As I indicated earlier, in the case of wheat alone, export subsidies have been averaging eighty cents per bushel — \$200 million a year.

Under the broadened authority vested in us through Public Law 480, we have signed agreements with eleven nations for the sale of \$226 million worth of surplus farm commodities for foreign currencies. Nearly one-third of this total represents wheat, with 33 million bushels scheduled for export under this agreement. A large part of the 17 million bushels of the wheat shipped thus far under this program is hard winter wheat. . . .

Our program for the fiscal year, covering shipments through September, 1955, should bring the total to between 50 and 60 million bushels of wheat and wheat flour equivalent. Public Law 480 requires that these sales be in addition to the usual marketings of the United States. We are taking every precaution to see that our normal exports are not being displaced.

Title II of Public Law 480 authorizes the President to use surplus agricultural commodities in meeting famine and urgent relief needs in other areas of the world. Nearly 20 million bushels of wheat and wheat flour equivalent have been used for this purpose.

Public Law 480 also provides for expansion in the barter activities of the Department of Agriculture. During the period July 1, 1954, through April 30, 1955, we traded 45 million bushels of wheat for metals and other strategic materials for defense purposes. About 33 million bushels of this wheat has already been shipped.

At the same time, the Foreign Operations Administration is required to use not less than \$350 million for the purchase of surplus agricultural commodities for use in its programs. This minimum has already been exceeded and FOA has programmed over 50 million

POLITICAL DEFINITIONS

SOCIALISM—You have two cows and give one to your neighbor.

FASCISM—You have two cows. The Government takes both and sells you the milk.

NAZISM—You have two cows. The Government takes both and shoots you.

NEW DEALISM—You have two cows. The Government takes both, shoots one, milks the other and throws the milk away.

COMMUNISM—You have two cows. The Government takes both, controls and regiments your life so closely you would rather be dead, but gives you back just enough of the milk to sustain your life, thus prolonging your agony while constantly telling you and the world how lucky you are.

CAPITALISM—You have two cows. You sell one and buy a bull.

bushels of wheat and wheat flour equivalent.

These government programs, added to sales under the International Wheat Agreement, will account for the export of more than 220 million bushels of wheat.

Despite all of these programs and even with tight production curbs, it has been impossible to prevent a continuing build-up in supplies of wheat and some other commodities. Although the loan level has been at 90 percent of parity, our calculations show that actually farmers received an average of 84 percent of parity for wheat during the 1952-53 crop year, 80 percent during 1953-54 and 84 percent thus far in 1954-55.

In view of this experience of recent years, I am convinced that we need to direct our farm program toward better balanced production. We need to encourage increased research and education. We need more marketing efficiency. We need to find new markets and expand existing ones. We must be competitive price-wise, quality-wise and promotion-wise.

For the states which have been so heavily dependent upon wheat, we need

to develop alternative and profitable crops. We need a plant which could bring to the wheat-producing area something approximating the new billion-dollar industry which the soybean created in the Corn Belt. Perhaps it should be an oilseed or a high-yielding forage crop or even an entirely new plant.

Right now our research people tell me that hybrid grain sorghums show real promise for the hard winter wheat area, with increased yields up to 50 percent. The remarkable population growth in the United States will call for much greater livestock production in the years ahead if we are to maintain present dietary standards. Possibly a continuing and accelerated increase in the cattle industry holds the brightest future for many farmers.

Meanwhile, however, wheat will be the principal and perhaps the most profitable crop for many parts of the nation. For those areas, the real opportunity lies in improved wheat varieties and in the research and education which will provide them. For the current year, we increased funds available for wheat quality research by \$50,000. Other sizeable increases have been earmarked for research devoted to stem rust, smut, mosaic diseases and insect control. Altogether, we have more than \$700,000 available for wheat research work alone during the current fiscal year and a similar amount for next year. This compares with total wheat research expenditures of \$272,000 as recently as 1947. . . .

I have real confidence in the value of research, education and market development. Most of the great gains of agriculture have come from these sources. I believe they offer the surest approach to many of our problems.

Whatever the role of government in our farm program of the future, it must never overshadow personal freedom and initiative. My own experience in Washington has only strengthened my conviction that farmers, through their individual and cooperative efforts, can do more for themselves than the government can ever do for them. Moreover, I believe farmers are too realistic and too self-reliant ever to barter away the freedom to make their own decisions.

As I look ahead, I cannot be anything but optimistic over the future of American agriculture. Certainly we have our current problems. We have had others in the past and tomorrow may well bring new ones. Nevertheless, year in and year out, American agriculture is moving ahead. It is more efficient and more productive than ever before in our history. This real and lasting progress will continue.

May God give us the strength and the wisdom to work toward the constant goal of all who love the land — an expanding, prosperous and free agriculture.



—Wide World Photo

To reduce wheat surpluses, Secretary of Agriculture Benson suggests an accelerated increase in the cattle industry.

(Continued from Page 32)

MONTANA (Continued)

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		
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLL**	1450	To be announced	
	KGVO-TV**	13	Fri	9:30 p
Shelby	KIYI†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Sidney	KGCC†	1480	Mon	7:30 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR**		To be announced	
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

NEVADA

Reno	KZTV-TV**	8	To be announced	
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NEW HAMPSHIRE

Manchester	WMUR-TV**	9	To be announced	
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NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB**	1490		
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Millville	WMLV**	1440		
Pleasantville	WOND*	1400		
	WOND*	1400		
South Orange	WSOU*			
	WSOU**			

NEW MEXICO

Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
Hobbs	KWEW†	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Portales	KENM*	1450	Wed	7:15 p
	KENM*	1450	Fri	6:30 p
Roswell	KSWs-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
Buffalo	WXR*	1080	Sun	9:30 a
Dunkirk	WFCB*	1410		
Elmira	WTVE-TV**	24	Sun	6:30 p
Hornell	WVHG*	1320		
Kingston	WKNY-TV**	66	Fri	10:00 p
Malone	WICV†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WICV*	1490	Mon	7:15 p
	WICV*	1490	Tues	7:15 p
New York	WOR*	710	Sat	6:15 p
	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p
	WPIX-TV**		Sun	12:00 n
N'th Albany	WROW-TV**	41	Thurs	7:30 p
	WROW-TV*	41	Fri	9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLC*	1490	Wed	7:00 p
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheboro	WGWV*	1260	Tues	6:45 p
Asheville	WVNC*	570	Sat	6:30 p
	WLOS-TV**	13	Sun	3:30 p
Belmont	WCGC*	1270		
Brevard	WPNE*	1240		
	WPNE*	1240		
Burlington	WBBS*	920	Sun	1:00 p
Charlotte	WBT*	1110	Sun	5:30 p
Concord	WGO*	1410		
	WGO*	1410	Wed	10:00 a
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	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
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV**	28	Sun	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
Wilmington	WCNI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WMFD-TV**	6	Tues	10:30 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV**	26	Sun	5:30 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

You are to be highly commended for airing important controversial issues. . . .

O. KENDALL COOPER
219 W. Liberty St.
Cincinnati 10, Ohio

Your programs are very stimulating to the citizens of the U. S. who are genuinely interested in the progress and relationship of our country to the rest of the world.

HELEN GUSZAK
Grant, Nebraska

Being a college student with limited time for outside reading on world affairs, I feel your magazine is the easiest and most reliable source of information available.

MERLE ALLEN PHILLIPS
Box No. 3
Kremlin, Oklahoma

Please tell the readers of *Facts Forum* News to bring the magazine to their dentist, doctor's office when they are through reading it, or leave it on the bus, train, etc.

MR. A. J. SHEEKEY
1710 West Street
Union City, New Jersey

I have a lot of work and no time to read the dailies. But I do read your paper because after reading it I am sure of a fact and carry away a clear idea.

FR. RINALDO BOSSI, P.I.M.E.
Holy Family Church
Roy, New Mexico

The change in our government is not apparent, but we can take heart because organizations like *Facts Forum* are transforming the indifferent into alert citizens.

MRS. OSWALD C. HERING
10 West 33rd Street
New York 1, N. Y.

As a political science student at Rutgers University, I am required to write a term paper—the subject of which is *Facts Forum* (my selection). Your radio program has been a favorite of mine since the inception of same.

H. S. GLENN
Springfield, New Jersey

You are to be commended for your policy of presenting both sides of controversial issues. In that way people are in a much better position to make intelligent decisions.

HERBERT W. GRUBER
824 Foss Avenue
Drexel Hill, Pennsylvania

Your program has renewed my faith in America's strength. Such straightforward presentation of vital issues necessarily arouses intelligent consideration of these problems. They have done wonders for my political science class.

SISTER MARY TIMOTHY, S.S.N.D.
320 East Ripa Ave.
St. Louis 23, Mo.

NORTH DAKOTA

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

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
Coshocton	WTNS*	1560		
Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	9:45 a
	WEOL**	930	Wed	7:30 p
Gallipolis	WJEL**	990		
Lima	WIMA-TV*	73	Sun	1:30 p
Hamilton	WMOH**	1450	Sun	12:30 p
Marietta	WMOA†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Newark	WCLT**	1430	Sun	6:30 p
Portsmouth	WNXT*	1260	Mon	8:15 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
Warren-				
Youngstown	WHHH†	1440	Mon	9:30 p
Youngstown	WFMJ*	1390	Sat	6:45 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV**	18	Wed	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

OREGON

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

PENNSYLVANIA

Bradford	WESB†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	1050	Sun	12:45 p
	WBUT*	97.7	Sun	12:45 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	WGET**	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
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Seranton	WARM-TV**	16	Thurs	10:00 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
St. Marys	WKBI*	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	WKBI*	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wellsboro	WNBT*	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-TV*	49	Sun	8:00 p

PHILIPPINES

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

Mayaguez	WTLI**	1300		
San Juan	WHA**	1400	Tues	8:00 p

SOUTH CAROLINA

Aiken	WAKN*	990	Sat	1:00 p
Barnwell	WBAW**	740	Sat	6:00 p
Bishopville	WAGS*			
Camden	WACA*	1590	Sun	2:00 p
Charleston	WHAN*	1340		
Cheraw	WCRE**	1420	Sat	12:30 p
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	WGTN†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenville	WFBC*	1330	Wed	10:15 p
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280		
	WJAY**	1280		
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	7:00 p
Rock Hill	WTYC*	1150	Sat	6:00 p

(Continued on Page 48)

*Facts Forum; **Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters Roundup

Landmarks of Liberty

Jefferson's Influence Endures at Monticello

by Bradley L. Morison

*Adapted by permission of the author from a series
which appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune.*

MONTICELLO, the lovely estate of Thomas Jefferson, lies about 115 miles southwest of Washington, D. C. As the bus rolls, it is a three-hour journey, much of it through the gentle foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. . . .

The tourists attracted to Monticello constitute a thriving industry for Charlottesville, a handsome and venerable town of 30,000 persons which shelters Jefferson's beloved University of Virginia. This year about 220,000 visitors will pass through Charlottesville on their way to Monticello, which is three miles distant along a steep and winding road. Furthermore they will pay ninety cents apiece for admission to that mountaintop estate, and will carry away souvenirs by the bushels and tons from the various tourist shops in that area. Buses, taxis, and private motor cars are drawn as if by a magnet to this remote shrine. Since Monticello was opened to the public in 1924, more than two million persons have passed through its graceful rooms and explored its spacious grounds overlooking that breathlessly beautiful valley which lies between it and the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Considering the fact that Monticello lies off the beaten path, a considerable

distance from the tourist swarms of Washington, this is a remarkable record. It is plain as day that Thomas Jefferson still captures the imagination and holds the affection of the American people.

The precise and matronly hostesses who conduct the tours through Monticello explain that its name means "little mountain" in Italian and that Virginians call it Monticello as Jefferson preferred. They take a special pride in the abundant evidences of Jefferson's inventive genius—the seven-day calendar clock with its cannonball weights, the automatic glass doors, the dumbwaiter for wine bottles, the revolving chair and table, the folding ladder, the recessed beds. They recall that Jefferson once valued the mansion at \$5,000 for insurance purposes. They point admiringly to the parquet floors of rosewood, satinwood, walnut, and cherry in the reception room and salon, laid more than 150 years ago at a cost of \$200 and still miraculously resisting the scuff and scrape of tourist armies.

They will tell you, too, how Jefferson brought his young bride to Monticello in 1772, how the high cost of entertaining hordes of guests drove him to near bankruptcy, and how he died there on

July 4, 1826, and was buried in the family graveyard nearby, along a wooded mountain road.

It is at this graveyard, now thickly carpeted with brown leaves, that a sense of Jefferson's greatness makes its deepest impression. Jefferson wrote the simple inscription for his tombstone: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom; and father of the University of Virginia."

It is almost impossible to leave Monticello without a renewal of one's faith in those bedrock concepts of liberty and human dignity on which America was founded.

Here, one has a feeling of closeness to basic American principle, and here, too, there is a fresh stirring of the winds of freedom.

Jefferson's gadgets in the mansion above are forgotten as his immortal words of the Declaration come to mind: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights."

This was the man who said: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hos-





—Wide World Photo

tility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

His statute for religious freedom was to set an example for the nation. He was an early champion of a statewide system of free public schools. He helped draft the Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the federal Constitution, and pressed vigorously for their adoption. Perhaps more than any other American, Jefferson influenced those fundamental philosophies which are inescapable from the American traditions of democracy and freedom. . . .

Going back to Washington on the bus, I browsed through some of my accumulated literature. Here Claude G. Bowers describes Jefferson as "artist, musician, architect, landscape gardener, lover of painting and sculpture, and a graceful writer." Jefferson designed Monticello, the capitol at Richmond, the University of Virginia buildings. As a farmer, he introduced crop rotation and terraced farming to this country. When he wrote the Declaration of Independence, he farsightedly included a provision against slavery, which was later eliminated. Of him Abraham Lincoln wrote: "The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of a free society."

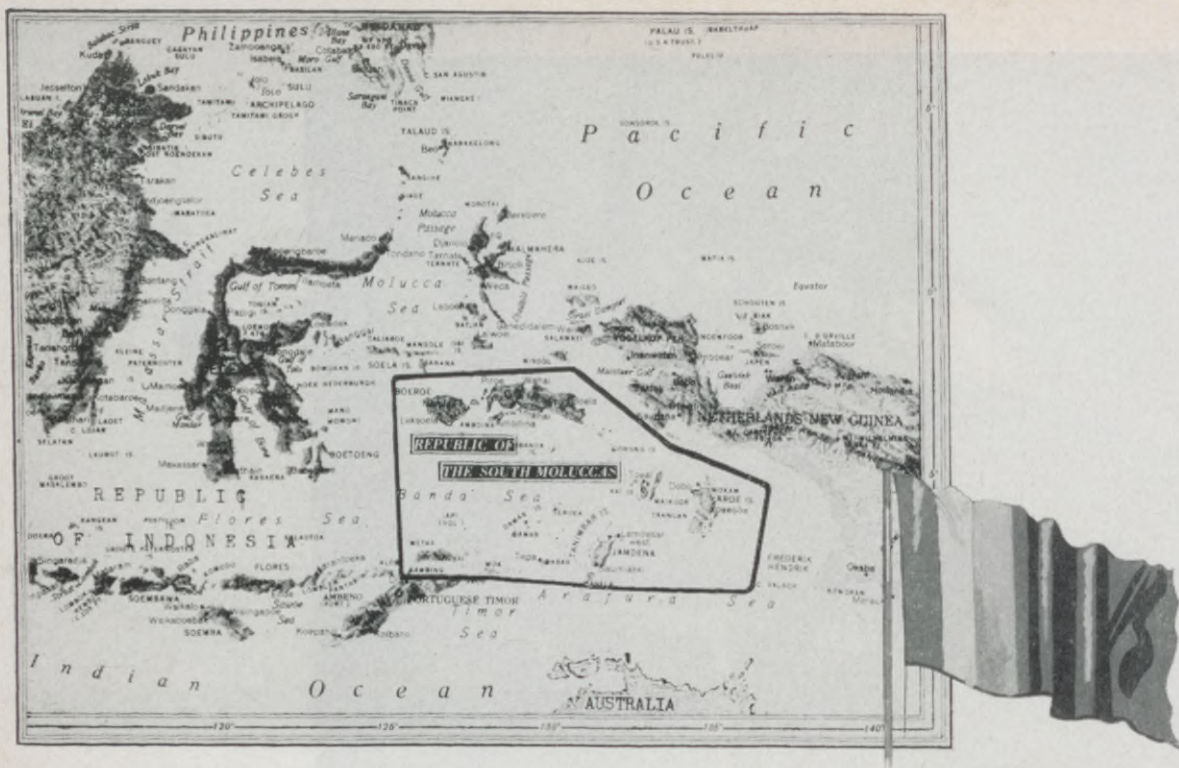
Jeffersonian Highlights

In intellectual range and interests, Thomas Jefferson ranks as one of the greatest of American statesmen. His reputation as a writer may have been the chief factor in gaining him election to the five-man committee to draw up a declaration of independence. While the text of the Declaration incorporated changes made at the suggestion of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and the Continental Congress as a whole, its authorship is Jefferson's.

On March 22, 1790, Jefferson became the first Secretary of State. At about this time, differences with the Federalists developed into the subsequent open political battle that has been variously regarded as the opposition of federal to state authority, the opposition of autocratic to democratic tendencies, and the clash between the capitalist and agrarian interests. Although Jefferson attempted to cooperate with Alexander Hamilton at the outset, the friction between the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of State began to emerge early in 1791. Jefferson's view was that the Federalists were determined upon undermining American democracy in favor of rule by the elite. President Washington preserved the balance between Jefferson and Hamilton, and persuaded Jefferson to remain in office until the end of 1793.

Jefferson's chief political opponent throughout his long public career was Alexander Hamilton, who with John Adams, headed the Federalist party, while the Anti-Federalists, soon to be called Republicans (and still later, Democrats) were led by Thomas Jefferson, the Clintons and Aaron Burr. The election of 1796 made Jefferson the Vice-President in the administration of John Adams. Jefferson's official duties in the Senate gave him the basis of his *Manual of Parliamentary Practice* (1801), which is still the foundation of parliamentary usage in the Senate. However, in 1800, the Anti-Federalists won the election; under the system then prevailing, the Anti-Federalist vote in the electoral college being divided between Jefferson and Burr, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. It is paradoxical that Hamilton's influence caused Jefferson to be chosen President, Burr Vice-President, since Hamilton disliked Jefferson only slightly less than he did Burr.

Jefferson was very distrustful of the concentration of political power and was the foremost proponent of a government of law rather than a government of men.



The Story of A FORGOTTEN WAR

By KAREL J. V. NIKIJULUW

Chairman of the Delegation,
Republic of the South Moluccas

Reports from Indonesia, carried over UP wires from Rotterdam, confirm that the troops of the South Moluccan Republic are counterattacking against the invading Indonesian forces which have been holding strong points in the South Moluccas for some time.

From bases in Ceram, the main island of the Republic of the South Moluccas, South Moluccan forces, which are ever growing stronger by capturing Indonesian military equipment when they recapture Indonesian beachheads, have now invaded the South Moluccan original capital island of Amboina, and also the neighboring islands of Saparua and Haruku.

The fighting is going on.

[Editor's note:—The South Moluccan Republic comprises the following island groups: The Spice Islands (Ceram, Buru, Amboina, Saparua, Haruku, and Noesa Laut), the Banda group, the Kai group, the Aru group, the Tanimbar group, the Southwestern Islands, and a number of smaller groups of inhabited islets and atolls.]

The South Moluccan Republic covers an area of about 700 miles by 400 miles. The Ceram-Buru island group alone is about the size of Formosa. The population, which is Malenesian and predominantly Christian, is well over one million and a half—approximately the same as that of Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire combined.

The government of the South Moluccan Republic is situated on the island of Ceram and is based on democratic principles. The Moluccans are well known as pro-Western and very anti-Communist. The Republic was established on April 25, 1950, as a free and sovereign state. The South Moluccan Declaration of Independence resulted from the usurping of power by Indonesia which was then embarking on a course aimed at liquidating the original sixteen federal Indonesian states and claiming authority over all of Indonesia. From its establishment on April 25, 1950, the government of the South Moluccas controlled and administered its territory without any disturbance.

At the end of September, 1950, the armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia launched an unprovoked attack on the South Moluccas. In spite of the superior power of the Indonesian forces, equipped with modern weapons including warships and planes, heavy artillery and tanks, the South Moluccan government to this day remains in full control of much of its territory, including the main island of Ceram.

On January 5, 1955, the government of the Republic of Indonesia proclaimed a state of war and seige on the South Moluccan Islands. (Amboina, the central island of the group, has been under a state of seige for some time.)

Heavy fighting is continuing unabated. Under cover of aircraft and naval guns, Indonesian troops are trying to recover previously lost positions on the islands of Amboina, Ceram, Haruku, and Saparua.

Fresh Indonesian troops and new equipment are continuously being transported on ships of the Royal Dutch Packet Company (K.P.M.) under charter to the Indonesian government.

In the face of overwhelming disparity in numbers and equipment, the morale and determination of all South Moluccan forces and the population remain unshaken.

The South Moluccans are now in the fifth year of their fight for freedom.

* * *

In the summer of 1950, President Sukarno of Indonesia ordered the conquest and annihilation of the Republic of the South Moluccas. Ever since that time, a bitter jungle-battle has raged in this Far Eastern island group, which straddles the direct route from Communist China to Australia. In far-off Holland, fifteen thousand South Moluccans, herded by the Dutch government into DP camps, are awaiting the outcome of this struggle.

The government of the South Moluccan Republic has appealed its case to the United Nations. On October 30, 1950, the American representative,

Warren Austin, at that time President of the Security Council, declared:

"...I should like to ask whether any member wishes to express any further views in the Council on the question of the timing of the consideration of the report of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia of 11 October on the Ambon affair.

"Speaking as representative of the United States of America, I am instructed to state that my government thinks that this subject should be discussed by the Security Council at an early date." (Security Council official records, 517th Meeting, No. 59.)

Until the moment that the UN shall translate these words into deeds, the South Moluccans (Amboinese) shall continue to fight the Indonesian aggressors. Until such time, there shall be no peace or tranquillity in this strategic area. People shall continue to suffer and die, or wait in foreign exile.

The Forgotten War of the South Moluccas is as remote as it is significant. It puts a vital question to the test: Is the UN Charter based on power or on justice?

THE INDONESIAN REVOLUTION

The South Moluccan question stems from the Dutch-Indonesian conflict of postwar days. The peoples of Indonesia, including the South Moluccans, won their independence from Holland in 1949 when the Netherlands transferred their 350-year-old sovereignty to a federation of Indonesian states, the Republik Indonesia Serikat, or the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

The capital of the federation became Jakarta, formerly Batavia. The federative form of statehood was agreed upon between Dutch and Indonesians at the Round Table Conference of The Hague. Representatives of the United Nations attended and co-signed the resultant pact.

In the new, free Indonesian federation, the South Moluccas territorially belonged to the component state of East Indonesia. In the charter of sovereignty-transfer it was expressly stipulated that the various and diverse peoples inhabiting the Indies Archipelago had the right of self-determination, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

Then, in disregard of the Round Table Pact, one of the federation's component states—the Java-based Republic of Indonesia—started a unilateral liquidation of the federation. With use of armed force, which they alone possessed, the Jakarta government proceeded to systematically dissolve all other component territories. The object was to replace the federation by a unitary state, which amounted to illegal domination of all Indonesia by the Javanese component state, the Republic of Indonesia.

This ambition has been resisted to this day by the freedom-loving Moluccans, who refuse to let their newly-won independence degenerate into a mere change of masters.

The Moluccans, who are Melanesians, differ basically from the rest of Indonesia, both racially and historically.

When President Sukarno started to liquidate the component state of East Indonesia, which included the South Moluccas, the population of these islands resorted to their right of self-determination, which had been expressly granted them by the Round Table Pact to which the UN is co-signatory. The East Indonesian state government on Celebes was forcibly overthrown by the Javanese in the spring of 1950, shortly after the transfer of sovereignty. Seeing the writing on the wall, the South Moluccan people, through their legal and freely elected representatives, backed by giant demonstrations of unanimous resolve, seceded from the crumbling federation on April 25, 1950, and proclaimed the independent Republic of the South Moluccas free from both Dutch and Indonesian control.

The Indonesian government, with the assistance of Dutch transports, sent troops to the South Moluccan islands, and the new republic began its bitter fight for survival.

The Indonesians with their twenty-fold superior power predicted quick success, an operation "lasting not more than four days." A full week went by before the first beachhead could be established. Tanks and heavy artillery were landed, but in spite of these and sustained sea and air support, it required six weeks of bitter and continuous fighting before the Indonesians acquired a secure foothold on the Amboinese coast.

At present certain areas of Amboina, Buru and other islands are held by the

Indonesian forces and suffer the rigors of a military occupation. But elsewhere a military stalemate has ensued, with large areas under effective control of the South Moluccan government, based on the main island of Ceram. In an effort to break this stalemate the Indonesian government has resorted to a total blockade, which has now been in effect since June, 1950, bringing with it the inevitable suffering and near-starvation for the civil population.

UNITED NATIONS REBUFFED

The Dutch government, as co-signer of the violated Round Table Pact, was obligated to take the issue to the United Nations Commission for Indonesia. This commission had played an important part in the Indonesian struggle for independence. The Round Table Conference, which led to the birth of the Indonesian federation, was held under the auspices of this commission. It had the task of supervising the implementation of the independence as stipulated in the agreements signed at the above conference.

In pursuance of its responsibilities the United Nations Commission for Indonesia (UNCI) requested permission of the Indonesian government to visit the South Moluccan battle area. This was refused.

The Indonesian government expressed as its opinion that any violation of the Round Table Pact constituted merely an "internal affair."

The UNCI took the next logical step and on October 11, 1950, reported the developments to its sponsor, the Security Council of the United Nations. To this day the Security Council has failed to act on the report of its Indonesian Commission.

The fifteen thousand Amboinese now in Dutch DP camps constitute a tragic



SCENES IN AMBOINA before the Indonesian invasion—top left, Laha Airfield; top right, South Moluccan flag flying proudly. Lower left, dock at Amboina. After invasion, the South Moluccan government moved to the island of Ceram, north of Amboina, where it still functions; lower right, Amboina's natural naval base, strategically located.

outcropping of the politics involved.

The fifteen thousand men in this group once belonged to the former East Indies Army. This army was liquidated as a logical result of the transfer of sovereignty. While this liquidation was in progress, the Indonesian aggression against the South Moluccan Republic occurred. The Ambonese requested that after demobilization from the army they be returned to the South Moluccas, in order to defend their homeland. *The Dutch refused for fear of antagonizing the Indonesian government.* Holland did not want to jeopardize its billion-dollar investments in its former colonies, now controlled for the greater part by the Jakarta government. The Ambonese former soldiers refused to be demobilized within the territory of their aggressors. It took an order from the international courts of law to confirm that they could not be forced to do so by the Dutch authorities. In its choice between allowing the unfortunate fifteen thousand to return to their motherland or protecting its investments by kowtowing to the Indonesians, the Dutch government has chosen the latter. The result is a "solution" under which these tropical islanders are left to suffer for an indefinite period in DP camps ten thousand miles from home, in the unfamiliar cold of Holland.

Their plight should be an added incentive for early consideration of the South Moluccan appeal to the United Nations.

THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

To what extent is the Indonesian government in Jakarta representative of the Indonesian peoples, as is the concept of democracy?

Contrary to the situation in the South Moluccas, *there has never been an election in Indonesia.* "Parliament" in Jakarta consists of the original revolutionary council, who have appointed a number of former Federalists who have yielded to President Sukarno's unitary demands.

No constitution by the will of the people has been written. *No legislation* by the will of the people has been enacted. *President Sukarno himself was never elected.*

It needs no clarification that where every form of democracy is absent the desires of the people are led into darker channels.

In present-day Indonesia insecurity reigns. All over the Archipelago insurrections occur, local leaders acquire power, gangs terrorize, military units disclaim central authority. The suffering population is a fertile breeding ground for communism. Already communism has gained control of Indonesia's labor unions. Nationwide strikes and social upheavals have led to recurrent invocation of nationwide martial



South Moluccan soldiers in action

law. The struggle for power is between the military and the Communists. Between these two the seeds of democracy are crushed.

In accordance with their policy of minimizing all news unfavorable to the government, the Indonesian authorities have consistently claimed, since November, 1950, that "the Moluccan incident is closed." Yet eye witnesses unanimously report the continuance of the South Moluccan war, while the *New York Times* of November 23, 1952, carried these lines: "... A Macassar press dispatch said that two army transports carrying reinforcements to Ambona from Java had been detained at Macassar. ..."

The *London Times* of June 6, 1953, in an editorial reviewing the general situation in Indonesia referred to the South Moluccas: "... the gallant little Republic of the South Moluccas con-

tinues to hold out in Ceram and to appeal to the world against the violation of the rights guaranteed to it in the Round Table Conference at The Hague."

UN RESPONSIBLE

The United Nations has helped to terminate the colonial era in the former East Indies. It has stood at the cradle of the new Indonesian federation. It has pledged the implementation of sovereignty agreements.

These agreements have been unilaterally violated by the government of the Republic of Indonesia. The war of the South Moluccas is a result of this violation.

The United Nations cannot continue to ignore a war for which they carry joint responsibility.

The government of the Republic of the South Moluccas appealed to the Security Council of the UN as long ago as June, 1950. Today it repeats its appeal. It bases this appeal on its rights, confirmed by courts of law, as stipulated in internationally recognized agreements and embodied in the United Nations Charter.

In the case of the South Moluccas the basic principles of the United Nations stand on trial.

• • •

On November 22, 1954, Karel J. V. Nikijuluw, Chairman of the South Moluccan Delegation, appealed to the sixty members of the United Nations to place on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly a new item as an important and urgent matter:

"Complaint of violation by the Republic of Indonesia of the Linggadjadi, the Rendville, and the Round Table Conference agreements."

This appeal outlines the South Moluccan complaint of Indonesian colonial oppression against the South Moluccan people.



Demonstration for freedom and independence by South Moluccans in Jakarta, Java, capital of the Republic of Indonesia, in November, 1950.

COMMUNISM and EDUCATION

American vs. European Policies

by William F. Russell

Deputy Director, Technical Services International Cooperation Administration,
Past President, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Speech delivered at Convention of the California Association of School Administrators

WHAT to do about Communists and communism. That is the latest hard problem confronting the school superintendent and the college president. It cannot be ignored or dodged. It cannot be laid upon the table. Inept handling may alienate public support. Fumbling may ruin a good organization. Requisite to successful administration is the adoption of a wise and resolute policy and the will to carry it into effect.

What should this policy be?

Many people have many ideas both here and abroad. Nevertheless America seems to be settling upon one policy, Europe quite another, with the result that of all the variations which one can detect in the educational work over here and over there, none is now so completely misunderstood, none so productive of suspicion and ill will, as the contrast in the ways in which schools and teachers are reacting to the threats of communism.

This discussion proposes to describe these contrasting policies and practices in European and American¹ schools, give the reasons for the differences; and then to draw whatever lessons we can find for the American school administrator and college president.

THE AMERICAN VIEW

The United States is coming to the decision that the schools should take a firm stand against communism. Communist teachers are beginning to be barred, as evidenced by such measures as the Feinberg Law in New York, the action of the National Education Association in 1949 followed by similar action this summer by the American Federation of Teachers, various types of oaths for teachers, and the undoubted public approval which has greeted the dismissal of Communists by such educational executives as the Superintendent of Schools of New York City and the president of the University of Washington, now at UCLA.

Positively, there is now developing great enthusiasm for a number of edu-

cational programs designed to strengthen American ideals, arouse patriotism, and to improve the actions of American citizens. Partly because they have little enthusiasm for negative measures (you can't root out all the Communists — Communists will be the first to take the oath) teachers have welcomed programs in citizenship education. They believe that the best way to beat the Communist is to face him with citizens who know and love their country, who both understand and revere its ideals, who can recognize them and apply them in the ordinary situations of everyday life. The Citizenship Education Project — one of these many programs — has been enthusiastically received, widely adopted, and is spreading more rapidly than we had thought possible. American schools are coming to take a far more active role than formerly in developing American citizenship, and in consequence, in combating communism.

It is the American people who have made this decision. Some educational policies are determined in the classroom by the individual teacher, some by the superintendent of schools, or by the supervisory or administrative staff. But this decision regarding communism comes from the people, as they express their will in state and local legislative bodies or school boards—in national, state or local voluntary associations—sometimes called pressure groups—and by parents and teachers close to individual schools. The American people are coming to the decision that the schools shall stand against communism; that Communist teachers and Communist teaching and propaganda will not be tolerated; that greater effort must be made to strengthen patriotism and improve the sense of duty and willingness to serve of the future citizen; all this to the end that American education may play its proper role in the great effort that free people of the world are making to maintain their freedom.

THE EUROPEAN VIEW

Across the Atlantic, teachers in general and thoughtful people associated with teachers view these American decisions with great alarm, believe them to be basic mistakes, and cannot under-

stand why teachers and professors have not risen up in arms against them.

Here are two illustrations, both personal. In 1952 I was invited to give one of the Jubilee Lectures of the University of London Institute of Education. This paper entitled "The Caravan Goes On" I tried out first before a general session of the AASA. It was an effort to explain certain recent developments in American education and to isolate and analyze the considerations that led to recent criticisms of our schools. To lay the foundation for an understanding of present American concerns for education, I discussed our reluctant realization that we were no longer isolated, the Communist threat, the disappearance of a sense of easy optimism and confidence, the rebirth of the psychology of the pioneer (including children wearing the coonskin cap), and the growing public concern at the quality of American citizenship as evidenced by the Hiss case, the trial of the eleven Communist leaders under Judge Medina and other recent revelations of Communist intrigue and infiltration.

Reading the same paper before the Ulster Teachers Union, where there was ample time provided for discussion, I at once realized that I had struck upon a highly controversial topic, despite the effort I had made to emphasize that I was speaking wholly of American conditions. Why were the Americans so frightened? Why were they trying to disturb the peace of the world? Communists were merely members of a minority political party. Why think them aggressive? In fact, is it not precisely the Communist who advocates peace? Who talks of war? Only the Americans. The Russians will never attack Europe. You Americans, with your Feinberg Law, McCarthy-ism and Hiss witch-hunts, you are merely hysterical. It is a mistake to allow politics in the schools. Why are you trying to foist your mistakes on the rest of the world?

Such ideas were expressed by only a few of the large and friendly audience at the meeting in Ulster; but the member who led this critical discussion was an able man, an experienced and competent school administrator, obviously

¹ America and American are intended to mean only the U.S.A. Europe and European and Continental are intended to mean most of Western Europe, except Ireland, Spain and Malta where exceptional conditions prevail.

thoughtful and well-balanced; and I feel quite sure that his position was shared by a good many others.

For a second illustration, I turn to an experience in 1951, when Dr. William S. Vincent and I tried to describe the Citizenship Education Project to delegates from some twenty-five teachers associations from all six continents gathered at the meeting of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession at Valetta on the Island of Malta. There appeared to be sympathetic interest in the theory behind the project; approval of many of the materials; and evident intention to experiment with the ideas in a preliminary way. But our description of children and community members participating in labor-management conferences and taking part in a local election in Pearl River, New York, of interviewing candidates, poll watching, radio programs in Bronxville, New York; of meeting with the City Council in Elizabeth, New Jersey, brought immediate criticism. We were told that such activities would be prohibited in foreign schools.

Europeans do not understand the newly adopted American policies regarding the schools and communism. They are quite out of sympathy with our point of view. They believe that we are making major mistakes, violating academic freedom and infringing on the right of freedom of speech. Their ideas and ours are very far apart. Allow as much as you like for great social, political and geographical differences, I do not believe that we can both be right. Either they are wrong, or we are wrong, or we are both partly wrong.

That is why we should get to the bottom of the differences.

How then do the Europeans view communism? How the Americans? What are the basic reasons for each position? How valid are these reasons? This is the logical process we must follow if we are to justify one policy or the other, or recommend a modification of one or the other.

Now it is obvious that it is impossible to give a completely accurate picture of how Americans or Europeans look on any subject. Individual people do not hold a single view even within a family, let alone a community or a nation. The most carefully conducted polls of public opinion are not fully accurate.

When we try to make a big generalization as to how Americans or Europeans look upon communism, it is impossible to draw upon scientific studies. There are no polls, censuses, or objective researches to consult. Nevertheless it is proposed here to give one person's idea of how he thinks many Europeans and Americans look upon communism and its educational implications, and why they take this point of view. Obviously it is not intended to include the point of view of everyone—naturally in Eu-

rope and America there are persons of all shades of opinion—but what we seek is what many Americans or Europeans believe; and what on the whole is the preponderance of opinion. He who makes this judgment cannot protect his readers or listeners from his prejudices or errors. However, he speaks from a fairly wide acquaintance.

With all the limitations just stated in mind, the European view of communism can be described in the following three assumptions:

(1) That communism is merely a political movement.

(2) That communism does not threaten the liberty of the free peoples, and its inroads are greatly exaggerated and based upon untrustworthy evidence.

(3) That communism has little appeal for the mass of the people.

ASSUMPTION 1: THAT COMMUNISM IS MERELY POLITICS

In Britain and in most of the countries of Free Europe, there is an officially recognized Communist party, which announces party policies, nominates candidates for office, takes part in elections; and in some cases shares in a coalition government. Teachers may join the Communist party (in some countries in substantial numbers) and not infrequently they have considerable power in teachers' organizations. The Communist party is treated just like any other political party.

The principle—"No Politics in the School"—is so generally accepted and so widely followed in Europe that it may be taken as universal. Schools should present the facts, produce the results of accepted scholarships and research, consider and discuss various theories, philosophies and practices objectively; but when it comes to "politics" they must take no sides. During the first talk I made before the Delegate Assembly of the National Union of Teachers of England and Wales, I started to tell a story that made the audience think that I was going to refer to communism, and a shout went up, "No politics!" When invited to lecture at a great European university, it was politely suggested that I discuss "pure pedagogy." When we came to consider the draft constitution for a new and more inclusive World Organization of Teachers, we devoted a whole day of a three-day meeting to the first clause, that all questions of partisan politics and sectarian religion should be excluded.

European teachers hold to this principle of political neutrality with great tenacity. We can understand their concern in those countries where there is a municipality of political parties, often representing fractional interest, ethnic groups, farmers or workers, religious sects. Education must have continuity. It must not change with the rise to power

of each political party. Hence, it must be neutral.

Under this principle, European schools exclude attacks against communism in the schools, permit Communists to teach, admit them to their associations, and treat them as if they were members of any other political party. Any other course would seem to them to be dangerous in the extreme.

ASSUMPTION 2: THAT COMMUNISM IS NOT A THREAT

Many teachers and other intellectuals, both in Britain and on the Continent, do not accept the idea that the U.S.S.R. is aggressive; that there is any danger of their attacking Europe; that they will be so foolish as to bring on a third World War. They explain the present apparent attitude of Russia by the fact that the Capitalist countries have never been friendly; in fact, invaded Russia after World War I, and have remained hostile ever since. All the free people need to do is to hold out the friendly hand.

Furthermore, many believe that the Communists in the free countries are not real Communists at all, "not like Russian Communists." I have heard such statements repeatedly. In one town in the Pyrenees I asked a friend why a certain man was a Communist. The answer was: "Oh! He isn't a real Communist at all. He is only going along with his old comrades who fought together in the *marquis* during the war." Asking about another man, he replied, "He is not a real Communist at all. He just votes that way because he doesn't like the local priest." I have heard references several times to an alleged statement of some Scotch divine that he would rather live under Stalin than under the Pope.

The Europeans do not seem to know very much about the revelation of Douglas Hyde, Whittaker Chambers or Elizabeth Bentley; and those who know about them, refuse to believe them. What European comment I have heard on the Hiss case or the trial of the eleven Communist leaders makes me think that they consider them miscarriages of justice and intimidation of the courts by mass hysteria. When you bring up the case of Fuchs, they shrug their shoulders. What did these traitors give away that intelligent people would not have found out anyway?

ASSUMPTION 3: THAT COMMUNISM HAS NO APPEAL TO THE MASS OF PEOPLE

Whatever threat communism may have, European teachers seem to minimize because they believe that it has no appeal to "people like you and me." The Communists are smaller in number, and those who join are the "seedy," the "envious," the "haters," those who would be against everything anyway, even if Marx, Lenin and Stalin had never existed.

It is hard for them to think that Doug-

las Hyde ever was a "real Communist;" and certainly in the cases of Chambers, Bentley and Massing, they were either liars, immoral or insane. They cannot bring themselves to believe that a nice man like Hiss ever could have been a Communist.

Thus, if communism appeals only to a few, it cannot be considered as an important threat from within.

To summarize, many British and Continental teachers and intellectuals view communism as a social theory that need not cause alarm. It is a matter of politics; its threat has been greatly exaggerated; and since it has only limited appeal, it will not gain many adherents. The school should remain neutral. Communists should be permitted to teach. Restrictive measures would have dangerous consequences.

AN ENGLISH REVIEW OF CHAMBERS' "WITNESS"

Those who might like to test the validity of the above analysis might find interesting reading in a review of Whitaker Chambers' "Witness" which appeared in the *New Statesman and Nation*, London, on July 19, 1952. The writer of this review obviously holds the same attitude towards communism that I have detected in many teachers both in Great Britain and on the Continent. . . .

Careful reading of the review in full will reveal how completely it has accepted the three basic assumptions outlined above. To the English reviewer Chambers is queer, untrustworthy, probably unbalanced, hence not to be believed; Communist infiltration and influence has been wildly exaggerated—hence not important; and the Communist attack will be settled as a political matter at the polls; hence, nothing to worry about.

IN AMERICA

In contrast with the three assumptions frequently made by Europeans regarding communism which we discussed, Americans are coming to take a completely different point of view. They consider communism not a political party, but rather a philosophy, a religion, a way of life, not only different, but actively hostile. They believe that communism in the U.S.S.R. is a threat to free institutions. Among the ranks of Communists, they have come to find not only the seedy, the envious, and the haters; but also "people like you and me;" people more idealistic and more willing to sacrifice:

(1) The American regards U.S.S.R. communism vs. American capitalism as a struggle between good and evil; and the tactics employed by the Communists are not those of a political party so much as those of conspiracy and the seizure of power.

(Continued on Page 46)

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(Continued from Page 45)

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Many Americans have read Marx, Lenin and Stalin. The tactics of the *coup d'etat*, revolutions, seizure of power are plainly stated. U.S.S.R. actions indicate no deviation whatever from basic doctrines announced thirty-five years ago. Even our information about the Soviet educational system plainly reveals the aggressive nature of Soviet policy. Not only have Chambers, Bentley and Massing plainly testified that these are the Soviet tactics; but their testimony was specifically corroborated by other witnesses under oath before our courts. Either there is a powerful, dangerous conspiracy within our ranks or else there is the unthinkable alternative that great numbers of people have banded together for fame or fortune to make a gang of liars, bluffers or practical jokers. The American has come to know that the Communist party is only camouflage for a movement repeatedly and publicly stated, to contemplate seizure of power by direct action in some time of future crisis:

(2) Americans believe that U.S.S.R. communism has penetrated deeply into American life and that reports of informers have not exaggerated this menace.

American teachers and intellectuals seem to know a great deal more about the various trials (Hiss, the eleven Communist leaders, etc.) and the reports of the informers than do the British or Continentals.

Americans (and here I remind you again of the qualifications with which I introduced the discussion: not *all* Americans, but the general trend of opinion) are inclined to accept as generally true the reports of the informers. We read the testimony of a series of witnesses who had worked underground for the FBI at great personal sacrifice, indeed at their peril; and those who studied the Communist movement from the inside certainly support the revelations of Bentley, Chambers and Massing. Chambers, they think, is telling the truth. To call him "seedy," to imply that his actions were for the purpose of gaining fame or fortune, is to ignore his sacrifice of his important and well-paid post as a top editor of one of our most influential publications; and the suggestion that he acted in response to popular demand for *autos-da-fe* overlooks the fact that his first revelation came in 1939, just as quickly after the announcement of the Nazi-Soviet Pact as he could gain the ear of a high government official. To imply that Chambers is insane, because of his full and frank account of his family and his own reactions to the despair and isolation of his situation, is to disregard the whole context of the book. Let him who has no odd relatives, no unusual family habits, let him who has never passed a white night worrying

over an apparently impossible dilemma, let him cast the first stone.

Many Americans cannot see why Chambers can be fairly accused of exaggeration. What he says about the influence of Hiss and communism is not in terms of general statements, but the naming of particular persons at particular times in particular places. This description of "Washington before and during the war was run by Communists and fellow-travellers" which appeared to the English reviewer as exaggeration and as "useful to the McCarthy-ites" is not tossed aside in the U.S.A. There is considerable difference of opinion about McCarthy and his tactics; but even his worst critics have to admit that he is not always wrong. Americans believe that there was (and probably is) a powerful Communist conspiracy and that it penetrated quite deeply into American government and life.

(3) Americans have learned that not all Communists are "queer;" and that it may have appeal even for the most able and idealistic of our young people.

The revelations of the informers have given the Americans a new idea of what a Communist is like. For over a third of a century—ever since I first came to know Communists and communism in Siberia in 1918, I have stated now and then in public addresses that the fight against communism would be easier if we could recognize our enemy. If only every Communist were to wear a tall fur cap, a black beard, a sheepskin coat, a smock, carry a gun in each hand, hand grenades in his belt and a knife in his teeth, then you would know whom you had to fight. But the Communists I met in Siberia were mostly quiet people, scholarly, with strong sympathy for the underdog and a quiet resolve to do something about it.

The Chambers and Bentley books describe Communists of such a type. The English review refers to Chambers as one of those men whose "temperament desires a cause to which they can wholly submit themselves" and seems to imply that such is an unusual human trait. But it is not unusual; it is almost universal. To desire to give one's life to a cause is, I think, the distinctive mark of man.

Chambers and Bentley joined the Communist movement precisely because its purpose was one to which each believed he could wholly subscribe, and because its program seemed practical and to call for their full participation; even more, for their complete dedication. They seemed to go into it for the same reasons that one would enter the ministry or teaching or the missionary field.

The Chambers and Bentley stories should be interesting to all educational administrators. They should cause them furiously to think; for after all they

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were students or pupils not so long ago.

Judging upon the basis of sheer native ability alone, it is obvious that Chambers and Bentley were students of great promise. Chambers, without influence, rose to the top of the editorial ladder. Bentley later revealed great administrative ability in her operation of an intricate Communist apparatus. Yet despite their ability, both made great mistakes when they were students; and it is a great tragedy that their educational experience did not help them at that time to foresee their errors and that they were not attracted to a life of devotion to American ideals. Obviously, so far as these two were concerned, communism offered a more attractive and practical program for social betterment.

Our schools and colleges and universities will be recreant to their duty, will fail to play the part in the defense of freedom that the American people demand, if young people of great ability continue to be so easily seduced, if we fail to attract them and command their consecration to the defense and furtherance of our ideals.

That is why I think our Citizenship Education Project and other similar projects are so important and deserve our fullest support.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the analysis we have just made, in general, supports the American side of this controversy.

The Communist threat is too dangerous to be ignored. At Teachers College I well remember two occasions just after World War II when we consulted with Jan Masaryk and heard a lecture by the then ambassador from Czechoslovakia to Washington. Each expressed no fear of communism, stated that his country could live happily between the two great powers and could well interpret the one to the other. Czech liberty, they thought, was in no danger of extinction.

Yet it was only a short time until the crushed body of Jan Masaryk lay beneath his window and the ambassador languished in exile, far from the country which had been betrayed by enemies within.

Europeans run grave dangers when they underestimate the Communist threat. They run even greater dangers when they permit their schools to remain neutral regarding a question of life and death.

The above analysis supports the American decision that schools must take definite action with regard to communism. Schools cannot remain neutral when it comes to the question of liberty vs. tyranny, any more than they can refuse to take sides on questions of right and wrong. The American school administrator and the college president will fail in his duty if he ignores education for citizenship and refuses to give it every encouragement and support. No future student should be condemned to attend a school or college which makes no conscious effort to capture the enthusiasm and idealism of the young and offers no program capable of enlisting his willingness to serve. This analysis puts proper education for American citizenship at the top of the list in our program of studies.

When American schools and colleges have strong programs of citizenship education; when the teachers have developed high skill in presenting such instruction and in guiding such activities; when materials of instruction will have been well prepared and widely available; when pupils take advantage of such opportunities; then the negative side of anti-Communist activities may assume lesser importance. There will obviously be far less need for teachers' oaths, Communist-banning, textbook inquiries, when pupils and teachers are engaged in powerful programs of Americanism. The more positive teaching, the less need for restrictive measures.

We are in a cold war that may continue for a long time. In modern war we cannot leave the fighting to hired mercenaries, nor to professional warriors. In total war, every person, every institution must do its part. Education cannot remain aloof.

Oliver Cromwell once gave a definition of his ideal soldier. He said, "I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows, than that which you call a gentleman and nothing else." That is what the free people of the world need in this modern, total war in which we are all engaged; *Citizens who know what they fight for and love what they know*. What they fight for they learn in school. What they love they gain in school. Clad in such shining armor, neither they nor we need fear any foe.

SOUTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Seneca	WSNW*	1150		
Spartanburg	WSPA*	950	Sun	2:00 p
Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Union	WBCU*	1460	Fri	7:15 p
Walterboro	WALD*	1490	Thurs	7:15 p
	WALD*	1490	Sun	12:15 p

SOUTH DAKOTA

Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	2:00 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

TENNESSEE

Athens	WLAR**	1450		
Chattanooga	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Cleveland	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Cookeville	WHUB**	1400	Thurs	9:00 p
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	6:45 p
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Harriman	WDEH*	800		
	WDEH**	800		
	WHBT*	1230		
	WHBT**	1230		
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Tues	9:45 p
	WTJS**	1390	Thurs	
	WDXT†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL*	910	Mon	7:30 p
	WJHL-TV**	11	Tues	6:00 p
Knoxville	WKXV*	900		
	WKXV**	900		
	WROL*	620	Mon	10:15 p
	WROL**	26	Thurs	8:00 p
Lawrenceburg	WTSK-TV*	26		
Lebanon	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
	WCOR*	900		
	WCOR**	900		
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGNS*	1450	Sun	2:30 p
Nashville	WSM*	650	Fri	10:15 p
	WSIX-TV**	8	Sun	5:00 p
Newport	WLIK*	1270		
	WLIK**	1270		
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	12:30 p
	WTPR**	710	Mon	8:30 p
Pulaski	WKSR*	1420	Mon	7:15 p
South Pittsburgh	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*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDT†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

TEXAS

Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
Beaumont	KBMT-TV**	31	Mon	7:00 p
	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	KORA*	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	KCAR*	1350		
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
College Station	WTAW*	1150	Fri	8:45 a
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Wed	9:45 p
	KVDO-TV**	22	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
Gainsville	KGAF*	1580	Sun	12:45 p
Greenville	KGVF*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Kermit	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kilgore	KOCA*	1240		
Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	6:00 p
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:15 p
Levelland	KLVT**	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW**	1490	Sun	1:15 p
Longview	KLTI**	1280	Sun	3:00 p
	KLTI*	1280	Sun	12:30 p
	KTVE-TV*	32	Sun	6:30 p
Lubbock	KDUB-TV*	13	Sun	12:00 n
Lufkin	KTRE†	1420	Sat	6:15 p
	KTRE*	1420	Mon	8:30 p
Marlin	KMLW*	1010	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
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Tues	7:30 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Our American population is suffering from apathy-itis.

DR. W. J. ROBINSON
807 S. Main Street
Weatherford, Texas

Your magazine is one of the best I've seen for promoting enthusiasm for individual effort, for encouraging good citizenship, and for engendering patriotic endeavor. It cannot but help to foster in the American people a spirited devotion to the principles upon which our great Republic is founded.

RICHMOND GILL, JR.
1552 Vance Ave.
Memphis 4, Tenn.

Facts Forum News is the magazine I have been waiting for and I am only disgusted with myself for not discovering it sooner. I shall certainly see that my friends discover it too, for it is truly a magazine "of public interest, of interest to the public."

MRS. R. W. ORRELL
Cardinal, Virginia

I am grateful for a publication such as Facts Forum News. We students need to know the facts. If we don't learn to take interest in issues of today, what will we do when we are the fathers of this country?

WAYNE MERWIN SMITH
P. O. Box 507
Whitworth College
Spokane, Washington

... Doing all in my power to publicize Facts Forum News. In order that more people can see the magazine, I am urging my news dealer to stock it.

MRS. FRED BEALE
9 S. Fern Ave.
Highland Springs, Va.

Facts Forum News is more interesting with each succeeding issue. It's a comprehensive coverage of news and issues so important for enlightened citizenship.

MRS. CLARENCE STROM
2355 Austin Highway
San Antonio, Texas

We have read your last issue with great interest and it seems to us this is one outstanding effort in the direction of patriotism, a human factor that is on the decrease rather than the increase as it should be.

J. H. HOLLOWAY
538 South Van Buren Street
Green Bay, Wisconsin

I really enjoy this publication. As bad as communism is — and its danger cannot be minimized, I think the worst enemy we have today is right here at home . . . and that is the Communists within . . .

A. BURKART, President
Merchants Bank
Hanceville, Ala.

TEXAS (Continued)

Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:30 p
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
Taylor	KTAE*	1260	Sun	1:00 p
Texarkana	KTFS*	1400	To be announced	
Tyler	KLTV-TV**	7	Wed	10:00 p
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Waco	KANG-TV**	34	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
Vernal	KJAM*	1340	Mon	6:00 p
	KJAM**	1340	Sun	3:00 p

VERMONT

Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN**	1340	Sun	8:30 p

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christiansted, St. Croix	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Thomas	WSTA**	1340	To be announced	

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
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 News	WVEC-TV*	15	Sat	5:00 p
Orange	WACH-AM**	1270	To be announced	
	WACH-TV**	33	To be announced	
Roanoke	WJMA**	1340	Sun	9:30 p
Staunton	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun	3:00 p
Suffolk	WAFB*	900	Sun	12:00 n
	WLPM*	1450		
	WLPM**	1450		
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	To be announced	
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p

WASHINGTON

Grand Coulee	KFDR**	1400	Sun	3:30 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	KSEM**	1450	Sat	8:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE**	1150	Sun	2:00 p
Seattle	KOMO*	1000	Mon	6:30 p
Spokane	KHQ-TV**	6	Sun	5:30 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p

WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield	WKQY†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Charleston	WCWA*	1400	Sun	8:00 p
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
New Martinsville	WETZ*	1330	Fri	10:00 a
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV**	4	Sun	5:00 p
Ronceverte	WRON*	1400		
Wheeling	WKWK*		Sun	10:15 p
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	9:30 p

WISCONSIN

Appleton	WBXY†	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
Manitowish	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	To be announced	
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced	

WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Cheyenne	KFBC-TV**	5	Sun	6:00 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Tues	6:30 p
Lander	KOVE†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	7:30 p
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	7:30 p
Torrington	KGOS**	1490	Tues	7:30 p

Concerning the article on "Book Burning" by Victor Lasky, appearing below on this page, the HON. KARL E. MUNDT, U. S. Senator of South Dakota, has this to say:

"This article provides challenging reading for anybody seriously interested in preserving the First Amendment and complete freedom of press and information.

"Obviously, if certain books are banned by the personal prejudice of biased librarians or if they are condemned by a chorus of book reviewers with preconceived opinions about what Americans should read, the odious practice of book burning has been carried to the nth degree by eliminating books from reading rooms even before critics can pounce upon them, and carry them to a greedy fire.

"Mr. Lasky raises some soul-searching questions to be answered objectively by those opposed to censorship whether it be by government edict or by individual bias.

"Is it true that pro-Communist books usually receive favorable book reviews while anti-Communist books are given the brush-off or a black eye?

"Is it true that books favorable to Formosa or to the free Chinese are con-

demned and discouraged whereas books favorable to Communist China and critical of Chiang Kai-shek are applauded and recommended for library purchase?

"Is it true that books which are supercritical of congressional investigating committees and the FBI are encouraged and their perusal advocated whereas caustic criticism and condemnatory comments are directed at books which defend congressional investigation committees and support the FBI?

"Is it true that the *Library Journal* published by Virginia Kirkus has become a "tip sheet" for unsuspecting librarians through which ideological predilections toward the left are espoused and by which books supporting our private enterprise concepts and the constitutional practices of the Republic are excoriated?

"Is it true that book reviewers for the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, and the *Saturday Review* have become a clique of critics chorusing sharp criticism of such ancient and hon-

orable American virtues as patriotism, loyalty, private ownership, and the rights of states and individuals as against the central government? Is Boston's chief librarian, John M. Carroll, correct in his warnings about the *Library Journal* and its tendency to present to librarians a biased and a prejudiced picture?

"Busy senators find little time to read book reviews and less time to review books. Therefore, I raise these questions for others to answer. However, Mr. Lasky's reputation is great enough to at least justify an effort to find honest answers to the questions growing out of his stimulating article. Surely, America wants no more of book banning than it does of book burning.

"Individual librarians, library boards, book selection committees, and the publishers of America's great newspapers and book review sections would do well to re-examine their procedures to make certain there are straightforward and correct answers to the questions raised by Mr. Lasky. Book readers, generally, and those who are inclined to rely on book reviewers to determine their reading diets would do well to give personal study to what they see in book reviews compared with what they read in books in order to make sure that those who publish, review, and recommend books contribute to the enlightenment of the public rather than engage in propaganda thinly concealed behind a facade of respectability."

BOOK BURNING—How the Librarians do it*

by VICTOR LASKY, author and former editor of American Legion Reporter

Diverse, indeed, are the ways of the book-burners.

In Milton, Mass., for example, the town librarian refused to buy Eugene W. Castle's book *Billions, Blunders and Baloney*. She explained that it was "a sporadic attack with inaccuracies and written with assumption."

Castle's assumption, based on several years of personal observations abroad, was that United States foreign aid and overseas propaganda do us more harm than good.

Admittedly, that is a controversial assumption.

But so is Elmer Davis' *But We Were Born Free*, which can be found in the Milton library. Apparently, the librarian accepts its basic assumption—that American freedoms are rapidly disappearing under the whiplash of McCarthyism.

But there are those in Milton, whose taxes support the library, who would

disagree. Yet, no one questions the librarian's right to purchase the Elmer Davis book.

Or, for that matter, the recent penny dreadful by the brothers Alsop, denouncing Admiral Strauss as the villain in the Oppenheimer case, which was criticized even by the physicist himself for intemperateness.

The librarian's charge of inaccuracies hardly holds water since only recently the Milton library obtained a copy of Justice William O. Douglas' highly inaccurate *Almanac of Democracy*. In it, Douglas said 58,000 court-approved wiretaps had taken place in New York; the correct figure was under 800.

Yet, despite her aversion to inaccuracies, the Milton librarian has not consigned the Douglas book to the furnace.

In itself, Milton's ban on the Castle book is not too important. Whether or not the book is good or bad, accurate or inaccurate, is of no importance, either.

The real issue is whether librarians should be permitted to purchase books solely on the basis of their personal opinions. Are they entitled to ban books not conforming with their ideological predilections?

If they are, then the American Library Association was absolutely right when, in 1943, it endorsed a statement proclaiming that "the freedom to read is in danger."

The proclamation denounced attempts to list books and authors as "objectionable" or "controversial" and efforts "to remove books from sale, to censor textbooks. . . ."

Noble sentiments, indeed. But they overlook the fact that, quite often, librarians themselves "burn" books. As at Milton, they just don't buy books they don't like.

Sometimes the librarians can't help themselves. For example, in Teaneck, N. J., the chief librarian had decided against purchasing the Castle book since

*This article reprinted from June 11, 1955 issue of *Human Events*.

the reviews, she claimed, were "bad".

But, as she told a librarians' conference, she had a painful problem: what should she do about the unusual number of requests for the Castle book?

To the untutored, the answer would appear obvious. Give the public what it wants. Or, at least, the librarian should have read the book giving her such pain. But she had not. She told Mr. Castle her opinion of it was based solely on the reviews.

Eventually, her painful dilemma was resolved. She ordered the Castle book.

It should be emphasized that, as in Teaneck, many librarians may be unaware that, by refusing to purchase a book because of certain reviews, they're unwitting accessories in the crime of "book-burning."

More than 12,000 books are published annually. Obviously, few librarians can read more than a handful. Obviously, too, few libraries can purchase every book.

Most librarians, therefore, rely on certain publications for guidance on what to purchase.

Rarely do they decide on the basis of public demand. The Castle book, for example, stirred up extraordinarily large requests in the nation's libraries, to judge from a sampling. Yet, as Boston's chief librarian admits, such demand is no determining influence.

Neither, the Bostonian said, is the fact that a book, such as Castle's, hit national best-seller lists of both the *New York Times* and the *Herald Tribune*.

What is important are the reviews appearing in the *Times* Sunday Book Sections and such trade sources as the *Library Journal* and the Virginia Kirkus tip sheet.

Miss Kirkus' ideological predilections can be seen in her attack on the new Ralph de Toledano anti-Communist novel for failing to contribute to international understanding. Apparently this means that anti-Red manuscripts should be submitted to the Kremlin for approval.

Books like *Billions*, *Blunders* and *Baloney* rarely meet with Miss Kirkus' acceptance. In the *Times*, the Castle book was subjected to a hatchet job, more vindictive than usual. The *Library Journal* also denounced the book.

The *Journal*, since it caters specifically to librarians, has an enormous say over what Americans find in their libraries. Unfortunately, its recommendations generally are questionable.

John Caldwell, a writer on the Far East, studied the *Journal's* choices in his field. Invariably, he told a Senate committee last year, books critical of the Chinese Nationalists are touted. Anti-Communist books, he said, such as Geraldine Fitch's *Formosa Beachhead*, either are condemned or ignored. Books sym-

Urge your friends to ask for **FACTS FORUM NEWS** at the newsstand, or get extra copies there for them. If your news dealer does not have **FACTS FORUM NEWS**, tell him it is now easy to get and easy to sell.

pathetic with congressional probes, such as Burnham's *Web of Subversion*, are rarely recommended. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the *Journal* described the Castle book as "an intemperate attack, often bordering on the hysterical . . . unfortunate . . . noisy manner of presentation. . . ."

Librarians were advised to "await demand," meaning they should keep Castle out of their libraries unless the demand was overwhelming.

By giving such advice, the *Journal* has arrogated for itself the powers of a censor. If anyone else presumed to tell librarians what not to buy, the *Journal* undoubtedly would accuse him of "book-burning."

The *Journal's* influence is enormous, according to Boston's chief librarian, John M. Carroll. In order to accommodate local tastes, Boston's library system supplements the trade papers with its own reading system.

This consists of "five representative branch librarians, advised by ministers and other community leaders," Mr. Carroll said. The committee decides on a book's merits—or lack of them—on the basis of trade reviews, as well as one submitted by a local reader. The committee's analysis then is sent to the various branch libraries.

Here's what was sent out on *Billions*, *Blunders* and *Baloney*.

This book is subtitled "The fantastic story of how Uncle Sam is squandering your money overseas." It might be well to note that the emphasis in this statement should be on the word "fantastic." If Mr. Castle had been a bit less fantastic and a bit more factual his book would have carried greater weight. In this sound and fury treatment he pulls no punches and is impartial in his criticism from the President down.

Before deciding to buy this item, it might be well to read the following reviews: *New York Times* Book Review, February 13, page 22; *New York Herald Tribune* Book Review, February 20, page 5; *Saturday Review*, February 26, page 14.

An important subject not too adroitly handled. Undoubtedly there will be calls for this title; in fact there have already been many calls, but buy with caution. Not for replacement.

Mr. Carroll frankly admitted this comment was "not designed to encourage purchase of the book." He said it

was not unusual to cite reviews appearing in the two New York newspapers.

Mr. Carroll was unaware that New England's best-known newsman, the *Boston Herald's* Bill Cunningham, had devoted a Sunday column of some 4,000 words to high praise of the Castle book. Or that both the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Post* had warmly recommended the book.

"Local newspaper appraisals generally are not profound," Mr. Carroll explained. "Moreover, we seek guidance in non-commercial sources."

The fact that, as reported by the library itself, "there have already been many calls" for the Castle book was unimportant.

"This occurs from time to time," he said. "A newspaper will refer to a book, or Walter Winchell might mention it, and there is phenomenal interest. Which is what happened in the case of Castle. Librarians know what the public wants to read. We seek to avoid deadwood, books not likely to have permanent value."

Mr. Carroll voiced bewilderment in the interest shown in the circular carrying comment on the Castle book. "After all," he said, "we can't read everything."

That, of course, is not the issue.

The issue concerns the objectivity of those empowered to recommend books. In Boston, at least, that objectivity is questionable. Consider the Boston analysis of Emily Hahn's sympathetic biography of Chiang Kai-shek. This recent book was described as "designed for the China lobby appeal. . . . Not all readers will agree with her interpretation. . . . There will be a demand, but it is not a first choice. . . . A more unbiased interpretation may be forthcoming."

The clichéd phraseology clearly reveals the leftward thinking of those who have a lot to say about what is purchased by Boston libraries.

Obviously the hoped-for "more unbiased interpretation" of Chiang's life would be the traditional one picturing the Gismo as a scoundrel. However, Edwin O. Reischauer's *Wanted—An Asian Policy* was recommended. In urging eventual recognition of Red China, this book takes the Lattimore line.

As stated, the merits of these books are not the issue.

The real issue is whether librarians should be permitted to put their own form of "thought control" over on the American people.

And, whether those in high places, from the White House down, will take cognizance of this form of insidious "book-burning," as they did so forthrightly when a Wisconsin senator sought to remove Communist books from United States overseas propaganda libraries.



Consult your bookstore for books reviewed here—or write to publishers listed.

Compulsory Medical Care and The Welfare State

By Melchior Palyi, National Institute of Professional Services, 75 E. Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Illinois, 1949, 156 pp., \$2.00.

This little book is the first comprehensive survey of compulsory medical care in various countries, how it grew up from humble beginnings, and how it relates to political, economic and social control. Dr. Palyi writes from the standpoint of one who has closely observed the direct relationship between governmentalized medicine and totalitarian power.

Socialized medicine, or its euphemous twin, "National Health Insurance," is still an essential aim of those who would continue to convert the United States into a Socialist Welfare State. Opponents of the governmentalized medicine scheme will find in Dr. Palyi's book a wealth of factual information and historical data.

Dr. Palyi presents a clear analysis of the Welfare State as it was built under Bismarck and culminated in Hitler, and as it relates to the various forms which have sprung up all over the world. One passage deserves quotation due to its accurate application to some very fallacious reasoning frequently encountered today: "Bismarck's fundamentally significant role in modern history is rarely understood. His middle-of-the-road socialism was the connecting link between the old autocrats and the coming totalitarians. He thought he could overcome Marxism by his own brand of state socialism—just as Fabian socialists, Keynesians and New Dealers profess that their middle-of-the-road statism keeps the totalitarian wolf from the door."

The author does not shrink from the historical implications of the Welfare State, but states quite frankly what it is and where it leads: "In democracies the Welfare State is the beginning and the Police State the end. The two merge sooner or later, in all experience, and for obvious reasons."

Welfarism is primarily an instrument of political power. It leads directly toward authoritarian rule. Those who have been led to believe that a mild Welfare State is possible without the more obnoxious forms of compulsory medical care would do well to heed Dr. Palyi's words concerning this common denominator of all forms of totalitarian "democracy." "All modern dictators—

Communist, Fascist, or disguised—have at least one thing in common. They all believe in Social Security, especially in coercing people into governmentalized medicine." Totalitarianism seeks always to clothe itself in the garb of humanitarianism.

G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

The United Nations Road to War

By V. Orval Watts, The Foundation For Social Research, 1521 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 17, Calif., 1955, 141 pp., \$1.50 (paper bound).

It is now fairly generally conceded that the United Nations, like any other governmental organization, is not perfect. At least it is not the panacea some of its more ardent supporters acclaimed it. The conversation of the internationalist set has now turned to ways in which the United Nations can be improved. We hear much urging that it be "strengthened."

But one basic assumption made by all UN enthusiasts and one which has been rather well-sold to some of the more skeptical as well as to the less interested members of our populace runs something like this: "Despite its defects the UN is the best thing we have; it is the world's best hope for peace." Is it? Is this basic assumption, passed around as some sort of incontestable truism, a valid premise upon which to base logical reasoning? In all the criticism of the UN this last-ditch defensive recitation has been slightly contested.

The furtherance of peace is the purported purpose and *raison d'être* of the UN. This is the hub about which the debate turns. For all the multifarious activities and programs of the UN and its agencies justification is claimed on the basis that they aid in promoting peace. Debate scatters. The central point is missed, the fundamental question rarely raised — and treated as some form of sacrilege if it is. Is the United Nations a force for peace, or a way to increasing conflict and war?

Dr. V. Orval Watts, noted economist, writer and lecturer, asks this question and many others in his latest book, *The United Nations Road to War*. He has some answers, too — thought-provoking answers which cannot be dismissed with the usual assortment of bland clichés. Dr. Watts' conclusions call for some stiff and reasoned debate on the part of UN partisans. Goody emotional appeals,

sanctimonious indignation, and fear psychology H-bomb cartoons will not suffice.

If, in contesting the most sacred dictum of the internationalist clique, the author becomes guilty of some unspeakable sort of boorishness, he presents what would seem to be reasonable justification:

"I believe that mankind learns and progresses only as more and more individuals study and think, and then act with more wisdom than before.

"Herd conduct is for cattle, not for human beings. Our progress does not depend merely on a few bellwether leaders whom 'the masses' must follow in cow-like trust. Instead we rise or fall as we individually discover truth and act upon it.

"It may be that not many people in the world today will bother to ask or decide whether or not the UN is a hope or a menace, whether it can or cannot do what it promises.

"But if even a thousand, or a hundred, or ten persons get a firm, new understanding of peace and war, of society and government, from these pages, then I believe all of us, and our children, will live in greater peace and well-being."

Dr. Watts believes that by magnifying authoritarian government, by lessening individual freedom, by increasing injustice, by working for a socialistic World Government, the United Nations is fomenting conflict. He strikes directly at the socialistic Welfare State complexion of the organization, contesting the shoddy analogy between the Good Samaritan and the paternalistic Welfare State.

"Coercion cannot develop good will and a sense of responsibility for others, any more than slavery can develop a sense of responsibility for one's self.

"What is worse, when the industrious man or the Good Samaritan tries to force others to follow his example, his own moral sense grows dull. He has to learn the techniques of coercion, and practice them, in place of the techniques of persuasion and mutual aid. He must assume the attitudes and character of the enforcer: self-assurance and self-righteousness that become arrogance; indifference to protest that becomes cruelty; indignation that becomes hatred; and a habit of self-justification that becomes dishonesty.

"Consequently, compulsory work and compulsory sharing destroy the moral bases of human life. No matter how noble the purpose, they are despotism, and they generate conflict.

"That is the reason why most of the human race still lives in fear, hatred, ignorance and destitution. Over the larger part of this earth, rigid customs and governments' coercion force individuals



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to live and work for the 'common good.' They punish selfishness as a crime. The people try to live by force — forced labor and forced sharing. The result is frustration and conflict, hunger and death.

"When these United States, alone in the world and first in history, stood for individual freedom rather than big government, for private investment and free charities rather than taxed-forced 'foreign aid,' for trade rather than a world police force, they showed the world how man may escape from famine, pestilence and war. The result was a century of life-saving such as few dreamers ever hoped for. . . .

"America gave most by showing how all people everywhere could escape from hunger and poverty by establishing freedom for themselves.

"Now as the United States returns to the Old World policies of the Welfare State, they help to lead mankind back into the stagnant barbarism of coercive collectivism, and this betrayal of the American principle of freedom condemns to death more children than UNICEF could feed if it took all the wealth of every American for the purpose.

"Moral law applies to government's conduct as to the conduct of private persons. The legal violence of government has precisely the same effects as violence by private persons. The Good Samaritan who raises a club against the indifferent passerby himself becomes an enemy of mankind whether he holds a government job or not. That is not the road to peace."

The United Nations Road to War is just the sort of book which has long been needed to get the debate over the UN down to fundamental concepts. Dr. Watts bases his arguments directly on the premise of individual freedom and limited government, showing how the United Nations ideal and practice violate this premise. This is a book well worth studying, and we are going to hear more of it. Recognizing its fundamental value, The Devin-Adair Company plans to bring out a cloth-bound edition this fall. Readers will find much worth pondering, while our more doctrinaire internationalists may be encouraged to sharpen their wits as well as their tongues.

G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

Treaties Versus the Constitution

By Roger Lea MacBride, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1955, 89 pp., \$1.00.

Story of the "Bricker" Amendment

By Frank E. Holman, Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., 1954, 179 pp., \$1.00.

Unquestionably the debate over the proposed Bricker Amendment involves one of the great constitutional issues of our history. It is a debate which will continue until such time as an adequate constitutional amendment assures that domestic "treaty law" shall be subject to the same constitutional limitations as legislation by the Congress. Or else until the Constitution, itself, is an anachronism, demolished in the machinery of international bureaucracy. More and more close races for congressional seats are likely to hinge on this issue, but these political fortunes are relatively unimportant.

It is not surprising that the great debate has brought forth books which represent searching studies of the threat unrestrained treaty power offers to the Constitution and to the concept of limited government. Two such books are *Treaties Versus the Constitution* and *Story of the "Bricker" Amendment*. Both are paper-bound and reasonably priced. Both should be read and studied by every American citizen.

Every year we have many political issues. Some command an important niche in history yet to be written, while some are of the most transitory nature. But in the whole fabric of American government the Constitution is the central feature. It is the charter wherein free men delegate certain well-defined, limited powers to those whom they elect to conduct their affairs of government. The Constitution is the enunciation and implementation of the right of self-government. It is not a charter guaranteeing the right to rule. Our Constitution was not designed to perpetuate the European concept of unlimited government. Rather, it was designed to repudiate and guard against this very thing.

A fundamental constitutional issue is one which goes to the very heart of our federal Republic. The issue pointed up by the Bricker Amendment is one of these which now assumes transcendent importance. It is not merely technical; it bears directly upon the form of government future generations of Americans shall have.

This issue is not going to be disposed of by such sneering newspaper commentary as, "Senator Bricker took nearly two months emphasizing his distrust of the President's constitutional foreign policy powers." The issue is not whether the President can or cannot negotiate

treaties in the field of foreign affairs; that has not been questioned. Rather, it is an issue whether he can, with or without the concurrence of the Senate, make and then enforce domestic law governing the citizens of the United States, without regard for constitutional limitations. Our same columnist on another occasion referred to the "President's constitutional authority, to make executive agreements," and went on to say that an amendment should not "restrict the areas in which treaties can be negotiated." This would seem to be a rather bald approval of unlimited executive power, to say nothing of its being somewhat cavalier in its regard for the actual provisions and language of the Constitution. If this is indicative of the type of "constitutional" commentary we are to read in the press, we will do very well, indeed, to study more extensive writings on the subject.

TREATIES VERSUS THE CONSTITUTION

Roger Lea MacBride, in his final year at Harvard Law School, made an extensive study of the question of amending the Constitution to prevent abuse of the treaty power. The bulk of *Treaties Versus the Constitution* was submitted as his thesis.

In addition to being published by Caxton, Mr. MacBride's study has been brought out in a special edition by the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc. in a first printing of 100 thousand copies. Thus, this is a book which will be widely read and much in demand, and most properly so; it is an excellent and highly informative study of the history and implications of treaty law. Frank Holman, himself the author of one book and many pamphlets and articles on the subject, has said, "I have no hesitation in saying that it is one of the best exposes of the danger of treaty law to American rights and the American form of government that has yet been written."

Senator Bricker has said, "Mr. MacBride's book should be read by everyone who wishes to have a full understanding of the momentous constitutional issues involved in this historic debate for a treaty-control amendment." Thus we have a book giving the case for a constitutional amendment, highly praised by two of the men who have most actively worked for such an amendment.

Mr. MacBride has searched the records of judicial cases involving treaty issues. He has presented a great deal of useful information in a compact, readable form. Adequate footnotes are available for those who wish to delve deeper.

Some interesting points are brought out which expose as trivial or deliberately deceptive various arguments used in opposition to a constitutional amendment.

One argument is that which holds that

treaties would have to be submitted to the forty-eight state legislatures for ratification. Mr. MacBride concedes that this would be rare but not impossible. The situation would arise only in the case of a treaty effecting domestic law beyond the authority of Congress. As Mr. MacBride says, "It is clear that Congress has power to legislate in most of the areas with which treaties are concerned: war, peace, foreign commerce, tariffs, immigration, and the concerns of aliens within the country." An added commentary is the fact that Canada's procedure for enforcement of treaty law internally depends in some cases upon the ratifications of the various provincial legislatures, yet our neighbors to the north have, if anything, been able to conduct their foreign affairs more efficiently and more harmoniously than have we. It is just remotely possible that our own foreign affairs could be better conducted if treaties were prohibited from changing our federal form of government, altering our Constitution, or impinging upon our individual liberties and right of local self-government.

We have heard the chorus of protests against "tying the President's hands." The refrain stems usually from ignorance, perhaps even when it issues from those supposedly well-informed in foreign affairs. Mr. MacBride nails this one down with his comment on the effect of the provision which includes the "which" clause: "By adopting this rule the United States parts company with Cuba, Mexico, Liberia, and the Philippines—the only other nations in the world which may have internally self-executing treaties. This change is intended to carry out the spirit of the Constitution, which entrusts the legislative power to the Congress, not to the President and the Senate. Since treaty law is as much law when it impinges upon the individual as any other kind of law, it is fitting that the House of Representatives participate in its creation." The "which" clause simply provides that such implementing legislation must be constitutional.

Those who write blithely of the President's "constitutional" powers are often writing with little or no reference to the Constitution itself. They are thinking in terms of the unlimited power attendant upon the European concept of national sovereignty as distinguished from the idea of a constitutional federal republic. This attitude seems to find expression in the remarks of Justice Sutherland in the *Curtiss-Wright* case, when the court held that even if a statute were unconstitutional if confined to domestic affairs, it is not so since it relates to foreign affairs. The more recent State Department dictum that "there is now no real difference between domestic and foreign affairs" completes the picture of internationalist thinking on the treaty issue.

Justice Sutherland's definition of the source of federal power in the foreign policy field deserves quotation: "... the investment of the federal government with the powers of external sovereignty did not depend upon the affirmative grants of the Constitution. The powers to declare and wage war, to conclude peace, to make treaties, to maintain diplomatic relations with other sovereignities, if they had never been mentioned in the Constitution, would have vested in the government as necessary concomitants of nationality."

A later assertion of Justice Sutherland affords opportunity for interesting speculation: "As a member of the family of nations, the right and power of the United States . . . are equal to the right and power of the other members of the international family." Consider the proposition that the limits of treaty power of our federal government generally, and of the President specifically, be established, not by the Constitution, but by the power "of other members of the international family." Some seem so to wish it, for they say that we must not limit the President's authority and weaken him in dealing with Soviet Russia. Perhaps a constitutionally restrained President cannot effectively deal with a Communist dictator. Perhaps he should be able to deal from a position of equal power. It is never put quite this way.

To sum up the position of Bricker Amendment advocates, the President should not have the power, by the simple expedient of making an agreement with the head of a foreign power, to legislate—and then enforce—domestic law in the United States. This century has a word for this kind of government.

Nor should the President and the Senate have this power, for the Constitution clearly states (Article I, Section 1) that "All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

Of course, in all this we will have to get away from the rather prevalent notion that the Congress is a sort of noisy debating society that spends too much time carrying on "inquisitions" when it should be formalizing the President's legislative program.

STORY OF THE "BRICKER" AMENDMENT

Frank Holman's book is a most valuable contribution to the constitutional debate. Mr. Holman, a past president of the American Bar Association, gives a clear, incisive presentation which is unusually well designed for the general reader and average American citizen. This book is a document which will be of considerable permanent significance—a sort of twentieth century Federalist Papers. The first printing amounted to 100 thousand copies, and additional

printings are certainly to be expected.

It is difficult in a review to indicate the scope of a volume such as this. There is scarcely a page or paragraph that could be termed unimportant to the issue under discussion.

Whereas Mr. MacBride's book gives special attention to the history of treaty law since the adoption of our Constitution, Mr. Holman deals particularly with the present-day conditions and modern "interpretations" that have turned treaty law into a threat to constitutional government and individual freedom. *Story of the "Bricker" Amendment* is just that—the story of the growing awareness of the new threat posed by treaties and executive agreements dealing with domestic affairs, and the story of the movement that arose to secure a constitutional amendment to prevent abuses. The American Bar Association made an extensive four-year study of the issue. The Senate Judiciary Committee made an exhaustive study and approved the Bricker Amendment by a strong majority.

The resolution finally reached the floor of the Senate where the President's interference and influence succeeded in forestalling its adoption. Mr. Holman writes, "Except for the unprecedented and unconstitutional interference of the President in a purely legislative process of government, an adequate amendment could have been passed." President Eisenhower was the first president in the history of our country to interfere in the amendment process. President Washington refrained from any interference with the adoption of our first ten amendments, the Bill of Rights. These placed very severe—and very necessary—restrictions upon the powers of the federal government. Indeed, these, too, "tied the hands of the President," in matters of autocratic power.

The present administration first opposed *any* constitutional amendment. Popular demand was so strong, however, that the administration was forced into a "face-saving" maneuver—that of supporting an amendment, but one which would provide no safeguard against unconstitutional legislation by means of treaties or executive agreements. From a position of opposing *any* amendment the administration switched to the position of attempting to dictate to the Congress the precise wording of a constitutional amendment. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the new extra-constitutional attitude that prompted the drive to restrain treaties and executive agreements to constitutional bounds.

Mr. Holman brings out many facts of great importance. For instance, after Mr. Dulles assured the Judiciary Committee that the administration would not press for ratification of the Genocide Convention, U. S. delegates to the United Nations twice voted for a resolution calling

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Our Number One Problem

The Importance of Balancing

by Harry Flood Byrd

U. S. Senator from Virginia and Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee

This address, reprinted from Vital Speeches, was delivered before the United States Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

IS it important to balance the budget? As I see it, balancing the budget without resorting to legerdemain or unsound bookkeeping methods is certainly in the category of our number one problems.

Beginning with 1792, the first fiscal year of our federal government, and through 1916, federal deficits were casual and usually paid off in succeeding years. In this 124-year period there were forty-three deficit years and eighty-one surplus years. As late as July 1, 1914, the interest-bearing debt was less than \$1 billion.

In Andrew Jackson's administration the public debt was paid off in toto, an achievement in which President Jackson expressed great pride.

It can be said for this first 124 years in the life of our Republic we were on a pay-as-you-go basis. In that period I think it can be accurately said that we laid the foundation for our strength today as the greatest nation in all the world.

Then in 1917, 1918 and 1919, World War I deficits aggregated \$13 billion. Heavy current taxation in those years paid much of the war cost.

The next 11 years, from 1919 to 1931, were surplus years, and the war debt was reduced.

In 1932, Mr. Roosevelt came into office, and the most outstanding plank in his platform was to reduce federal expenditures by 25 per cent and to keep the budget in balance. He accused Mr. Hoover of "throwing discretion to the winds and indulging in an orgy of waste and extravagance." Mr. Hoover spent \$4 billion in his last year, and the record shows that this spendthrift Hoover was the only President to leave office with fewer federal employees than when he came in.

Mr. Roosevelt added more than \$200 billion to the public debt during his administrations.

I took my oath as a Senator the same day Mr. Roosevelt took his as President—March 4, 1933. The first bill I voted on was the legislation recommended by

President Roosevelt to redeem his economy pledge by reducing all expenditures 15 per cent—a difference of 10 per cent less than his original promise, it is true—but I thought this was a substantial redemption of a campaign pledge, as such things go, and I enthusiastically supported him.

The title of the bill was "A bill to preserve the credit of the United States government." Our debt was then about \$16 billion. This economy program was short-lived—about six months—and the spending then began to steadily and rapidly increase.

Mr. Roosevelt presented thirteen budgets and in every peacetime budget he promised a balance between income and outgo for the next year, but it turned out that next year never came. He was in the red all the way, and in every year of his administration a substantial deficit was added to the public debt.

There were eight Truman budgets. Three were in the black—those for fiscal years 1947, 1948 and 1951. Two resulted from war contract cancellations following the end of World War II and the third resulted from increased taxes for the Korean War before the war bills started coming due. Five Truman budgets were in the red.

Mr. Eisenhower has presented two budgets—both in the red but on a declining ratio. The Eisenhower deficit estimates for fiscal years 1955 and 1956 aggregate \$7 billion as compared to the last Truman budget which alone contemplated a \$9 billion deficit.

The cold facts are that for 21 years out of the last 24 years we have spent more than we have collected. In these 24 years we have balanced the budget in only three; and these were more by accident than by design.

We must recognize that we have abandoned the sound fiscal policies strictly adhered to by all political parties and all presidents for considerably more than a century of our existence. It is true that during these 21 deficit years we were engaged in World War II for four years and in the Korean War for two years.

Yet, in the years when the pay-as-you-go system prevailed we also had quite a few wars.

It is a quarter of a century of deficit spending which now makes balancing the budget so imperative. Young men and women, born in 1930, have lived in the red virtually all their lives. Our acceptance of deficit spending for so long a period has weakened public resistance to the evils of this practice. Bad habits are hard to change.

Will the deficits become permanent and continue to pile debt upon debt until real disaster comes? If we cannot balance the budget in this day of our greatest dollar income, when taxes are near their peak and when we are at peace, I ask, when can we?

It is disturbing these days to hear some economists argue the budget should not be balanced and that we should not begin to pay on the debt because, they allege, it will adversely affect business conditions. Have we yielded so far to the blandishments of federal subsidies and government support that we have forgotten our nation is great because of individual effort as contrasted to state paternalism?

Today the direct debt of the federal government is \$280 billion. Our debt is equivalent to the full value of all the land, all the buildings, all the mines, all the machinery, all the livestock—everything of tangible value in the United States.

I think no one can deny we are mortgaged to the hilt. If we add to this federal debt the debts of the states and localities, we have an amount in excess of \$300 billion in direct public obligations.

This is five times as much as the total public debts in 1939. While public debt has increased fivefold since 1939 the gross national product—the output of our factories, farms, etc.—increased less than fourfold. When debt increases at a pace faster than the increase in the value of all goods and services, the currency is diluted with consequent shrinkage in the purchasing power of the dollar.

the Budget



—Wide World Photo
Senator Harry Flood Byrd, Virginia Democrat, is calling the signals for the Eisenhower administration in the legislative struggles over taxes and trade.

But the direct debts I have mentioned are not all our obligations. In addition, we have contingent liabilities totaling \$250 billion which the federal government has guaranteed, insured and otherwise assumed on a contingent basis. No one can predict to what extent this contingent liability will result in losses which must be paid by the federal government.

For example, \$40 billion of this contingent liability is in some forty federal housing programs, and from recent disclosures of graft and windfall profits in the various public housing programs, it is evident that a substantial percentage of these contingent liabilities eventually may become a draft on the Treasury.

In addition to the \$280 billion in direct federal debt, and the \$250 billion in contingent liabilities, we have on our hands a Social Security system guaranteed by the federal government involving many millions of our citizens, which is no longer actuarially sound.

The ultimate cost of this system to the Treasury is still unestimated, but the fact remains that when the income from premiums imposed upon those who are covered in the system is no longer sufficient or available to pay the benefits, then regular tax revenue collected from those in and out of the system will be used to finance the deficiency.

Here are some of the evils of deficit spending:

The debt today is the debt incurred by this generation, but tomorrow it will be debt on our children and grandchildren, and it will be for them to pay, both the interest and the principal.

It is possible and in fact probable that before this astronomical debt is paid off, if it ever is, the interest charge will exceed the principal.

Protracted deficit spending means cheapening of the dollar. Secretary Humphrey testified before the Finance Committee that the greatest single factor in cheapening the American dollar has been deficit spending.

Since I have been in the Senate, interest alone on the federal debt has cost the taxpayers of this country more than \$75 billion. At present rates, on the federal debt at its present level, interest on it in the next twenty years will cost taxpayers upwards of \$150 billion.

Since 1940 the federal government has borrowed and spent a quarter of a trillion dollars more than we have collected in taxes.

Year by year, nearly in direct ratio to deficit spending, the purchasing value of the dollar has declined. Beginning with a 100 cent dollar in 1940, the value of the dollar has declined to 52 cents in 1954.

As proof of the fact that deficit spending is directly responsible for cheapening the dollar, let me mention that in 1942, when we spent \$19 billion in excess of revenue, the dollar in that one year declined 10 cents in value.

In 1943, another big deficit year, the dollar lost 5 cents more in value, and another 9 cents in 1946. From 1940 through 1952, an era of heavy deficit spending, the dollar lost 48 cents in value, or nearly 4 cents each year, and it is still slipping but in a much lesser degree.

Some may regard these facts and figures lightly, but the loss of half the purchasing power of its money in thirteen years should be a serious warning to any nation.

Cheapened money is inflation. Inflation is a dangerous game. It robs creditors, it steals pensions, wages and fixed income. Once started, it is exceedingly difficult to control. This inflation has been partially checked, but the value of the dollar dropped slightly again in the past year. It would not take much to start up this dangerous inflation again.

Public debt is not like private debt. If private debt is not paid off, it can be ended by liquidation, but if public debt is not paid off with taxes, liquidation takes the form of disastrous inflation or national repudiation. Either is destructive of our form of government.

Today the interest on the federal debt

takes more than 10 per cent of our total federal tax revenue. Without the tremendous cost of this debt our annual tax bill could be reduced 10 per cent across the board.

The interest charge would be greater if much of the debt was not short-termed with lower interest rates. Should this debt be long termed at the $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent paid on recent 30-year bonds, the interest would be nearly 15 per cent of the federal income. No business enterprise could survive such heavy interest out of its gross income.

FEDERAL GRANTS TO STATES

Since 1934 federal grants to states have expanded enormously in both cost and functions. They slip in like mice and soon grow to the size of elephants. Every federal grant elevates the control of the federal government and subordinates the control and authority of the states.

Nothing is more true than the rule that power follows the purse. When the federal government makes a grant it directs exactly the manner in which the funds are expended, even though the states partially contribute to the project. Time and time again I have seen the iron hand of the federal bureaucracy with grants compel the states to do things they did not want to do.

Growth in federal grants is indicated by the fact that in 1934, twenty-one years ago, the total of such grants was \$126 million covering eighteen programs. Now federal grants total \$3 billion for fifty programs. This is an increase of 300 per cent in programs and 2300 per cent in cost.

These are the figures to date. As to additional grants for the future, President Eisenhower, in his address on the State of the Union, proposed to open up three Pandora's boxes of new federal "handouts" to the states.

The proposals by the President, if adopted by Congress, would be the greatest increase in grants to states yet undertaken and the longest step yet to federal paternalism.

Under the administration's road proposal a dummy corporation, without assets and without income, would issue bonds for \$21 billion, and Washington would take control of 40,000 miles of the best roads in the 48 states.

By legerdemain this \$21 billion in federal agency bonds would be declared as not federal debt and would be excluded from the debt limitation fixed by Congress.

The interest would be \$11.5 billion, or 55 per cent of the funds borrowed.

It was proposed to pay the principal of these bonds and the interest on them with permanent indefinite appropriations, which would remove the corpora-

tion from annual appropriation control by Congress.

The proposal would abolish the policy established in 1916—thirty-nine years ago—requiring states to match federal funds for roads.

The scheme was predicated upon pledging federally imposed gasoline taxes over a period of thirty years for the repayment of the bonds and the interest.

The Comptroller General of the United States, Mr. Joseph Campbell, recently appointed by President Eisenhower, said of this proposal:

"We (The General Accounting Office) feel that the proposed method of financing is objectionable because . . . the borrowing would not be included in the public debt obligations of the United States. . . . It is our opinion that the government should not enter into financial arrangements which might have the effect of obscuring financial facts of the government's debt position." Comptroller General Campbell also questioned the legality of the proposal.

We all want good roads. The people are willing to pay for good roads, but it is certainly not necessary practically to destroy the fiscal bookkeeping of our country in order to finance our road system.

These bonds would, of course, be a general obligation of the government. There is no banker in this country who would buy bonds of such a dummy federal corporation without the guarantee of the federal government.

Should the gasoline tax be dedicated thirty years in advance for the payment of bonds issued to build roads, then, by the same line of reasoning, other taxes could be dedicated for other specific purposes. If this were carried far enough there would be no funds for the more unglamorous but essential functions.

PROPOSED AID FOR SCHOOLS

The second of the three administration state-aid proposals involved about \$8 billion in direct appropriations and contingent liabilities for payments, grants, loans and guarantees to states for school construction. The last bastion of states rights and individual liberty lies in the education of our children.

Federal appropriations to public schools followed by the inevitable federal control will strike a fatal blow at the grass roots of our democracy.

I do not believe that there is a state or locality in the Union that cannot provide for the cost of its public school system if there is the will to do so.

FEDERAL HEALTH PROGRAM

It is impossible to estimate the cost of the President's third proposal. It was for a so-called federal health payment program. It would be certain to cost

millions of dollars annually and it could easily be the beginning of socialized medicine.

NO SUCH THING AS A FEDERAL GRANT

It is well for everyone to understand that there is no such thing as a federal grant. All of the money comes from citizens in the states. The money goes to Washington and there it is subject to deductions for federal administration. This money then goes back to the states less deductions, and the federal government tells us how to spend our own money.

Proposals have been advocated changing our budgetary system. The Secretary of the Treasury has not approved these proposals and I am certain he will not. But there are two budgetary proposals which recur with persistency, and I want to warn you of them.

First, there is the proposal for a "cash" budget. Those who advocate the "cash" budget are suggesting that the government pay its routine bills with savings of the citizens who have entrusted protection of their old age and unemployment to the guardianship of the federal government. These trust funds were established from premiums paid by participants in Social Security, unemployment insurance, bank deposit insurance programs, etc. Not a cent of these funds belongs to the government.

Second, some are advocating a "capital" budget which means that so-called "capital" expenditures should not be considered as current expenditures in the budget.

Those who advocate the so-called "capital" budget must start out with the fallacious assumption that the government is in business to make a profit on its citizens. To my knowledge the federal government has never made a bona fide profit on any government operation.

They must assume that debt contracted by a federal agency is not a debt of the federal government and a burden on all of the taxpayers.

I am an old-fashioned person who believes that a debt is a debt just as much in the atomic age as it was in the horse and buggy days.

A "capital" budget must assume that government manufacturing plants, such as atomic energy installations, are in commercial production for a profit, and that government stockpiles are long-time investments for profit instead of precautions against emergencies when they would be completely expendable with no financial return.

Likewise, it must assume that the agriculture surplus program is primarily a long range investment deal instead of a prop for annual farm income to be used when needed on a year-by-year basis.

While the vastness and complexity of the federal government of the United

States necessarily makes budgeting difficult, the so-called "conventional" budget currently in use offers the best approach to orderly financing with fullest disclosure.

What is needed for a better fiscal system is fuller disclosure of federal expenditures and responsibility for them—not less, as inevitably would be the case with so-called "cash" and "capital" budgets.

With full disclosure of the federal expenditure situation, the American people then would have an opportunity to decide whether they wanted to recapture control and bring the rate of spending into balance with the rate of taxing and thus reduce the tremendous federal debt burden we are now bearing.

To capture control we must first reduce unexpended balances in appropriations already made and rescind those which are nonessential. When we started this fiscal year, unexpended balances in appropriations already made totaled about \$100 billion, including \$78 billion in appropriations enacted in prior years, and \$20 billion in authority to spend directly out of the public debt.

The situation is made even worse by the procedure under which Congress acts on appropriation bills. Not only has Congress lost control over the annual rate of expenditure, but once the President's budget is submitted in January, Congress never again sees it as a whole unit after the appropriations are enacted. The first thing Congress does is to split the appropriation requests of the President into a dozen or more bills. Then it proceeds to consider them separately over a period of six months or more. In the consideration of these bills attention is given only to appropriations, and these may be spent over a period of years. An appropriation enacted in a year when revenue is high may actually be spent in a year when revenue is low. There is never an opportunity in Congress, in action on appropriation bills, to consider them in terms of annual expenditures in view of estimated revenue.

To correct such an intolerable situation, along with 48 other Senators, I have introduced legislation providing for a single appropriation bill which would set forth not only requested appropriations for the future but also unexpended balances available in prior appropriations. This resolution has three times passed the Senate but has not yet been acted on by the House.

It provides further that Congress write into the consolidated appropriation bill limitations on expenditures in the ensuing year from each appropriation. And beyond this it provides that in determining the expenditure limitations, all proper consideration should be given the anticipated revenue, the cash position of

the Treasury and the level of our federal debt.

By this process, the Congress and the public would have the means of knowing our fiscal position and the facilities would be provided for balancing the budget with reduction in taxes and debt.

Along with this, I have introduced legislation giving the President the authority to veto items within appropriation bills, thus according him a double check on log-rolling which most of the governors in this country have used for years without abuse.

In short, I advocate one budget with full disclosure as to our expenditures, which fixes responsibility not only for the expenditures but also the administration of expenditure programs; I advocate a single appropriation bill in which Congress not only authorizes expenditures but controls them in a manner that can be considered in view of revenue. A budget is not a budget unless it has two sides—expenditure and income. And finally, I advocate an item veto for the President, who is elected to his office by all of the people.

With these provisions, I believe the budget can be balanced, the debt can be reduced and taxes can be lowered.

If, by budgetary and legislative procedure, we could recapture control of expenditures from the bureaucratic agencies, there are obvious places where they could be substantially reduced and eliminated without impairment of any essential function.

President Eisenhower has made a good start. The Truman budget for fiscal year 1953 totaled \$74.3 billion. Estimates of the Eisenhower budget currently under consideration total \$62.4 billion—a reduction of nearly \$12 billion. Our tax income is \$60 billion. Our deficits are decreasing, but we are not yet on a pay-as-you-go basis.

Most of the reduction has been in the military, and this is largely incident to the end of the Korean War.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Humphrey, for whom I have great admiration, and the able Budget Director, Mr. Hughes, are working diligently and making substantial progress toward sounder budgetary procedure and the elimination of waste in expenditures.

We are still practically at the peak of expenditures for domestic-civilian programs and proposals, for more are coming forth in a steady stream.

In fact, expenditures for strictly domestic-civilian programs now total \$24 billion, and this is more than three times the total cost of these programs in 1940, when we started the World War II build-up.

Even this is not the whole story on domestic-civilian expenditures; because these figures do not reflect the liabilities

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of the tremendous loan insurance and guarantee programs.

Nonessentials in these programs must be eliminated and this clearly can be done, as Mr. Hoover and his two fine Commissions on Government Organization have demonstrated in nearly 500 recommendations to date—some of which have been adopted, while others still await action.

With the pressure for more and more government which seems to characterize our times, I am convinced that such constant examination of government as the Hoover Commission surveys has become a continuing necessity.

With budgetary disclosure and congressional control, under current circumstances and conditions, we should reject all new proposals for federal spending innovations.

In fact, the budget for fiscal year 1956, beginning next July 1, could be reduced \$5 billion by eliminating expenditures contemplated under new legislation and by eliminating increases in items under existing legislation. I would oppose all new proposals to invade the responsibilities of states, localities and individuals and start immediately to liquidate many of the programs already in existence.

Beyond this, I would eliminate as rapidly as possible all foreign economic aid, and I would get military expenditures quickly in hand through control of unexpended balances.

So far, we have spent nearly \$40 billion for foreign economic assistance. And at this late date, after ten years of post-war foreign aid, the President has proposed to increase foreign aid expenditures in the coming year by nearly 10 per cent, and he has asked Congress for new foreign aid appropriations in amounts nearly 25 per cent higher than were enacted during the past year.

We are still employing 562,158 civilians overseas. These people are employed all over the world, including 64 in Cambodia.

This foreign aid has got to stop some time, and so far as I am concerned the time to stop so-called economic aid is past due.

No one favors a reduction of our present burdensome taxes more than I do. I sit on both sides of the table. As an individual, I pay substantial taxes on my business operations. As a member of the Senate Finance Committee I have the opportunity to hear testimony of those who protest exorbitant taxation. But as anxious as I am as an individual for tax reduction, I am opposed patriotically to tax reduction which requires us to borrow and add to the public debt. It seems to me to be a certain road to financial suicide to continue to reduce taxes and then to borrow the money to make good this loss in revenue.

As things are now shaping up, there will be keen competition between the two political parties for tax reduction in the political year of 1956. If we reduce expenditures this is all well and good but, under political pressure, we should not yield to reducing taxes and still further unbalance the budget. Tax reduction should never be made a political football.

As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, I opposed the \$20 tax reduction to each individual as passed by the House of Representatives this year. This would have occasioned a loss of \$2.3 billion to the Treasury, all of which would be added to the debt. It would have given a tax relief of only about 7 cents a day to each taxpayer and would have removed 5 million taxpayers completely from the tax rolls.

To borrow money to reduce taxes is not, in fact, a tax reduction. It is merely a postponement of the collection of taxes as, sooner or later, the taxes thus reduced will have to be paid with interest. There is only one sound way to reduce taxes and that is to reduce spending first.

At home we can get along without federal usurpation of individual, local and state responsibilities and we can get along without federal competition in business whether it be hotels, furs, rum, clothing, fertilizer or other things.

The Bible says: "If thine eye offend thee pluck it out." I say if the federal government should not engage in such activities, we should first stop new invasions and then gradually, if not abruptly, eliminate the old intrusions. When we do these things we shall balance the budget, for lower taxes and reduced debt. There will be no further need for trick budgets and debt ceiling evasions and hiding taxes. The government will be honest in itself, and honest with the people.

A balanced budget could be in sight if (a) we do not increase spending, and (b) we do not reduce taxes. Assuming no further cut in taxes, only a 4 per cent reduction in spending, in terms of the President's budget, would bring us to that highly desirable goal.

Where are the Patriots?

by Henry Broderick

This article by Mr. Broderick, a distinguished citizen of Seattle, first appeared in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*.



—David Strickler

School children of the early part of this century were stirred by the lines of Sir Walter Scott—

*"Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said—
'This is my own, my native land.'"*

If there were a modern version, it would read something like this—

*"Breathes there a man so old-fashioned
That he takes his patriotism unrationed?"*

Much as it might appear, this critical essay is not directed against teachers, professors, the intelligentsia, parents, or what-nots. Rather it is an indictment of a generation. In short, it is a plain diagnosis of what has happened to the American flag since World War I.

To be sure, the "grand old flag" of song and storied fame is exhibited on state occasions, in parades, and celebrations where military units are participants and on flagstaves on specified dates. Hats are doffed when the flag passes in review, and momentarily one may get the impression that reverence for the national emblem is in full bloom.

The fact is, the red-white-and-blue ensign is generally shown in a compulsive or directive sense, and the deference offered is generally automatic or superficial—not spontaneous. Time was when the sight of the flag evoked tense inner passions in the heart, yes, even sentimental tears. The emblem stood for all that the United States meant at home and abroad. Nearly every home owned one or more flags and displayed them on big and little occasions.

Every foreign nation had a conscious and abiding respect for it, because they knew it was backed by the determination of Americans not to permit it to be

slighted or trampled upon. But during the 20th century certain processes and procedures have churned themselves into the thinking of our people. The one-world chimera has appealed to many of the upper strata of our intellectuals, who have in turn sifted down to the lower levels the doctrine that stress on nationalism is out of harmony with the oncoming trend of globular attitudes.

In many schools and colleges, American history is no longer taught, so that the youngsters have not the faintest notion or knowledge of what the flag stands for. On the contrary, they are taught that all national flags are to be considered collectively and that sentimental leanings toward any particular flag is contrary to modern realism. So in the minds of many, the old flag with its original motto, "Don't tread on me," is now just one of a family of flags and almost forgotten in the hurrying mass effort toward comforts and conveniences. The emphasis is on leisure, not on liberty. Millions of Americans have succumbed to the new philosophies and have lost their patriotic souls, but we can still have faith in the other millions of Americans who courageously cling to the idea that our flag is a living symbol of the free world and that it represents the only instrument left to enforce the maintenance of the freedoms. Their spirits are saturated with the words of the poet:

*"Up to the breeze in the morning, I fling you.
Blending your folds with the dawn in the sky.
There let the people behold you, and bring
you
Love and devotion that never shall die.
Proudly, agaze at your glory, I stand
Flag o' my land! Flag o' my land!"*

The Fuss About Price Supports

by Earl Beall

Editor, Mississippi Co-op News

EVERY day the public furor about price supports on farm commodities grows hotter. Congress is divided in opinion; the big four of farm organizations cannot agree; it is section against section and brother against brother.

What is it all about? What are the basic principles involved and what causes one group or region to have a viewpoint diametrically opposed to the viewpoint of another group or region?

First, let us make one statement with which we believe nearly every farmer will agree, that is: Farm people would overwhelmingly support a return to a free economy where there are no protective tariffs to a subsidized industry; no wage and hour laws and other protective labor legislation; no "fair-trade" agreements to maintain a fixed profit for merchants; no monopolies and cartels; no price supports and production controls for agriculture; no cost-plus contracts between government and industry; no subsidies to newspapers, magazines, and airlines; no fast tax write-offs for big business; no windfall depletion allowances for the oil business, and so on to infinity.

The farmer by nature is a rugged individual. He is willing to tame the wilderness and harness the soil. He will take his chances with flood, drought, and insects and with city slickers in the market place. But to expect him to be the only free-enterpriser in the whole economic system is the same as asking him to revert to the peasant status which was his lot in the Dark Ages. Hence, price supports.

After leaving that one area of near agreement, farmers themselves begin to differ.

First there are the "no price-support" followers. In national meetings they have been called the "cheap chicken feed boys." They say they want no price supports on poultry and eggs because it would stimulate production by marginal producers which would destroy the market for everyone. Since they want no price support for their product, they would like to see price supports eliminated on the grain feed which they have to buy. Sharing this viewpoint with the cheap chicken feed boys are the livestock feeders who do not have price supports.

Many producers of grain, oil seed meals, hulls and other feeds contend that a radical drop in feed prices will have the same effect on livestock production as price supports for livestock. The mar-

ginal and submarginal producers will start producing regardless of whether the incentive is price support or cheap feed. Thus, they say, both the feed grower and the livestock feeder will find themselves without profitable markets if feed price supports are removed.

Then there are those who have cut their costs of production so much since the base period of 1909-14 that they can make a good profit at much less than 90 per cent of parity. Production costs have been lowered by extensive use of machinery, improved varieties, irrigation and insecticides. High price supports, they say, are causing speculators to plow up the grasslands in the dust bowl and glut the wheat market. These are the sliding-scale boys. They say cut the price enough to keep the newcomers out. Included in this group will also be found the corporation farmers who have moved onto the fertile deserts now served with government water, where three bales of cotton to the acre is only average. They say everyone should get out except the most efficient. Their concern for the family-unit farm coincides with the philosophy of Marie Antoinette when told that the people had no bread—"Let them eat cake." This is just as popular a solution with farm families today as it was when the callous Empress uttered those tragic words years ago.

Then there are the world traders. They say that we must reduce the prices of our commodities to world prices or we will lose world markets. At first glance, that statement makes a lot of sense. But we must go one step further and see what the consequences will be if we follow that policy to its ultimate conclusion. Take cotton as an example. Thirty per cent of the crop is exported. The world

traders say that if we don't lower cotton price supports, Mexico will take our markets. Mexico has no wage and hour law. Farm labor can be hired for forty cents a day. Mexican farmers are not being taxed to save, defend, and feed the world. The Mexican economy is not inflated by artificial stimulants for industry. Therefore, they can produce cotton very cheaply. With average United States cotton supported at about thirty-four cents, Mexican cotton growers, including some large American firms operating in Mexico, are having boom times.

If we follow the advice of the world traders we will cut the price of American cotton to the point that Mexican growers will no longer find it profitable to grow cotton. It has been estimated that the price will have to drop to twelve cents a pound to produce this result. This means lowering the living standard of the families living on cotton farms in the South to the Mexican peon's level. Already, in 1955, eleven thousand Mississippi families have been displaced from cotton farms. Many have moved into the slums of Chicago and Detroit where some will become wards of the government while they dream of cottonfields white with lint. There are those of us who say that our farm programs should be as much concerned with people as they are with commodities. Incidentally, the cotton price support program has not cost the taxpayers one dime. The government has made a net profit of more than 200 million dollars in supporting the price of cotton.

The whole American economy is artificially supported above world levels. If we are going to continue in world trade, the difference can be made up in one of two ways. Either we will have export subsidies or some segment of our economy must take up all the slack of the rest of the country. As it stands now the cotton farmers and the wheat farmers are being asked to carry the whole load. They are not getting much help from the professional friends of the farmer. We recently heard one of the heads of one of the largest farm organizations in the country make the statement that those who disagree with his sliding-scale philosophy are only seeking to embarrass the Eisenhower administration. Maybe he has formed his farm program philosophies for political purposes, but there are honest sincere people who have contrary convictions. It is tough to go into court with your lawyer conceding publicly that the other side has the best case.

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Marine Oath Clarification

WE ARE indebted to Miss Loretta A. Otto, of 4517 Vista Street, Philadelphia 36, Pennsylvania, who has sent us the following information:

"In the May issue of *Facts Forum News* there appeared a letter in the Letters to the Editors contest from C. G. Richardson of Kirkland, Washington, which concerned the omission of the word 'God' and reference to defense of the Constitution from the Marine Oath.

"Then in the *Brooklyn Tablet* on May 21, appeared the enclosed editorial, seeming to clarify the situation. . . . I thought you would like to have the editorial to set the record straight."

TWO OATHS FOR THE MILITARY

From The Brooklyn Tablet, May 21, 1955

In an article in *The Tablet* last fall, a contributor quoted an "oath of enlistment" which was said to have been taken by men in the armed forces during World Wars I and II and which pledged support for the Constitution of the United States and ended with "so help me God." The article then quoted the "present oath of enlistment, copied from the official form of the U. S. Marine Corps," which mentioned neither the Constitu-

tion nor God. In the issue of March 26, 1955, a correspondent, in the Readers' Forum, said that he had been informed by the Commandant of the Marine Corps that the oath without mention of the Constitution or of God was the standard form in all branches of the armed forces, according to an act of Congress of May 5, 1950.

The issue interested a zealous and scholarly member of St. Francis of Assisi parish, H. Joseph Mahoney. He requested Congressman Francis E. Dorn, who happens to be a leader in St. Augustine's parish activities, to ascertain the facts and history of the oath of enlistment. The latter's investigation indicated that the oath taken by enlisted men, without mention of the Constitution or of God, dated from 1806. Non-substantial changes were made in 1920 and again in 1950. Congressman Dorn received the information from Major General John A. Klein, Adjutant General, Department of the Army.

From Katharine B. Stroup, staff assistant in the division of manpower and personnel of the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Mr. Mahoney learned that the oath which includes the pledge of support of the Constitution and

the phrase "so help me God" is a separate one and is taken by all officers (except certain non-citizens) newly appointed in the armed forces.

The texts of both oaths follow:

I, _____, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office upon which I am about to enter; so help me God.

I, _____, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America; that I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies whomsoever; that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States and the orders of the officers appointed over me according to regulations and the Uniform Code of Military Justice. And I do further swear that all statements made by me, as given in this record, are correct.

Rep. H. R. Gross of Iowa, meanwhile, has introduced a resolution (H.R. 5598) to have the oath of enlistment revised to include the pledge to support and defend the Constitution and the phrase "so help me God."



(Continued from Page 53)

on all nations to ratify the Genocide Convention. The United States representative formally signed the Convention. Mr. Dulles had been an ardent supporter of the UN human rights program, and in 1949 he had publicly chided the American Bar Association for opposing ratification of the Genocide Convention. Mr. Dulles' position is characterized by Mr. Holman as "the old argument of asking the people to rely on a government of men instead of a government of law."

The author is particularly concerned with the hundreds of UN treaties and covenants which attempt to regulate domestic matters: "The United Nations Charter created the Economic and Social Council with powers to appoint sub-agencies to draft pacts, covenants and treaties with respect to social, economic, educational, cultural and health matters for all the people of the world, including the people of the United States."

Considerable attention is given to the Covenant of Human Rights and the Genocide Convention as illustrative of the extreme degree to which UN bureaucrats are attempting to control the private affairs of individual Americans. Added to Mr. Holman's text are excellent articles by Samuel B. Pettingill, Garett Garrett, Frank Chodorov, Dean Clarence Manion and Don Knowlton. Mr. Knowlton exposes the fantastic socialized medicine program embodied in two I.L.O. Conventions.

Appendices cover the famous Pink case and the dissenting opinion in the Steel Seizure case. Also included are tabulations of the final votes on the Bricker Proposal and the George Sub-stitute Proposal.

Frank Holman sums up the basic issue in a positive and accurate manner: "Never forget that the issue involved in this amendment is the greatest issue which faces America today, greater than taxes or inflation or even Communist infiltration. . . . The issue is the basic issue of whether we and our children and our children's children are to have a government of men or a government of adequate constitutional safeguards. Remember again and always, there is no place in the American concept of government for omnipotent power except in

the people themselves, for our forefathers intended and specifically said that all powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved to the states and to the people."

This is one concept of government. The other, the concept of unlimited executive power, is illustrated in the colloquy between the court and the Assistant Attorney General in the Steel Seizure case:

Court: "And is it not also your view that the powers of the government are limited by and enumerated in the Constitution of the United States?"

Assistant Attorney General: "That is true, Your Honor, with respect to legislative powers."

Court: "But that it is not true, you say, as to the Executive?"

Assistant Attorney General: "No . . ."

Court: "So, when the sovereign people adopted the Constitution, it enumerated the powers set up in the Constitution but limited the powers of Congress and limited the powers of the judiciary, but it did not limit the powers of the Executive. Is that what you say?"

Assistant Attorney General: "That is the way we read Article II of the Constitution."

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

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.



Award Winners



LETTERS to the EDITORS

1st Award

INDEPENDENT SWITZERLAND

To the *New York Herald Tribune*:

If President Eisenhower goes to Geneva for his "at-the-summit" conference, we hope he will observe that (1) Switzerland is not a member of UN and has repeatedly refused to make military alliances with other nations and (2) Swiss citizens have lived in peace for the last 150 years.

If the independent little Republic of Switzerland, surrounded by predatory powers which have recurrently turned Europe into a battlefield, can so successfully "go it alone," why must the mighty United States, flanked by two oceans, depend for its security upon allies — the same "allies" who let us do the fighting for them in Korea?

We hope the President will think about this at Geneva and that he will return convinced that the Swiss policy of independence, courage and integrity in international affairs is more effective in preventing war than the appeasement, arms and alphabetical alliances on which our national security depends.

Mildred Willis Harris

400 East 59th St.
New York 22, N. Y.

learn to think for himself and discover individual liberty — Heaven forbid!

Pauline Classen
Shortsville, New York

* * *

3rd Award

RED, WHITE AND BLUE

To the *Chicago Tribune*:

In completing an exhibit for Armed Forces day, I shopped the stores around Chanute Air Base for red, white, and blue crepe paper. Most of the merchants had never heard of such a thing.

Perhaps I'm older than I realize. Yet, when I was a boy all the stores carried that combination. My cousins made dresses and suits of that material. We wore our patriotism frankly and proudly.

Is it "fat cat" living, color engineering, or pastel minded "liberalism" that causes us to hide our colors?

Let's encourage our merchants to stock the good old red, white, and blue. Let's get them out where they can be seen.

M/Sgt. Edward M. Horan

3345th Supply Sq., Box 2184
Chanute Air Force Base, Illinois

* * *

4th Award

LIBERAL HEADLINERS

To the *Berryville, Va. Courier*:

The liberals, pinkos, left-wingers and fellow travelers are having a super field-day. One often has to double-check the names of the newspapers to be sure he is not reading the *Daily Worker* or *Pravda*. If Chou-En-lai sneezes, headlines claim, he is about to release a couple more of our dear boys who now are by Executive Order, United Nationalists rather than Americans.

The headlines don't tell about the 4,000-odd other missing boys, or how long it will take to get them back 4 at a time.

Why don't the papers tell us the real Tito story instead of lying propaganda? When are we going to be told that Communists, no matter what their nationality, are nothing but dirty, filthy, double-crossing rats? When will we American people demand that our statesmen and senators quit giving our hard-earned money to animals like Tito?

Joseph M. Howard

350 W. Vanderbilt Dr.
Corpus Christi, Texas

5th Award

PROPERTY RIGHTS

To the *Chicago Tribune*:

Congratulations on your excellent editorial pointing out the fallacies in Dulles' "explanations" of his now famous switch on the Bricker Amendment. The distinction between property rights and human rights is a spurious one, another example of the left-wing tactic of semantics to undermine constitutional government.

Property per se has no rights — only people have rights. It is not the right of property which the Constitution protects, but the right to property. Our Constitution guarantees to every American individual three great rights, equally secure from arbitrary interference: the right to his life, the right to his liberty, and the right to his property.

To give a man his life and liberty, but take from him the property which is the fruit of his life and the means of his liberty, is to leave him still a slave.

Phyllis Stewart Schlafly
1212 Callahan Dr.
Alton, Illinois

* * *

6th Award

AN ILLUMINATED WORLD

To the *Christian Science Monitor*:

I've been disturbed by growing expressions of doubt as to the value of the United Nations among my acquaintances. Your editorial, "For UN: 56 Cents a Year," will be a potent fact that I can use in my argument for the UN.

Not long ago I heard of a woman traveler who decided to buy a globe as an aid in planning future trips and thinking back upon past excursions. She was examining an assortment of globes and had selected one to purchase when she saw another row of even more attractive globes.

The shopkeeper reached out and touched an electric switch and the globes were each illumined.

"That's what I want," exclaimed the woman, "an illumined world!"

"Much better," replied the owner, "but it costs more!"

Surely we all want a world illumined with international cooperation and humanitarianism. Let's not complain as to the cost.

Seletha Brown
1013 4th, Longmont, Colorado

* * *

7th Award

MEMORIAL DAY

To the *New York Herald Tribune*:

On Memorial Day we honor the memory of those who died for our country. With hundreds of those who fought for us languishing and suffering a living death in Communist prisons, forgotten

by those they defended, how can we pretend to honor those who gave their lives for our country? More appropriately we might, on Memorial Day, mourn an America that callously abandons its defenders to the outrages of its barbarous enemies.

Benj. T. Rauber
76 Yantacaw Brook Road
Upper Montclair, New Jersey

* * *

8th Award

GIVEAWAY SCHEME RUINING US, HE SAYS

To the *Houston Chronicle*:

The great mystery which will come out of the ruins of our great American civilization will be the national madness for giving, as future scholars ponder why native Americans lost their equilibrium over a program to "share."

This nation became what it is because its men and women go back through a common ancestry to the dawn of time. The conspiracy to do away with our coming generations' heritage, which is being furthered by church and political groups, is, to me, the most contemptible scheme yet devised in this country.

T. C. Smith, Jr.
1415 Durham, Brownwood, Texas

* * *

9th Award

WOULDN'T SEND FOOD TO FEED RUSSIANS

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

The apathy of the Russian people permitted the Communist leaders to take over their government. The same thing could happen to the American people, if we continue our apathetic attitude toward the communistic evils that are endeavoring to engulf the nation.

Their present predicament is of their own making. Russia has the gold and probably the American dollars to buy wheat to feed their hungry people, but they prefer to use this money for our destruction. Russia is a nation without God, without principles, untrustworthy and bent upon creating a "hell on earth." Wheat is the staff of life and there are other nations and people more entitled to our help.

Russia accepted our bounty and betrayed our trust. Let the Russian people and their communistic leaders "stew in their own juice." It is no concern of ours.

Ed H. Patton
518 W. 12th, Dallas, Texas

* * *

10th Award

VETERAN CASTS CRITICAL EYE AT GOVERNMENT INSURANCE

To the *New Bedford Standard-Times*:

Is a veteran justified in accepting GI insurance coverage once he has re-established himself in civilian life? To most veterans National Service Life Insur-

ance is no different from other insurance except for its cheapness and the big dividends. As long as he pays his premiums he feels he is entitled to the benefits. Until recently that is the way I felt. My suspicions were aroused, however, by the large dividends we have been receiving from the Veterans Administration. As a result of investigation I have substituted private insurance for my GI insurance.

My most important discovery was that the big VA insurance dividends and the cheapness of the insurance were made possible by the American taxpayer, not by efficient VA administration of the insurance program and profitable investments.

I don't believe I should make the American taxpayer say "thank you" any longer for my doing my duty.

Philip E. O'Connell
18 Whitcomb Terrace
South Weymouth, Massachusetts

* * *

11th Award

ANTI-SUBSIDY FARMER

To the *Pittsburg Sun-Telegraph*:

I noticed a newspaper item where Reuther and organized labor are for more subsidies for the farmer. His interest in the farmer is to have him politically on his side when needed.

My first job for pay was on a farm 75 years ago. I still live on a farm. A farmer today, if properly equipped, can do more work and easier than ten men could do at that time.

I do not think a farmer should be paid subsidies only in case his crops are destroyed. I feel he has the best chance of any working man to make a good living and the easiest way.

I do not think farmers should be handed money paid in taxes by workers that make less than they do.

W. D. Johnson
R. D. 1, Fredericktown, Pa.

* * *

12th Award

ELEANOR'S SUSPICIONS

To the *Chicago Daily Tribune*:

In *McCall's Magazine* (April, 1955). Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, seemingly unaware of the checking to which the testimony of ex-Communists has been subjected, writes that it would be better if we were more suspicious of the testimony of ex-Communists.

Be that as it may, without question this would be a different world if Franklin D. Roosevelt had been more suspicious of known Communists. Martin Dies told him of the Communist menace, but he said he was not afraid of the Communists and that some of his friends were Communists.

Roosevelt continued to trust the Communists altho he knew that they soon

violated their 1933 agreement not to continue espionage work against the United States.

Things could have been better if Mrs. Roosevelt had not been so suspicious of the Dies Committee, and if today she were not so suspicious of those ex-Reds who have performed valuable service to the government.

James D. Bales
707 E. Race St., Searcy, Ark.

* * *

13th Award PROPAGANDA IN PARKS

To the *Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph*:

The Honorable Douglas McKay
Secretary of the Interior
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

On a recent visit to Muir Woods National Monument near San Francisco, I read the following words on a plaque:

"Here in this grove of enduring redwoods, preserved for posterity, members of the United Nations Conference on International Organization met on May 19, 1945, to honor the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, thirty-first President of the United States, Chief Architect of the United Nations and Apostle of lasting peace for all mankind."

To millions of Americans the United Nations is an agent of communism and is un-American in its philosophy and deeds.

How many such propaganda plaques are there in national parks over the U. S.? It seems to me our Government has had enough trouble with the UN and would not wish to promote it in such manner. National parks and monuments are not the proper places for subtle propaganda such as the above.

Won't you please remove it?

Tom Gaskins
Palmdale, Florida

* * *

14th Award WHO KNOWS?

To the *Eugene Register-Guard*:

A recent item in the *Oregonian* headed "Virgin Hens Flunk Tests" provided a typical example of bureaucratic efficiency.

The Department of Agriculture's experimental farm at Beltsville, Md., has been trying to hatch unfertilized turkey eggs from virgin hens.

Any country boy could have advised the experts that the handiest article on a successful turkey farm is a sprightly gobbler.

Aside from the biological problems, consider the moral results had such experiments been successful. Did these ex-

perts not consider the wave of juvenile delinquency among the turkey offspring who knew not the guiding wing of a solicitous father?

Having abandoned their fruitless project, one cannot help but wonder if these experts will be shifted to the task of producing "cheap power" from government-built dams, just as they produced cheap turkeys. Or perhaps they will hatch a few "squirrels," a kickless mare or a five-gaited "constitutional liberal." Who knows?

Dwight Gifford
Rt. 2, Box 929, Creswell, Oregon

* * *

15th Award A GOOD EXAMPLE

To the *Fort Worth Star Telegram*:

If you would like just one example of what President Eisenhower's international free trade bill will do to our economy and our standard of living, just keep your eye on what excessive oil imports have already done to our oil industry.

Our American oil producers who pay high taxes, high prices and high wages, simply cannot compete with foreign countries who pay starvation wages. Naturally they are forced to shut down, throwing oilfield workers out of work. If a man cannot pay rent or buy the essentials the factories cannot sell their products. So they must reduce their staffs. So on and on it goes, while we sit idly by and say "what can we do about it?"

Here is what we can do about it: Write our congressmen how we feel about excessive oil imports and the President's international free trade bill.

Mac Cheshire
Lake Rd., Cisco, Texas

* * *

16th Award PROTECTION—U. N. STYLE

To the *Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph*:

President Eisenhower, Harry Truman, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Paul Hoffman assure us the United Nations is the "hope and salvation of the world." We suggest they poll the hundreds, once numbering thousands, of Americans who fought for the United Nations and now are dying in Red-Chinese dungeons. Is betrayal into the enemies' hands, and a slow, hideous death the reward for allegiance to the United Nations?

If United Nations' devotees repose such faith in its powers, why don't they trade places with the Red-held American boys? The United Nations will protect them—or, will it?

Elizabeth Lippitt
2414 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California

17th Award BRICKER AMENDMENT NOT CONSIDERED DEAD

To the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*:

For whom does Doris Fleeson write when she states the Bricker Amendment "is dead for this session"?

Could the Bricker amendment be dead to Gladys Keefe, whose husband, Private Richard Thomas Keefe, was tried, sentenced, and jailed in France via provisions of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty instead of being tried by jury as provided for under our Constitution? Could it be dead to Private Keefe, who was denied review of his case by the Supreme Court February 28, 1954? Could it be dead to over 5,000 similar cases wherein our soldiers as well as their dependents have been subjected to jurisdiction of foreign courts and have been tried and sentenced under foreign law? It would seem unlikely. Nor is the Bricker Amendment "dead" to many Americans. Too many of our constitutional rights are being jeopardized because of treaty law and we intend to be heard on this subject.

Marea Campbell
Dalbo, Minn.

* * *

18th Award PLEA FOR INDIAN REHABILITATION

To *Look Magazine*:

We are very grateful for your article and pray it will awaken the American people to assist us in persuading Congress to enact rehabilitation bills for the Sioux Tribes. Almost to the man, Indians agree the time is long overdue for the American people, through their Federal Government, to carry out the promises and obligations to Indians contained in solemn treaty agreements. Indians regard these treaties as sacred and have kept their promise. America should do no less. Immediate enactment of rehabilitation bills, similar to Point Four programs abroad, and honorable and speedy settlement of old claims would accomplish this for the Sioux people. We think the Indian Department should release some of the strict controls that bind the Indians till they are so restricted that they cannot make a move without approval. These have caused the Indians to lose their initiative to go ahead on their own.

Robert Burnette, President
Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council
Rosebud, South Dakota

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FACTS FORUM NEWS

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WINNERS IN FIRST HALF OF 1955 CONTEST

1st Award — \$300.00

NEGATIVE THINKING IS CONDEMNED

To the *Standard-Times*:

In all America, can no Moses be found who will lead us out of the wilderness and stagnant pools of negative thinking back to the white light of positive thinking and action on which this nation was founded and grew great?

We are being led to the high mountain of temptation by native Marxists, bribing us with a pyramiding stock market, to forget our sacred honor, our flag, our posterity and our duty to help free the Christian world, while we clutch to our bosoms our possessions and so-called security.

We sink deeper and deeper into the outstretched arms of the devil, lulled by the monotonous refrain:

Be careful, do nothing but turn the other cheek, lest you disturb the slumbers of the golden calf, resting on the mythical bed of "co-existence."

Grace Bacon

37 Walnut Place, Newtonville, Mass.

2nd Award — \$200.00

CHRISTIANITY OR SOCIALISM

To the *Chicago Tribune*:

Teaching Sunday school has real compensation. Somehow it is easier to reach for the higher things on week days if you have shouldered the burden of giving guidance.

But, who writes our texts? Who introduced phrases like: "social creed," "ecumenical," "labor justice," "unity of all churches"? . . . If I didn't wander from the prepared texts I would become a party to the subordination of Christ's teachings. Christianity is for the individual. . . .

What profit is there if we use Christianity as a club to level us all into a faceless mass? Shall we use the church to destroy ourselves? Shall we be like the English weavers who destroyed their looms? Shall we use the churches to destroy America's character? We should be deeply troubled.

M/Sgt. Edward M. Horan

3345th Supply Sq., Box 2184
Chanute Air Force Base, Illinois

3rd Award — \$100.00

STATUS OF FORCES TREATY PROTESTED

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

Engraved in the marble overhead in the amphitheater behind the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington, are these words — "When we assumed the soldier we did not lay aside the citizen."

What a mockery our government made of these words when they ratified the NATO Status of Forces Treaty which places our servicemen overseas under the jurisdiction of foreign courts even though the Army manual they carry states they are subject to American law and the protection of our Constitution.

This unconstitutional treaty and the others yet to be presented for ratification can deprive the American people of all freedoms given them in the Bill of Rights. This fact and the past detrimental executive agreements demonstrates the necessity for the Bricker Amendment.

Mrs. M. K. Alston, Sr.

112 Hathaway, Houston, Texas

I Speak For Democracy

by Catherine Esther Styles

The author of this winning essay in the 1955 *Voice of Democracy* contest, is of Auckland, New Zealand. In winning the contest she surpassed a field of one-and-a-half million high school entrants from the forty-eight states, Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico.

I AM not an American; my people are not American; and yet I, too, speak for democracy.

Not much over a hundred years ago the race that founded America began to found another nation. Surrounded by the vastness of the Pacific Ocean, a new land had been discovered. The brown-skinned people who already lived there called it Aotearoa, the "land of the long white cloud." Today we call it New Zealand.

It is a young country—a virile and growing country. It is a land of sea and sunshine, of snow on the mountains, of trout lakes and primitive fern forest, of weird pools where the boiling mud leaps and bubbles, cracks in the rock where the steam comes white from the insides of the earth.

The people who live there are a people who love freedom. The people who live there are my people, and when I speak for democracy I speak for them.

I have seen something of America. I have watched the crowds on the streets at night, seeing the advertisement signs flashing on the saw edge of the horizon saying: "Buy my product—no, buy

mine, mine is finer yet."

I have seen back home in the early morning the man with his horse and his dogs driving sheep. I remember the jostle and pattering rush of the delicate forefeet and the clean smell of the bracken and the sharp barking of the dogs.

I remember this, and I know that those crowds with their faces colored by the glow of the advertisements, and that man out early with his flock, although they are seven thousand miles apart, are people with the same ideals and beliefs, the same love of individual freedom. And I am glad that I can say this, and I speak with all the sincerity in my power.

I know that people, these people, all people, are the most terribly important thing in the world. I know that to make as many people as possible as happy as possible is the greatest ideal in the world. And I know that this is the ideal of democracy.

You people of America do not stand alone. Democracy extends further than America.

Two thousand years ago the Christian

doctrine proclaimed the equality of man. Belief in this equality of man means acceptance of all races, all creeds. Belief in democracy means belief in the equality of man. It means respecting the individuality of every human being.

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

At home in the summer evenings near the time of Christmas, I would sit on the low veranda steps, and hear the baby owls calling in the darkness and the cows coughing and stamping in the paddock, and see the white bobs of the rabbits scuttle in the half-light. And by the gate I would hear the voices of a couple murmuring together, the young man and woman. And I would think: This is good. This is good, this life, this land, this people—all this is good, the best that ever was.

I still believe it is good, but I know now it was no single nation I was believing in, but the truth of free people everywhere. And I know that the most wonderful thing in the world is the freedom of the individual; in my country, in your country, and in every country.

Not as an American, not as a New Zealander, but as a free citizen of the world in which I have faith, I am speaking to you now. I am not remembering that you are American and I am British. I am not remembering that our voices are different and our manners, and the cut of our clothes. I only remember that together we speak for democracy.

Attention Facts Forum Poll Voters

Please note that in the future poll cards will not be mailed separately from *Facts Forum News*.

Voters should use the coupon at the right of this page, either detaching and sending this coupon to us, or recording your votes on a separate sheet as shown in the instructions which follow the poll questions.

September 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: **CLARA E. LITZINGER**
R.F.D. 1
Corvallis, Montana
- 2nd: **MRS. INEZ KNIGHT**
Route 1
Salado, Texas
- 3rd: **MRS. C. KIEFNER**
R. D. No. 3
Joliet, Ill.
- 4th: **EDNA M. PETERSON**
255 W. 108th St.
New York 25, N. Y.
- 5th: **MRS. ROY CHAFFEE**
Lansing, Minn.
- 6th: **EDWARD E. JARESKE**
P. O. Box 474
Genoa, Nebr.
- 7th: **MARILYN B. HOLLISTER**
P. O. Box 1441
Ft. Benning, Ga.
- 8th: **MISS SUSIE A. BESSOR**
420 S. 2nd St.
Chambersburg, Pa.
- 9th: **W. J. KLOPP, Ph.D.**
4279 San Rafael Ave.
Los Angeles 42, Calif.
- 10th: **MRS. RUTH M. LAUFER**
432 Westwood Ave.
Jackson, Tenn.
- 11th: **BELMONT SUMNER**
72-A Irving St.
Worcester 3, Mass.
- 12th: **MRS. ALICE C. SMITH**
Washington St.
Duxbury, Mass.
- 13th: **J. P. WHITTINGHILL**
Falls of Rough, Kentucky
- 14th: **LEONARD PONDER**
P. O. Box 432
Weaverville, N. C.

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes September 5

Yes No

- ☐ ☐ Could the Bill of Rights pass now?
- ☐ ☐ Should a President choose his running mate?
- ☐ ☐ Is Russia's "new soft line," lulling us into false security?
- ☐ ☐ Should the Morgenthau diary be released in its entirety?
- ☐ ☐ Is teaching U. S. history being gradually left out of our schools?
- ☐ ☐ Should the Status of Forces Treaty be revoked?
- ☐ ☐ Are our churches misled in believing UN to be dedicated to world peace?
- ☐ ☐ Should Mr. Hoover's recommendations on government spending be adopted?
- ☐ ☐ Is Nehru acting sincerely in the interest of peace?
- ☐ ☐ Should we blame the home more and society less for juvenile delinquency?
- ☐ ☐ Can the Constitution be amended by an act of Congress?
- ☐ ☐ Should Standard Time be restored throughout the nation?
- ☐ ☐ Should Communist or subversive books be permitted in our libraries?
- ☐ ☐ Should merchants add Patriotism to ads?

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

- 13 Should trade be increased with Communist countries?
- 34 Are public schools educating for good American citizenship?
- 78 Should each state be allowed to decide its segregation issue?
- 74 Has the Supreme Court overstepped its constitutional functions?
- 22 Should foreign aid be continued while the U.S. is heavily in debt?
- 77 Is there Communist propaganda in today's schoolbooks?
- 40 Should the U.S. control distribution of the Salk vaccine?
- 64 Is Eisenhower's proposed ninety cents an hour minimum fair?
- 82 Should the Bricker Amendment be enacted into law?
- 69 Are newspaper monopolies impairing our freedom?
- 90 Should Pearl Harbor, Cairo, Teheran, and Potsdam papers be released?
- 73 Is the U.S. losing the propaganda cold war?
- 63 Should subversive suspects have constitutional right to face accusers?
- 90 Should the U.S. cut economic aid to countries who trade with Red China?

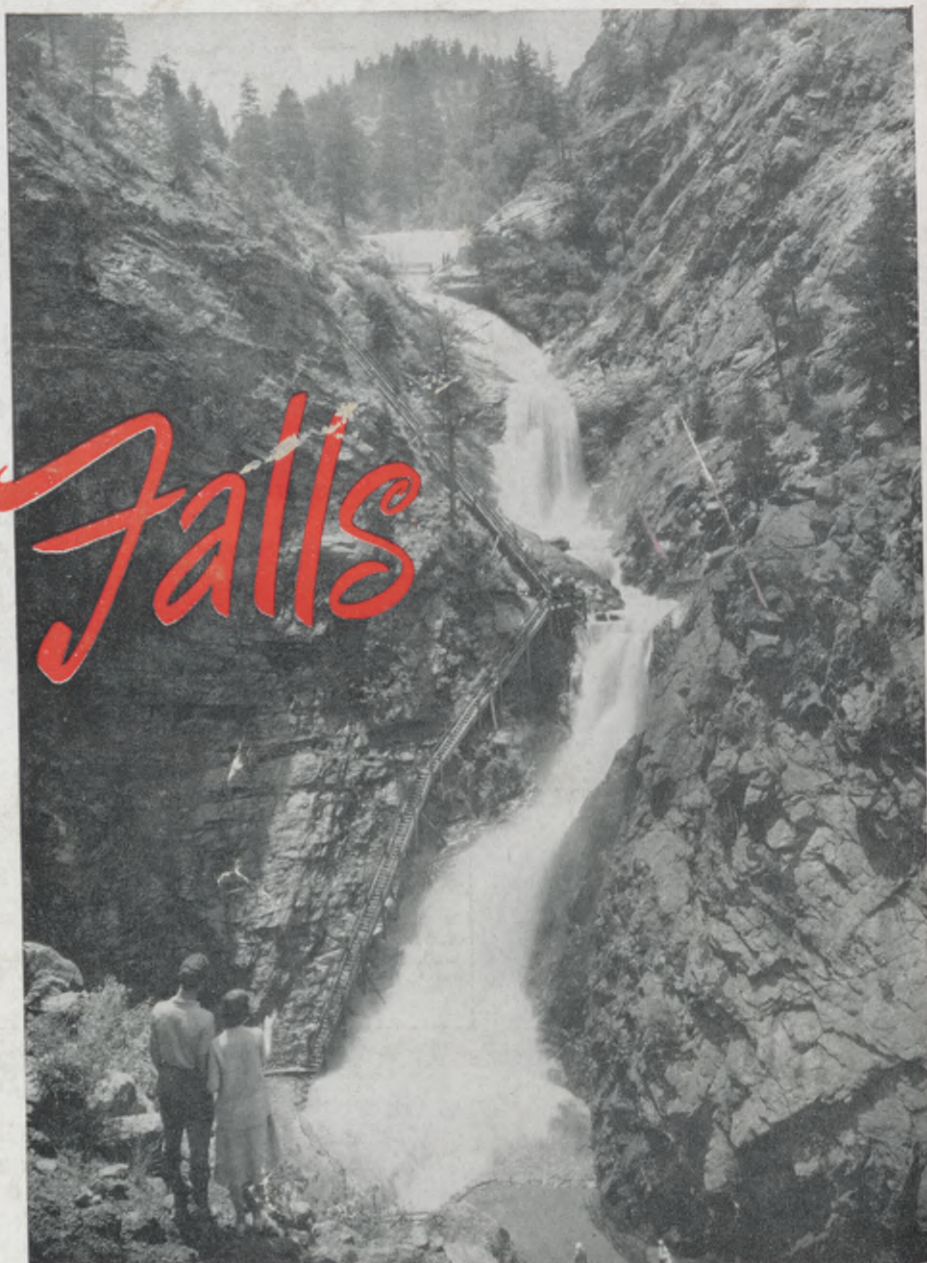
This Month's Slogan:

**"APATHETIC PEOPLE
become A PATHETIC PEOPLE"**

—Submitted by J. CARLETON LYONS, Putney, Vermont

*visit cool,
delightful . .*

Seven Falls



. . . No trip to the Pike's Peak region is complete without seeing breath-taking Seven Falls and South Cheyenne Canyon.

This is the only completely lighted canyon and waterfall in the world—beautiful by day and a fairyland at night. The awe-inspiring beauty and grandeur will make your Colorado vacation the most enjoyable and unforgettable one of your lifetime.

You'll long remember Seven Falls, the most spectacular vacation spot in Colorado—plan now to see it during your vacation.

Colorful

Seven Falls

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO