

names and their prestige, not just to sponsorship, but to active participation as members of its governing council. This deep involvement of supposedly solid citizens in the propaganda activities of what has often been labeled "the lunatic fringe" is a vital circumstance that makes the Radical Right of 1962, if no less lunatic, decidedly something more than a fringe.

#### Who Are These Men?

In the long list of the eminents who backed up Robert Welch on the Birch governing board appear many names not familiar to the American public at large. They are not the kind of names that have made big headlines in the metropolitan press or the large news weeklies, but they remain the kind of names no American should take lightly. The men who bear them control large corporations; they often hold virtually life-and-death power over jobs, businesses, social standing in their own particular locales; they are the kind of names that are synonymous with the whole structure of American business from the local Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce up through state trade associations to the national level.

Take, for example, the name of Frank E. Masland, Jr. Unknown to the vast American public, the name of Masland is a force to be conjured with in the busy Pennsylvania city of Carlisle. A county-seat town with an old, shell-pocked Civil War courthouse, Carlisle is best known to the world at large as the site of the Carlisle Army Barracks, as the home of Dickinson College and the town from which football star Jim Thorpe sprang to fame. But in Carlisle itself, it is the name of Masland that matters. The great C. H. Masland carpet mill is the city's major industry, and Frank Masland became its president in 1930 and remained its dominating force. He was also president and director of the Carlisle Homes Co., a bank director, a trustee of Dickinson College. No casual visitor to Carlisle can escape an encounter with the name of Masland. Stop at a hotel there, and in your hotel bedroom, along with the customary Bible, you will find a



M.E.S.A. Educator  
"What's He Done?"  
"Overthrew da Govamen."

glowing brochure stressing the history and importance of the Masland carpet enterprise. And so, when a name like Masland crops up on the governing council of the John Birch Society, it means that the Radical aims and purposes of Robert Welch have received a most distinguished and highly respectable blessing.

Similarly, take the name of Robert W. Stoddard, head of the Wyman-Gordon Co., of Worcester, Mass. Worcester, with a population of 202,612, is the third largest city in New England, trailing only Boston and Providence; and Wyman-Gordon, a name perhaps not easily recognized outside the financial pages, vies with the Norton Company, the world's largest manufacturer of abrasives, for the distinction of being the kingpin industry in the city. Some 2,500 of Worcester's workers labor for Wyman-Gordon.

Robert Waring Stoddard, fifty-five, a charter Birchite and, like Masland, one of that original select governing council, succeeded his father, Harry Galpin Stoddard, as president of Wyman-Gordon. He is a power in other industrial and civic groups: a director of the Worcester County Trust Company, the First National Bank of Boston, the Boston and Maine Railroad, the United-Carr Fastener Corp., the Crompton & Knowles Loom Works; a trustee of the Worcester County Institution for Savings and Worcester Polytechnic Institute, the Municipal Airport Commission, the Community Chest. The list goes on and on. Stoddard's father, Harry, was similarly influential in Wyman-Gordon, in life-insurance companies and var-

ious businesses; and he held, in addition, a key position in the information media in Worcester. In 1915, Harry Stoddard bought a hefty interest in the local newspaper, and from 1925 until February 9, 1961, he served as president of the Worcester Telegram Publishing Co., publishers of the morning *Telegram* and the afternoon *Gazette*, the only daily papers in Worcester. The publishing company also operates the city's dominant radio station.

#### Blackout in Worcester

Such multiple local interests make the Stoddards virtually the dominant family in Worcester, and so an intriguing situation developed in early March, 1961, when the John Birch Society erupted into the news as a major sensation — such a major sensation that there were even rumbles of concern in Congress about its extremist smears. What, in this crisis, with Robert Waring Stoddard sitting on the governing council of the Birch Society, did the Stoddards' Worcester newspapers do with the story of the hour? The answer to that question has to be: not much.

The combined space given to the running Birch Society story by the *Telegram-Gazette* for the entire month of March totaled only 3 1/12 columns, all of it wire-service copy, all of it displayed in such strategic, eye-catching positions as pages 10, 11 and 32. The crux of journalistic dilemma was achieved on March 31, when the Associated Press ran a story disclosing the names of the men who sat on the Birch council. The Worcester newspapers on that particular day were busy headlining items like "Congressman Assails Birch Society Critics" and "Founder of Birch Society Denies He Called Ike Red." Somehow there was just no space for that long list of Birch Society council names, or even for a teeny little item of local interest — mention of the fact that the name of Stoddard had appeared upon it.

Boston and Providence newspapers, *The New York Times*, *Time* magazine and other media were having themselves a ball with Birch stories. Some of them even sent reporters to Worcester to try to get

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some information on Robert Stoddard, but the *Telegram-Gazette* barred the doors of its morgue against such interlopers and acted toward its public as if it had never heard the name dropped. Some Worcester residents with catholic reading tastes naturally sampled the out-of-city press and were aware of what was happening in the world of the Birch Society; and so, early in the week after the Associated Press list of Birch council members had been published virtually everywhere except in Worcester, a housewife possessed of a pixie streak telephoned the *Telegram-Gazette's* advertising department and offered to

pay for an advertisement to get the missing list of council names in the papers. The *Telegram-Gazette*, of course, rejected her kind offer of aid.

This Worcester sequence has been stressed at some length because it illustrates the hammerlock Respectables in high places can help the Radical Right clamp upon our society. Not just the one-sided promotion of fanatical anti-communism and of "anti-everything" schools and seminars, is involved in this issue, but the suppression of accurate information so necessary for an intelligent understanding of who and what is at stake. Certainly, the newspaper-reading public of Worcester

was entitled to the information, in their own local papers, that the publishing Stoddard family was closely tied, through its most prominent and active figure, to the John Birch Society which the papers were defending in headlines. Forewarned, the reader might seek his news elsewhere, or at least weigh with a grain of caution what he found displayed before his nose; but in Worcester, where the Stoddard name was concerned, the newspaper reader got, not information, but a blackout.

The Radical Right, by itself, could never accomplish such a feat. This was a deed that only the Respectables could perform.

## PART IV THE IDEA FACTORIES

THE LOVE AFFAIR that unites the big money of the Respectables with the rabble-rousing exhortations of the Radical Right nowhere shows more clearly than in the financing of various idea factories that are devoted to two main purposes: rolling back the tide of social legislation passed in the last thirty years, and halting — in the name of a holy crusade, of course — the menace of "communism" (equated with any liberal legislation), even at the cost of a so-called "preventive war" to protect our freedoms.

In the manufacture and dissemination of the kind of propaganda that promotes these causes, the Respectables hold the key. This, by its very nature, is a big-money operation, and literally nothing could be accomplished, no impact could be made on the public mind, without the bankrolls of the Respectables and the channels of information which, through these same bankrolls, they help to nourish and control.

The result is that much of the most radical right-wing literature in the country is the considered and calculated achievement, not of the lunatic fringe, but of some of the largest, most powerful and most eminently Respectable of our corporate giants. The spoor from the materials used to promote public frenzy leads to representatives of

such behemoths as General Motors, General Electric, Boeing, Lockheed, U. S. Steel, the American Iron and Steel Institute. When one speaks of the Radical Right and "the lunatic fringe," one does not ordinarily think of such mighty organizations and their rulers, the people who dominate the whole field of Respectable society. But one should, for without the Respectables, the Welches and the Schwarzes would be nothing.

### Labor: the Common Enemy

The best place to begin in tracing the community of interest that cements Respectable to Radical probably is the so-called "right to work" laws. One of the great achievements of Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the support he gave, almost as soon as he came to power in 1933, to the labor-union movement. The Wagner Act and other legislation took unions out from under the clubs of strike-breaking cops and the capricious injunctions of anti-labor jurists. Unions became, for the first time, a real force in American society. Even the newspaper profession acquired a union, the Newspaper Guild, and many publishers have yet to recover from the shock left by that horrendous event.

This encouragement of labor unions was a major factor in clipping the previously unfettered wings of

business. Strikes and the threat of strikes succeeded in shortening the working hours, raising wages and generally giving labor a potent voice in such matters as plant safety and job tenure. No longer was the millionaire executive the unchallenged lion in the industrial jungle, and inevitably there was a fine frothing and gnashing of corporate teeth. In such circumstances, a golden opportunity arises for any ambitious man who can suggest a way to overcome corporate frustrations.

A veteran opportunist in such matters was a hearty, back-slapping Texan named Vance Muse. He liked to wear ten-gallon hats and stamp around in cowboy boots—and promote causes. Muse, indeed, was such a veteran promoter of causes that he had been called twice before U. S. Senate committees to explain how these worthy endeavors always seemed to put about 40 per cent of the money he managed to raise into his own pocket.

Such minor contretemps, however, did not discourage the resourceful Vance Muse. In 1936, he set out to dream up a new gimmick. Those were the days when the Ku Klux Klan, the German-American Bund and other lunatic organizations were proliferating, and Muse decided to form a society of his own. He called it the "Christian American Associa-

tion, Inc.,” and he set out to find a big bankroll he could tap.

In Texas, where such bankrolls abounded even in depression days, it wasn’t too hard. Muse had a friend, John Henry Kirby, a Texas oil and lumber millionaire who was already a director of the semi-military, anti-labor “Sentinels of the Republic.” Between them, Muse and Kirby decided that their “cause” should be the cause of anti-labor, and soon they fashioned the slogan, the “God-Given Right to Work,” and set up what apparently was the first “Right-to-Work Club” in the nation.

Muse’s “right-to-work” enthusiasts made the CIO organizing drive their first target. CIO organizers were branded as “foreign agitators” and “Communist agents.” Anti-Negro and anti-Semitic themes were also used. “Christian Americans can’t afford to be anti-Semitic,” Mrs. Muse confided to one interviewer, “but we know where we stand on the Jews all right.”

The spirit of the times was such that Muse’s initial anti-labor, right-to-work endeavors did not get very far; but it is typical of well-financed, right-wing groups that, though defeated, they never actually die. If one effort fails, they switch to another tack, and they can do this because the kind of money that can support failure and persist is at their disposal. In Muse’s case, he switched from public rabble-rousing to the cultivation of legislatures, a field in which money is sometimes even more effective; and by 1943, the American Federation of Labor was reporting with alarm that the “Christian American Association” had “fathered and pushed into law” right-to-work bills in Texas and Mississippi.

These initial successes brought corporate money rolling into Vance Muse’s organization, and right-to-work legislation was pushed in other states, especially in Florida and Arkansas. In Arkansas, about the time the war ended, Muse’s “Christian Americans” joined forces with the “Veterans’ Industrial Association” led by James T. Karam, who in more recent years played a leading role in organizing the mobs around the Little Rock High School in the desegregation crisis. In 1945, Karam’s V.I.A. was denouncing “labor

bosses” and “foreign-born agitators,” and it was waving the flag in typical veterans’ fashion and proclaiming: “We are prepared and ready to fight if we have to.”

An estimated 400,000 leaflets attacking labor were circulated throughout Arkansas, and the Muse-Karam combine acquired such notoriety for its anti-CIO endeavors that the late Thomas L. Stokes, New York *World-Telogram* columnist, commented that Karam had a reputation as “a strong-arm leader” and “the atmosphere about his Little Rock headquarters is quite alarming because of the gangster touch.”

#### Missionary Comes Home

What alarmed Stokes, however, didn’t alarm others. Especially, it didn’t alarm Dr. George Stuart Benson, president of Harding College at Searcy, Ark. Dr. Benson, after serving for eleven years as a missionary in China, had returned to America in 1936 and assumed the presidency of Harding. The college was operated by the Church of Christ, a fundamentalist sect that eschews most modern doctrine, including Darwin’s theory of evolution. As its head, Dr. Benson began to write and talk about the fundamentals of Americanism, and in the early postwar period, he began to gear his speeches to the theme that the free-enterprise system would be lost “unless American industry succeeds in reselling our own people on the fundamentals of our way of life.”

These fundamentals, in Dr. Benson’s philosophy, did not include such items as labor unions. His anti-labor bias was so strong that he even bestowed his blessing on the Muse-Karam combine, and his Harding College began to print V.I.A. anti-labor literature. “A group of Veterans here in Arkansas have formed a new labor union,” Dr. Benson wrote of V.I.A., “which guarantees the open-shop and prohibits the check-off and which allows an individual to work whether he wishes to belong to a union or not. . . . I believe this is a good organization.”

Dr. Benson became such a prominent promoter of right-to-work legislation that he, along with Karam, was called to Florida to testify as an expert in favor of a bill that re-

portedly had been drafted at the best of the Florida Association of Industries. Passage of the bill was also advocated by the Florida Voters for Constitutional Government, a branch of the National Committee for Constitutional Government, whose active director was Dr. Edward Rumely, a convicted German agent. This propaganda campaign succeeded so well in Florida that the “right-to-work” legislation was ultimately enacted into law.

Against the background of these anti-labor activities, it is instructive to follow the subsequent career of Dr. Benson and Harding College. In the immediate postwar era, so the story goes, the late Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors, heard one of Dr. Benson’s patriotic, fundamentalist, anti-labor orations, and there was, almost immediately, a fine meeting of minds. Sloan decided to bankroll Dr. Benson to insure the perpetuation of his good deeds, and in 1949 he made a gift of \$300,000 to Harding College.

This pioneering benevolence of Sloan pointed the straight and narrow road to other eminent industrialists who now began to beat a path to Harding College with bankrolls unfurled. The late Charles R. Hook, chairman of the board of Armco Steel, contributed another hefty bundle to Dr. Benson. So did the Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh. So did many others. By the spring of 1961, when Cabell Phillips, of *The New York Times*, visited the Searcy campus, he found on every side visual evidence of the striking prosperity such industrial largess can bring. Ten handsome new college buildings graced the campus, and an eleventh was under construction. Harding’s endowment fund had reached an impressive \$6 million, Phillips reported, “virtually all of it from industrial donors.”

The kind of propaganda that a \$6 million industrial bankroll buys is illustrated by what happened at Harding. Dr. Benson set up an outright propaganda affiliate of the college, calling it the National Education Program. N.E.P. occupies rent-free quarters on the Harding campus and is set up as a non-profit, tax-free agency. Its purpose, from the time of its formation, has been to

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produce films which would give Dr. Benson's propaganda a visual impact and to organize Freedom Forums throughout the nation to get the message across. The various themes that are emphasized are, of course, the themes that are dear to the hearts of the Big Business Respectables who are Dr. Benson's financial angels. They include opposition to all welfare legislation, attacks on unionism as "monopolistic," the championing of right-to-work proposals, and attacks on anything that smacks of liberalism or socialism and so can be equated with communism.

#### Flood from the Right

A veritable flood of right-wing propaganda comes pouring out of Harding's National Education Program. A weekly column written by Dr. Benson is distributed free to 3,000 weekly newspapers; a monthly reprint of one of these columns, titled "Listen, Americans!", is sent in bulk lots to 1,000 business organizations. A monthly newsletter is sold by subscription; a series of high-school study outlines is sent free to any school requesting them; and some thirty motion pictures of high professional caliber have been produced.

One of these films has become one of the most notorious items in the propaganda arsenal of the Radical Right. It is entitled *Communism on the Map*, and it purveys a thoroughly distorted and discredited picture of the world in which we live. According to this alarmist film, communism today dominates the entire globe, except for West Germany, Formosa, Switzerland and the United States. No distinction is made between democratic-Socialist governments and Communist ones. Even Great Britain, our staunch free world ally, is painted pink; even Canada is left in an equivocal "white" status, not quite pink but decidedly not pure because the allegation is made that there are many Communists high in the Canadian Government. This distortion of current events and political philosophy matches step-by-step and thesis-by-thesis the rigid conceptions that had so endeared Robert Welch to those eminent N.A.M. bigwigs at the founding of the John Birch Society.

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in Indianapolis. This is no accident, for *Communism on the Map* was produced at Searcy under the supervision of Glenn Green, an acknowledged member of the Birch Society.

There can be no question about the phoniness of *Communism on the Map*. Even Fred Schwarz has disowned it. Though the film had been shown regularly as an exhibit in Schwarz's supposedly "objective" schools, the master of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade admitted, when he was challenged by reporter Raudebaugh, that he was unhappy about the film and wasn't going to show it any more. "I give you *touche*," he said.

Unfortunately, the eminent Respectables who have bankrolled the works of Dr. Benson and Harding have been less scrupulous than Fred Schwarz about exposing the minds of Americans to the kind of propaganda purveyed in *Communism on the Map*. In fact, the Respectables have put on such campaigns to see that no one misses the film's message that it has been shown for the past two years in schools, in service clubs, industrial plants, political forums and defense establishments in all parts of the nation. It has become such standard fare on television that, according to some estimates, it has reached and no doubt helped to prejudice the minds of some ten million Americans.

This unconscionable disregard of truth on the part of the Respectables is in itself a testament to the fanaticism that possesses them in their determination to roll back the tide of the twentieth century, to abolish all welfare and social legislation, or, failing this, to create such panic and prejudice in American minds that no more such legislation can be passed. This is the transparent objective of the Respectables, and they care not by what means it is achieved. The sponsorship of Harding's National Education Program and of *Communism on the Map* demonstrates this cardinal and indisputable fact.

#### Four-Star Movie

The film has had such wide dissemination largely because great industrial organizations and the Military have combined to cram it down

the throats of the American public at endless seminars and industrial indoctrination programs. Boeing Aircraft, holder of \$1 billion in war contracts, has shown both *Communism on the Map* and *Operation Abolition*, the House Un-American Activities Committee's equally distorted version of the San Francisco student riots, before captive audiences composed of thousands of its employees. Boeing spokesmen have defended this procedure because, they say, the films "serve as an alarm clock alerting the country and the people to the dangers around us." Lockheed Aircraft (holder of another \$1 billion in war contracts) has conducted a similar program. So has Sandia Corp., a wholly owned subsidiary of Western Electric, another prime defense contractor; and so has Space General, a subsidiary of Aerojet, maker of the Polaris missile.

The conspiracy of the Respectables to back the Radicals in all their unrespectable doings shows not just in the promotion of the propaganda that can bring one film an audience of 10 million Americans, but likewise in its creation. The National Education Program on the Harding campus is headed, naturally, by Dr. Benson. Assisting him are two full-time vice presidents—Brig. Gen. William P. Campbell, retired, a former assistant chief of finance for the Department of the Army, and Howard W. Bennett, a former official in the employee-relations division of General Electric.

Companies whose high officials participate in the activities of Harding and N.E.P. read almost like a roster of industry's elite. In a study of the ultra-Right issued by Norman Thomas' Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation last year, it was pointed out that major executives who have played a role in the Harding program come from Monsanto Chemical Co., Swift & Co., Mississippi Power Co., Washington Water Power Co. and Union Bag Camp Corp. Even more intimately associated with the program was giant General Electric, the price-rigging advocate of free enterprise whose Howard Bennett is one of Dr. Benson's vice presidents.

In an effort to test the closeness of the relationship that exists be-

tween General Electric and Harding, the author of the Socialist Party's pamphlet on the ultra-Right wrote to Bennett, querying him about N.E.P.'s propaganda product.

"The General Electric Company uses the N.E.P. films extensively in their many plants," Bennett promptly wrote back.

He further listed high business officials who, he said, would be willing to vouch for the good work of N.E.P. His list included the names of Ralph Cordiner, W. V. Merrihue, J. J. McCarthy, Frank E. Highton, G. Roy Fugal and Peter Steele, all high officials of G.E. Bennett added the names of other executives in U.S. Steel, Lone Star Cement, Olin Mathieson Chemical and the American Iron and Steel Institute who, he said, also supported the work of N.E.P.

#### G.E.'s Endorsement

Following the trail one step further, Norman Thomas' aides then wrote to Fugal, the man in charge of employee relations in the sprawling General Electric empire. What, they inquired innocently, like eager businessmen on the prowl for information, did Fugal and G.E. think of Harding's program? Back from Fugal, on official G.E. stationery, came this reply:

It is a pleasure to endorse, without reservation, the National Education Program. For years, this organization, located at Harding College in Arkansas, has fostered through educational and other means, programs to develop understanding, appreciation, determination and active participation on the part of all Americans.

In the light of the thoroughly exposed, Birchite fallacies in *Communism on the Map*, it was instructive to learn that General Electric "without reservation" still endorsed N.E.P. and all its works. The principles of the Respectables stand exposed in that blanket endorsement.

In fighting anything that smacks of social legislation under the guise of combating communism, the Respectables of American business have wedded the domestic devil to the foreign devil and have used this horrendous image to drive American policy towards the Radical Right and into the arms of the Warfare

State. It is a campaign that is graced with all the trappings of wealth and social distinction; it is a drive that, in its obsessions and if it remains unchecked, can lead only to the nuclear war that would spell virtual human extinction. In fact, this war aim is no longer secret; it is boldly and blatantly advocated by front-line spokesmen whom the Respectables finance.

#### Industry's 'Loyalty Board'

One major agency, the creature of American Big Business, combines in its person the dual themes that a Communist lurks under every bed at home and that the only way to end the threat is to blast the mother lode of communism abroad with every weapon in our nuclear arsenal. This organization carries the high-sounding name of the American Security Council.

The A.S.C. was organized in Chicago in 1955 by a group of former FBI men, bankrolled by leading American industries. Its original purpose was to serve as a private loyalty review board. It was not enough for American industry that Congressional committees had built years-long careers out of tracking down every American who ever inadvertently had joined an organization or signed a petition that, by a process of associated guilt, might be tracked to an alleged "Communist front." American industry was evidently convinced that it might be nourishing a number of undetected vipers in its very bosom, and so the A.S.C. was organized to ferret out "Communist and other statist activities." That last phrase was an indication of its real intent. Apparently its quarry was not just Communists or pro-Communists, but anyone who might endorse any "statist" activity — a broad and elastic qualification that could be stretched to include such items as federal aid to education or President Kennedy's current proposal for medical care for the aged.

From this beginning as an industrial super-spy outfit and loyalty board for American industry—an organization without official status or legal responsibility that, nevertheless, could effectively ruin the career of any man by the judgment it passed

on him—the American Security Council has now branched out into the field of foreign policy-making, issuing bulletins that advise the President and the State Department of the errors of their ways and suggesting the directions in which they should be leading the nation.

If this sounds like a brash undertaking, like an endeavor too fanciful to be given serious consideration, be assured that it isn't. The A.S.C. earns a triple-A power rating by every standard of judgment employed by contemporary American society. It unites top Respectables from the most powerful business concerns in the nation and the elite of the Military with the spouters and spewers of Radical Right dogma; and it is financed and supported by nearly 3,200 American companies, paying annual dues ranging from \$30 for those employing as few as twenty-four workers to \$900 for firms employing more than 10,000. By any definition, this is power, and the roster of the men and companies directly and prominently identified with the active work of the council serves only to ratify that view.

The senior advisory board of the A.S.C., for example, sports these names with their industrial ties: Bennett Archambault, president of Stewart-Warner Corp.; John T. Beatty, retired president of United Specialties Company; Charles S. Craigmire, president of Belden Manufacturing Company; Robert Donner, chairman of the Donner Foundation; Wade Fetzer, Jr., chairman of Alexander and Company; Robert W. Galvin, president of Motorola, Inc.; Fred M. Gillies, retired chairman of the board of Acme Steel Company; Wayne A. Johnston, president of the Illinois Central Railroad; Hughston M. McBain, retired chairman of the board of Marshall Field & Company; General R. E. Wood, retired chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck.

The list of officers of A.S.C. exposes further ties. Kenneth M. Piper, of Motorola, Inc., is a senior vice president; Stephen L. Donchess, of U.S. Steel, a vice president; John G. Sevcik, of Burton-Dixie Corp., a vice president; Russell E. White, of General Electric, a vice president; and Cyril W. Hooper, of Stewart-Warner, secretary-treasurer.

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These distinguished names from industry give power and backing to an equally distinguished list of war-minded spokesmen who comprise what the A.S.C. calls its National Strategy Committee. The committee is headed by Loyd Wright, the California lawyer who stunned a Project Alert rally last December by declaring bluntly, "I'm in favor of a preventive war. . . . If we have to blow up Moscow, that's too bad."

Sitting with Wright on the National Strategy Committee are other advocates of the blow-up-everything school. Foremost among them is Admiral Arthur W. Radford who, as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, wanted to embroil us in the Indo-China War and, in the Quemoy-Matsu crisis, advocated the atom-bombing of the Chinese mainland if necessary. More recently, Radford has called for "total victory over the Communist system, not stalemate," and he has warned that "the minute we become satisfied with the *status quo*, we have started down the road to defeat. . . ."

#### Makers of Strategy

These militant warriors have plenty of company on the A.S.C.'s strategy committee. They're backed up by Admiral Chester Ward, who favors the "pre-emptive" strike and believes "the side will win which uses the most effective weapons and *uses them first*." (Italics added.) Admiral Felix B. Stump, another councilor, has been hardly less eager; he has called for the use of tactical nuclear weapons, if necessary, in the Far East, and he has proclaimed that containment isn't enough—we must "move beyond this limited objective."

Associated with these warriors on the policy committee are Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond, an endorser of the John Birch Society; Dr. Stefan Possny, representative of the foundation-financed Foreign Policy Research Institute and advocate of a "Catonic" strategy toward Russia; General Albert C. Wedemeyer, one of Hub Russell's former contacts and for a long time an adviser for Robert Welch's *American Opinion*; and Admiral Ben Moreell, chairman of the board of Jones & Laughlin, one of the great steel producers, whose firm

has acknowledged owning three copies of *Communism on the Map* "for showing to the supervisory personnel throughout the corporation."

To all of these ties must be added one more—the name of W. Cleon Skousen, who is the field director of the American Security Council and who doubles as one of Fred Schwarz's steadiest and most impassioned orators.

Behind the façade erected by this phalanx of Respectables, the American Security Council does its work, both as an agency of domestic repression and an advocate of global militancy. In the domestic field, the A.S.C. brags that it has "seven major files and libraries on communism and statism. It has the largest private files on communism in this country." It proudly proclaims that "defense industries use the council's files as a source of information on their personnel screening programs." Since A.S.C. starts with the basic assumption that all "statism" equates with communism, the kind of judgments that are passed upon the lives of helpless workers becomes fairly obvious. As the Norman Thomas-Socialist report stated: "The private loyalty program which these corporations participate in through the Council is one of the most irresponsible, dangerous attacks on freedom of opinion in the nation today."

And there is every prospect that it will get worse before it gets better. The A.S.C., with an industrial membership of some 3,200 American companies, has its eyes set on a goal of 10,000. If it ever achieves this—and it has grown from slightly over 1,000 member companies in November, 1960—its power will be roughly three times what it is today. And today, according to the A.S.C., its members include "newspapers, magazines, financial institutions, colleges, foundations, industrial firms, transportation companies, department stores and many others. Together, A.S.C. members have offices or plants in thousands of communities and have millions of employees." This is an enormous base of potential power, and the A.S.C. has every intention of using it to a maximum degree. For it proclaims: "A common program followed by these companies will have a tremendous effect."

In the foreign-policy field, the A.S.C.'s strategy follows the militant line that might be expected from the "total victory" and "pre-emptive strike" outcries that the eminent members of its strategy committee have emitted at various Radical Right forums. It has cast aspersions upon various influential members of the Kennedy official family. In a bulletin in June, 1961, it labeled Presidential advisers McGeorge Bundy, Walt Rostow and George Kennan as "defeatists" about communism—and everybody knows what that label means. It has cast a similarly critical eye upon Chester Bowles, Adlai E. Stevenson and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., for taking the line that there can be little possibility of world disarmament unless the United States acknowledges one of the self-evident facts of life, the existence of Red China. To the A.S.C. the very idea of the possible admission of Red China to the United Nations is anathema. Such an action, it says, "would so completely change the character of the organization that it would no longer be in our national interest to associate our country with its actions."

#### Total Victory

The A.S.C. similarly has opposed nuclear test-ban talks. It looks with horror and suspicion upon the proposal to create a nuclear-free zone in Europe. It denounces any suggestion that we should withhold nuclear weapons from our allies in order to prevent the spread of such world-destructive power and reduce the chances of nuclear holocaust; on the



Man on Horseback

contrary, it favors the wide dissemination of nuclear capacity—"properly safeguarded," of course—to all our European allies. On Cuba, it criticizes the Kennedy Administration for not having used the military force necessary to oust Castro in the Bay of Pigs invasion of April 17, 1961, and it advocates "immediate bold and resolute action," envisioning the sweep of communism over the entire Western Hemisphere and the isolation of the United States in an encircling Red wall unless we use force to prevent it.

The solutions of force—in other words, the solutions of ultimate and inevitable war—represent the formula for dealing with the problems of our time that has received the backing of the Respectables, both those in the braid of the Military and those in gray flannel suits, who wield enormous power through the medium of A.S.C.

#### Brainwashing the Brass

The American Security Council is not the only business-financed giant industriously promoting the rabid anti-communism and the militant concepts of foreign policy that can end only in world disaster. It has eminent and distinguished counterparts in Respectable idea factories working round-the-clock to indoctrinate the Military, and through the Military the American public, with beliefs that can lead only to total war in pursuit of the mirage of "total victory." A clear personal link between these idea factories and the American Security Council may be found in the figure of Dr. Stefan Possony, who sits on the national strategy committee of A.S.C. and is one of the principal figures in the foundation-financed Foreign Policy Research Institute located at the University of Pennsylvania.

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.) called attention last year in his famous memorandum on the participation of the Military in Radical Right seminars to the influence over American policy being exercised by the Foreign Policy Research Institute and the Institute for American Strategy, organizations that are both financed by the Richardson Foundation. Senator Fulbright was especially concerned because these two in-



stitutes were conducting seminars at the National War College under the auspices of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

#### Role of War College

Fulbright's point was well taken; for, though it may not be generally recognized by the American public, the National War College is one of the most important idea-formulating agencies of the federal government. It is charged specifically "with grooming already experienced and promising military and civilian leaders for positions of highest responsibility in the service of their country," according to its former commandant, Lt. Gen. Thomas L. Harrold. In the first fourteen years of its existence, some 1,452 of its graduates (79 per cent) were still on active duty. The majority were officers in the Armed Services, but "a significant 25 per cent (over 360) are civilians in the Department of State, Department of Defense, Central Intelligence Agency, U.S. Information Agency, National Security Agency and others," Gen. Harrold wrote. "State Département graduates are serving as ambassadors, assistant secretaries, deputy chiefs of mission and in other responsible positions in Washington and abroad. In the military, many have advanced to the highest echelons in their Services, serving in the Pentagon or as senior commanders of Joint, Combined or

Service commands throughout the world."

Obviously, the men and the forces that help to mold these minds help to mold the entire direction of American domestic and foreign policy. It becomes of far-reaching significance, therefore, to see just who are the instructors at the National War College, what forces they represent, what ideas they purvey.

Fulbright's memorandum on the Military afforded important clues that virtually no one in any responsible position of government has seen fit to follow through to this day. Fulbright pointed out that both the Foreign Policy Research Institute and the Institute for American Strategy were financed by the Richardson Foundation. The obvious questions, unasked by anyone in government, were: What is the Richardson Foundation? And does it have a bias?

The foundation derives its money from the Vick Chemical Co., and in 1958 it had assets of more than \$13 million. This was a decidedly sizable bankroll, and with it the Richardson Foundation has financed some hard right-wing endeavors. The American Enterprise Association, the Navy League and the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation have benefited from its largess; and in 1959, according to Norman Thomas' Socialist Party report, the Richardson Foundation contributed \$25,000 "to a South African leadership exchange program in Johannesburg to bring over white apologists for the racist apartheid system."

These are relatively peripheral activities of the Richardson Foundation; its major endeavor may be found in the support of the two institutions set up for the specific purposes of drafting foreign-policy suggestions and trying to steer American official policy in the charted direction. In the years 1958, 1959 and 1960, the Richardson Foundation contributed \$153,000 to the Foreign Policy Research Institute and \$108,000 to the Institute of American Strategy. In addition, it supplied \$50,000 to both for their joint conduct of the 1959 seminar of the National War College, an endeavor that carried the explicit blessing of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The key figure in the well-in-

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tegrated maneuver that finds Vick Chemical money filtering through the Richardson Foundation and into institutes that help to fashion foreign policy is Frank R. Barnett, director of research for the parent Richardson Foundation and the Institute of American Strategy. Barnett, a one-time Rhodes scholar, has been identified since 1951 with militant anti-Communist policies. He has suggested, for example, the formation of a foreign legion made up of refugees from communism; the creation of a separate Cabinet post and a joint Congressional committee on cold-war strategy; a career service in propaganda and psychological warfare, and the establishment of a West Point of political warfare.

#### 'Protracted Conflict'

A major article of belief with Barnett and others whom he has rallied around him is that of "protracted conflict" with the Soviet Union. This conviction is based on "the assumption that there will be no change in Communist behavior and ultimate objectives that could possibly permit an acceptable accommodation with the West." The philosophy of protracted conflict is realistic enough to recognize that there will be changes inside and outside the Soviet orbit, but no changes will change the essentials—"the ultimate objective of world domination as an immutable and dominant force in Communist strategy." Obviously, to men holding such views, Soviet actions become relatively meaningless, Soviet change a factor of no consequence. The increasing Westernization of Russia and of a younger generation there that increasingly apes American ways to the despair of old and hard-line Communists (as detailed so well in Harrison Salisbury's *New York Times* series this year), becomes a matter of no consequence in our calculations. Nor can we consider in weighing our policy the abundant evidences of a deepening schism between Russia and China. Policy must not be altered by these altered conditions; "protracted conflict" can conceive only of an immutable villainy and lust for conquest in the Russian mind.

In purveying this philosophy, Barnett has garnered for himself a wide

and a highly influential audience. He has become a frequent lecturer to the National War College, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the Army and Navy War Colleges—and to national conventions of the American Medical Association, the National Association of Manufacturers and the Reserve Officers Association. An academic rationale for Barnett's theories of "protracted conflict" is provided by the second of Barnett's institutes, the Foreign Policy Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania.

This scholarly wing of the Richardson-Barnett enterprises is headed by Dr. Robert Strauz-Hupé, a Viennese who came to the United States as a young man and a believer in the hard-boiled, sheer-power school of international affairs. Working under Strauz-Hupé in the Foreign Policy Research vineyard are two other important figures. One is Colonel William Kintner, who was still on active duty with the Plans Division, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Operations, when he was first detailed for service at the institute. Last, but hardly least, is Dr. Stefan T. Possony, councilor of A.S.C. and director of International Studies of the Hoover Institution, Stanford, Calif.

The speed with which Strauz-Hupé, Kintner and Possony have moved into a position of commanding influence as foreign-policy oracles was in itself so remarkable as to suggest that somebody up there decidedly must have liked them. It was in 1959, only one year after Barnett had perfected his double institution-Richardson Foundation triumvirate, that the new combine was invited by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to take over key functions of the National War College. Though the National War College had been giving courses on strategy to senior officers for the past ten years, suddenly the entire conduct of the "national strategy seminar" was turned over to the two Richardson-financed institutions. Strauz-Hupé brought his own staff to the National War College, laid out the curriculum and developed a series of lectures that was later expanded into a book, *American Strategy for the Nuclear Age*. This book, in page-proof form, was used as a

text the next year, 1960, when the two Richardson institutes again had free reign over the conduct of the National War College seminar. From all of this, it would seem fair to say that the privately drafted program of foreign policy desired by the industrially financed Richardson Foundation has been insinuated, wrapped in the folds of the flag, into the minds of the important officers and civilians attending the seminars of the war college.

Of what does that policy consist? Whither does it drive us?

#### The 'Forward Strategy'

The answers, given the fixations of their authors, appear inevitable. Barnett's "protracted conflict," envisioning dilemmas impossible of solution except through total victory, leads directly to the gates of World War III. It envisions the necessity for an intensification of the arms race. It brands all negotiation for disarmament, for mutual disengagement in Europe or a nuclear test-ban agreement, as "defeatism." It proposes the more vigorous prosecution of the cold war, especially through a favorite tactic that Barnett defines as "fourth dimensional warfare." He explains that this is a "tough-minded" approach (how we love those virile adjectives) that would carry aggressive action into the "enemy's" territory and would embrace "diverse forms of coercion and violence, including strikes and riots, economic sanctions, subsidies for guerrilla or proxy warfare, and when necessary kidnaping or assassination of enemy elites."

"Enemy elites," of course, might not take kindly to "kidnaping or assassination," and if they proved utterly unreasonable in this regard, we might well have upon our hands the nuclear holocaust whose cost, in their single-minded fixation, our Respectables seem disinclined to weigh. This is no exaggeration of the disaster toward which the Respectables of the Richardson Foundation and its two foreign-policy institutes would drive us; for their program has been spelled out explicitly in a second book authored by Strauz-Hupé, Kintner and Possony—a book produced under the aegis of the Foreign Policy Research

Institute and entitled *A Forward Strategy for America*.

This "forward strategy" runs the entire gamut of aggressiveness. We should immediately boost our military budget to \$65 billion a year because, with our larger industrial base, we can stand this kind of competition better than the Russians can, and such action would put severe strains upon their economy. We should foment revolts in iron curtain countries; we should move in our troops if Russia tries to intervene in our promoted rebellions; we should use tactical nuclear weapons against guerrillas in any country where Russian stooges are causing trouble; and if Russia should take an unreasonable aversion to all this, we must be prepared to strike with nuclear weapons. Listen to some of the words written by the "forward strategists" themselves:

The priority objective of any American grand strategy is, by a broad margin, *the preservation and enhancement of our political system rather than the maintenance of peace.* . . . All other objectives, such as increased social welfare and continuing economic progress, while interrelated with the primary objective, are of secondary importance. . . . [Italics added.]

If it is our purpose to combat communism, then it follows that our overriding objective is not to preserve peace at all costs, but to destroy the aggressive power of communism. . . .

Shorn of all ideological connotations, our policy must be based upon the premise that *we cannot tolerate the survival of a political system which has both the growing capacity and the ruthless will to destroy us.* We have no choice but to adopt a Catoic strategy. [Italics added.]

Cato, it will be remembered, was

the Roman who proclaimed "Carthage must be destroyed." And so, in our day, must Russia. Only it is obvious that the ruthless and eminently Respectable minds that chart for us such a course in the nuclear age are minds that are still filled with the visions of victory that were real possibilities in the days of Carthage and Rome. They are minds that have never sufficiently weighed Einstein's last letter; they are minds unwilling to recognize that the hydrogen bomb has outmoded war as an instrument of national policy and made "total victory" a fantasy, for instead of total victory there can be only total destruction. Yet it is to such a clearly predestined end that the Respectables with Radical Right minds are driving us. The chairmen of the board have yet to be brought, in Adlai Stevenson's classic phrase, "kicking and screaming into the twentieth century."

## PART V THE ROAD TO FASCISM

LET US be clear about this: the face of America that emerges from the portrait of the Radical Right of 1962 is *not* the face of fascism as we have known it in Europe. But unmistakably it is a face bearing the marks of a sickness that could develop into fascism. The denigration of democracy, the demand for conformity and the attempt to outlaw the heretic, a patriotism pitched at the level of chauvinism, the faith that military might, rather than diplomacy, can assure our international goals—these are the marks of the illness. And this sickness is a far greater menace in America today than a virtually non-existent, burrowing communism.

U.S. Sen. Stephen M. Young, the outspoken Democrat from Ohio, has told of a vivid personal experience that he had at a Washington dinner party in mid-1961. "A well-known, ultraconservative Congressman," he wrote in the *Saturday Evening Post*, burst out in a tirade that attracted everyone's attention. The Congressman frothed in indignation over "home-grown Communists who chew

away at the foundations of our Republic." Senator Young was so visibly annoyed that a veteran diplomat from a European embassy leaned toward him and said: "One thing has always puzzled me about you Americans. You have nightmares about Communist demons burrowing from within. Yet for years American Fascists have grown increasingly dangerous and nobody seems disturbed — least of all your Congressmen."

Other Americans thrown into contact with astute visitors from abroad have been told the same thing. Obviously, the symptoms that we hide from ourselves are clear to those who observe us with vision undimmed by our own special brands of self-delusion.

This is not strange, for many of the cardinal features of European totalitarianism are plain to be seen in the American Ultra movement of 1962. The Radical Right criers of eternal suspicion and discord are backed by the millions of the Respectables, as happened in Europe. Here, as there, all liberal legislation is equated with communism; any op-

ponent of the self-designated patriot is branded as a "Comsymp" or a traitor. As abroad, so here, the Radical Right wraps itself in the folds of the flag as if it alone possesses the attributes of patriotism. It shouts about its "freedom" programs, its dedication to Constitutional rights, its Americanism; it whips up a blind and passionate nationalism that demands "total victory" without stopping to assess the meaning or the cost. In its disregard of truth as exemplified in its written and film propaganda, in its adoption of the technique of slander and threat and intimidation, it employs all the tactics of totalitarian ideology; and in its wedding to the Military, its cries for the pre-emptive strike and the blowing up of Moscow, it is as hellbent on the most inconceivable war in history as were those who started the last war.

### What the Ultras Lack

Such are clearly recognizable features of the Respectable-Radical Right. It is too early to say what ultimate force the movement may

*The Nation*

*Have you ever wanted  
to hit back at them  
and found that  
you didn't know how?*

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muster, to what degree it may finally succeed. Obviously, certain basic and vital ingredients are lacking from the formula. Two are especially important. The Radical Right of 1962 is hydra-headed; it is an "against-everything" movement; it lacks a single scapegoat. And it lacks the thing that Hub Russell sought in 1954—the dynamic leader.

The Respectable-Radical Right has sought to compensate for the first deficiency by building communism into an all-consuming menace. Its strength derives from the anti-integrationists, the anti-Semites, the anti-mental health, anti-fluoridation, anti-income-tax and anti-U.N. advocates. All of these groups unite easily in one great anti-communism crusade; but the great difficulty is that the menace is not quite real. The average American knows full well, if and when he stops to think, that he wouldn't know where the devil to find a Communist if his life depended on it; and when the Radical Right, trying to show him, has to bring forward Eisenhower, his mood is one of derision rather than

belief. What the Radical Right needs today is the kind of scapegoat Hitler found in the Jews, one really visible and real enough to steam up the hate of the fanatics and have it spill over into the public consciousness. If the Radical Right ever found such a formula — and a leader — no one knows how far it might be able to go, even in America.

#### Brainwashing the Children

As it is, the achievements of the Respectable-Radical Right are not inconsiderable. The unconscionable branding of dissent, the creation of a super-patriotic and witch-hunt atmosphere already have imposed upon America a smothering conformity. Having pre-empted patriotism, the Respectable-Radical Right has created in America a virtual vacuum, and into this vacuum charges the ideological vigilante. The land is now filled with his roars — trumpetings that drive the future still farther to the irrational Right.

In San Diego, Calif., on a rainy spring day, a physical education teacher showed students a movie en-

titled *The Face of Red China*. The film was a strongly anti-Communist documentary, but some students, when they returned to their homes that afternoon, reported to their parents that they had seen some of those Chinese children in the picture actually smiling.

This, obviously, was a shocking disclosure. Imagine a Red Chinese child being able to smile! Parents started protesting to the Board of Education; a petition bearing 100 names was submitted, demanding that the picture with those smiling Chinese faces be banned. It was.

Still the intellectual vigilantes were not appeased. In Sacramento, the State Board of Education began to hear demands that films shown in schools, especially in the Los Angeles area, be screened first by "competent people." One school official reported that most of the trouble seemed to stem from the film that inadvertently had recorded some Chinese students smiling for the camera. "The critics said it was a disservice to imply that anyone could be happy under such conditions," he said.

All of this may sound far-fetched, but it isn't. Today the Respectable-Radical Right is mounting a concerted drive to persuade and, if necessary, to force American schools to teach its chosen prejudices and beliefs, its own right-wing version of history and current events. The technique is one that has long found favor with totalitarian ideologists.

In California, the Birchers and the rabid anti-Communist followers of Fred Schwarz have mounted a calculated campaign of pressure against local and state school officials. Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, for a time chancellor of the state's colleges, was smeared in a pamphlet that alleged he was "soft" on communism; he had to defend himself by digging out of his files a vigorous anti-Communist lecture he had often delivered to his classes in the 1940s. He has since returned to the East.

On local levels, the pressures were sometimes even more intense, and both teachers and textbooks came under the fire of vigilantes who saw the Communist menace lurking under every school desk. In Sacramento, the State Board of Education held



"I Hold in My Hand a List of 179 Million Underground Communist Agents"

a series of hearings and ended by yielding ground to right-wing pressure groups. Hundreds of changes were ordered in social studies textbooks being used in the elementary grades. Even the title of one eighth-grade civics text was changed from *Building Our Democracy* to *Your Government and You*. This, the board said, was just a better title; it had nothing to do with right-wing pressure, and it was just a coincidence that the word "democracy," so hated by the Ultras, was eliminated in the process. The coincidence seemed hard to believe, especially since the ardent rightists had already forced the deletion from the same book of a chapter on the United Nations and had forced through other subtle textual changes.

#### And in Arkansas—

What was happening in California was by no means unique. In Searcy, Ark., Dr. George S. Benson and the Harding College that American industry finances, were busy as beavers drafting high-school study outlines in American and world history, civics, economics and government. Each outline suggests textbooks, reference books, pamphlets, tape recordings, speeches and audio-visual aids to be used in the courses.

It is, of course, no accident that each outline suggests the use of tracts and speeches by Dr. Benson and his ultra-conservative colleagues. Schwarz pamphlets are included in the instructional material suggested in the high-school study outlines.



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So is material from the House Un-American Activities Committee and from J. B. Matthews, the former chief investigator for Joseph McCarthy, who had even managed to perceive Communists hiding behind every other Protestant pulpit.

The nature of the "facts" that are being spoon-fed into American public schools is clear enough. They are the kind of "facts" one might expect from the creators of *Communism on the Map*, and the purpose is tacitly acknowledged by Perry Mason, superintendent of Harding Academy, who cooperates with Dr. Benson in drawing up the courses. "The purpose of the outlines is to give the kids a direction in their courses," he says. "We try to keep them in the conservative vein." And Dr. Benson adds: "If we don't teach this, ultimately we will lose everything to the Communists."

#### Spreading the 'Truth'

If truth won't serve us, indeed we may. But truth, patently, is no longer the criteria for the courses of study Dr. Benson and his Harding aides are drafting, and their proposed, propaganda-loaded courses are being accepted as the proper guide lines of patriotic teaching in many schools. Some forty high schools in various states are now using all five study outlines prepared at Harding; many more schools have ordered them; and, in addition, according to a National Education Program brochure, the outlines "have guided several hundred school systems in the establishment of sound courses."

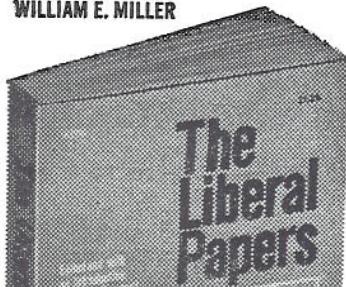
"Lately, interest has been growing at a tremendous clip," Mason said.

It has, indeed. Florida has passed a law making it compulsory to teach high-school juniors and seniors about the evils of communism. The measure was backed by ultra-conservative groups, and its purpose, as discussions about the nature of the proposed course subsequently revealed, embraced far more than the teaching of the facts about communism.

Dr. Fred Turner, assistant director of general education for the Florida State Department of Education,

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drafted the outline of the course which all Florida schools will begin teaching this fall. Dr. Gerhardt Niemeyer, professor of political science at Notre Dame University, acted as consultant to the state committee and approved the course. It was, he said, "a tough course on communism." Significantly, Dr. Niemeyer laid down an additional "tough" rule: no student, he said, should be permitted to question the "facts." "The presentation must be very firm and positive," he said, "permitting no challenge from any student to the basic proposition that communism is wrong, and *our way of life is the only way*. Stated differently, academic freedom should not permit academic discussion of whether we are right in this course." (Italics added.)

Even this "tough" course with its added "tough" line did not satisfy the militant rightists. One demanded "a screening board" to test the loyalty and depth of feeling of teachers who were to be permitted to teach this "tough" course. Though the state board didn't go along with this, it left up in the air the additional demand that the course should equate socialism with communism. And it heard criticism that the course is far too limited because it doesn't teach about subversion in America.

State Rep. George Stallings, of Jacksonville, who drafted the act, denounced the course on this score. He was backed up by John McKay, Miami attorney, who said teachers should be required to teach the students about "subversion in Washington and other governments." All the bias of the Radical Right became evident when Stallings further argued strenuously, but futilely, against the inclusion in the teaching manual of a section warning against the pitfalls of hate. Any diminution of hate, in Stallings' book, meant only that "we are opening the door to confusion."

### **And in Texas—**

If all of this seems a far cry from the America of free inquiry and free thought envisioned by the founding fathers, it remains mild compared to what has happened in Texas. There the ideological vigilantes have really done a job.

The Texas drive that has managed to find subversive thoughts lurking between every textbook cover is spearheaded by a sixty-year-old, wealthy cattleman named J. Evetts Haley, the owner of an 11,000-acre ranch. In the fall of 1961, Haley slugged a history professor at a small teachers' college for denouncing *Operation Abolition* as slanted.

The rancher, who says he has "sympathetic ties" with groups seeking textbook censorship in California, Mississippi, South Dakota, Nebraska and Wisconsin, founded a super-patriotic body that, typically, wraps itself in the folds of the flag under the name "Texans for America." Haley insists there is no connection between "Texans for America" and the John Birch Society, although "we share many of the same goals and many of the same members"—an admission that, in itself, describes the kind of judgments that are being passed on textbooks in Texas.

Haley's group scored its first vigilante triumph when, in the fall of 1960, it appeared before the state textbook committee, an official group of fifteen persons appointed by the Texas Education Agency to put its seal of approval on any textbooks used in Texas schools. In this first campaign, Haley's "Texans for America" protested a dozen "language arts" textbooks. Seven were scotched.

### **Total Victory**

Warmed by this victory, the Haleite organization returned in the fall of 1961 and mounted its big campaign, supported by the Daughters of the American Revolution. This time they attacked every history and geography textbook up for adoption, and not one survived in its pristine state. Every history text being used in the Texas public schools beginning with the fall of 1962 will have been altered to conform to the objections of the Birch-like Haleites.

The nature of the changes and the cockeyed view of the world Texas school children may be expected to acquire in the future are indicated clearly by the nature of the objections filed by the mental

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vigilantes. They adamantly opposed:

¶Any textbook making favorable mention of the federal income tax, social security, federal subsidies to farmers and schools and TVA.

¶Any textbook making favorable mention of John Dewey, "that nihilist."

¶Any textbook commenting favorably on the United Nations, the memory of the League of Nations, any aspect of UNESCO.

¶Any textbook casting a friendly light on disarmament or racial integration.

¶Any textbook trying to do justice to the memory of Gen. George C. Marshall or the Supreme Court.

¶Any textbook using the word "democracy" to describe this country.

¶Any textbook with a remotely favorable reference to the New Deal, the Fair Deal or the New Frontier.

The distortions of the world of reality implicit in the evils the Haleyites are against are complemented by a recitation of what they are for. *Their* textbooks must look with favor:

¶On Gen. MacArthur, especially in his role of wanting to bomb China in the Korean War.

¶On Chiang Kai-shek and the memory of Calvin Coolidge.

¶On the "traditional" presentation of Christianity and the "traditional" presentation of American heroes.

¶On "patriotic wars."

¶On the memory of Sen. Joe McCarthy.

¶On laissez faire, republicanism as distinguished from democracy, and government subsidies to business.

#### Haley's Credo

The temptation of rational men, confronted with such a virulent set of prejudices, should have been to ignore them—but not in Texas. True, twenty-seven of the textbooks opposed by rancher Haley and his cohorts were approved by the education committee, but only after the publishers had agreed—and they were given only twenty-four hours in which to agree—to make changes within the framework of Haley-style patriotism.

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The Haleyite credo is perhaps best expressed in a manifesto the group has adopted as its textbook guide. It says: "The stressing of both sides of a controversy only confuses the young and encourages them to make snap judgments based on insufficient evidence. Until they are old enough to understand both sides of a question, they should be taught only the American side."

And, obviously, in Texas only the Haley side can be heard. In listening to the objections of the vigilantes, the Texas Education Agency adopted a procedure that flew in the face of fair play and reason. Any extremist could make any wild charge he wanted against a textbook, but only the publisher could be heard in its defense. For example, J. Frank Dobie, Texas' own famous spinner of tales, had called the textbook committee's censorship program "one of the worst things that has happened to Texas education in my lifetime," but when Robert Sherrill, of *The Texas Observer*, asked whether the committee would hear Dobie, its chairman, J. B. Golden, answered in one succinct word — "No."

#### 'Index Expurgatorius'

The result is that, in Texas, there is virtually no opposition to the Haleyites and their followers, who are riding roughshod in a book-banning and book-censorship campaign. The extent to which this experiment in unreason is likely to go is indicated by a further step taken by the Haleyites. They want to eliminate any mention in textbook bibliographies of a long list of the most distinguished writers America has produced. Under Haleyite ideology, young Texans are never to be exposed to contact with the works of Upton Sinclair, Jack London, Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, Sinclair Lewis, Carl Sandburg, Stephen Vincent Benet, Pearl S. Buck, William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, Henry Steele Commager, Bernard De Voto, Theodore Dreiser and Allan Nevins.

That list tells its own story. The victory of the Respectable-Radical Right, if it should ever be achieved on a national scale, would spell the absolute blight of the American mind and spirit.

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## PART VI 'STAND UP AND BE COUNTED'

WHEN Chalmers Roberts, of *The Washington Post*, toured the nation this year to study the phenomenon of the upsurge of the Radical Right, he reported that "one finds the liberals acting as though they were in political foxholes. This is especially true in Texas and Arizona."

Liberals were moaning at the time over the training of Yugoslav fliers in the United States under a program sanctioned by the Kennedy Administration, and Roberts quoted one Texas liberal as wailing, "We can't win against that sort of thing."

We certainly can't if liberals stay in their foxholes and permit the ranters of the Respectable-Radical Right to call the national tune. Yet the foxhole has been the habitat of the political liberal ever since the first well-promoted wave of anti-Red hysteria swept the country in

1948. Ever since the Hiss case, to which the *Saturday Evening Post* and the Respectable-Radical Right still cling as the symbol, liberals all too frequently have acted as if they were second-class, suspect citizens; their instinctive reaction has been to shout so loudly that they are not tainted that the public can hardly be blamed at times if it suspects they protest too much. The lack of guts in the liberal camp has been one of its least attractive features.

The evidence abounds. Despite distorted *Operation Abolition* and the indubitable damage it has done as a prize propaganda exhibit of the Radical Right, the annual whopping appropriation for the House Un-American Activities Committee whips through Congress with hardly a dissenting voice being raised. It has been rumored on seemingly credible authority that a great number of Congressmen would like to oppose it, but when the chips are down only six in the House actually have the guts to vote against it.

### Liberals to the Foxholes

Or take another recent example. A group of liberal Democratic Congressmen get together to hear lectures from intellectuals on the state of the nation, on the dead ends to which we have come in foreign and domestic policy, on the possibility of new approaches. The lectures are finally collected and published in a book called *The Liberal Papers*. Immediately, Ev and Charlie, those orotund stars of the Republican bedtime show, begin to trumpet that this is clear and present proof that some dastardly subversives are insinuating their ideas into the White House. There is nothing in *The Liberal Papers*, if one troubles to read it, except the exercise of some elementary common sense and the endeavor to apply the human mind to human problems. But what happens? Except for James Roosevelt, who had written a foreword, and a couple of others, the liberals who had listened to the lectures all dived for their foxholes and tried to

divorce themselves from any connection with such a suspect enterprise.

It stands to reason that the America of tomorrow is not going to be a free America, able to seek and study the facts, to argue and reason upon their basis, if the warriors who should be battling for such rights flee into the underbrush at the first ranting war whoop from the Gentlemen from Indiana and Illinois.

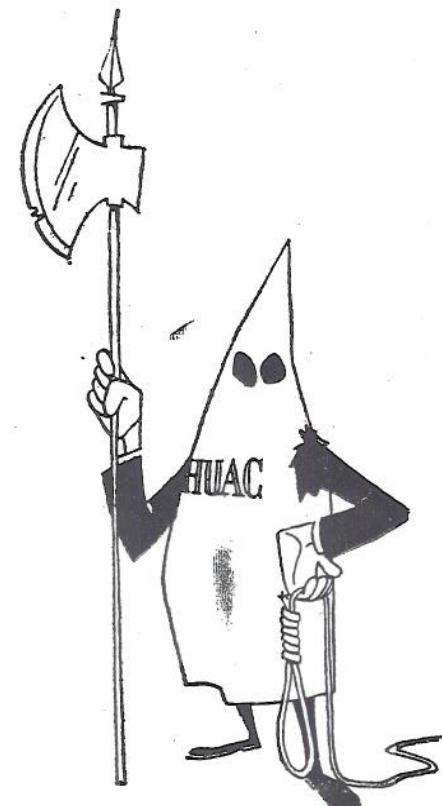
### The Results Show

With liberals concerned primarily with self-defense and self-preservation, fighting under the noble banner of a Lyndon Johnson type of accommodation with everybody, the atmosphere that is being created in America is the handiwork of the Respectable-Radical Right. The demonstrated power of this combine is such that, if it continues unchecked, what happened in Europe could well happen in the United States. The trend is visibly present in our everyday life, and it has caused concern to many responsible and

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thoughtful groups. In a special report last October, for example, the National Council of Jewish Women noted the manner in which Radical Right "groups have secured the participation of influential citizens," and it listed significant barometers of the mood of the country in these words:

...In some communities of the South, where the resurgent Right is strong, public-affairs study groups are hesitating to continue holding meetings.

...In Fairlawn, N. J., after some teen-agers booed a showing of *Operation Abolition* in their high school, an investigation of possible un-American activities at the school was launched. The right to study the records of the boys was demanded and secured from the principal, and pro-Communist coincidence in classes they attended or in the backgrounds of their teachers was sought. Nothing was found.

...In a Southwestern city, a community chest director received a letter from a woman who had contributed \$150 annually. She declared she would not give this year because the fund supports a "Communist" organization—the mental health group.

...In Seattle, leading ex-football players have lent their names to a new group being formed to "protect kids from subversion of American ideas." A showing of *Operation Abolition* highlighted its formative meeting.

\* \* \*

...Businessmen contributing to United Nations groups or to universities viewed unfavorably are threatened with "exposure" as Communists.

...Teachers and librarians are smeared on occasion for not "going along."

\* \* \*

This pattern is not universal, but it is happening in a significant number of places. Where it does, people are looking over their shoulders before they do anything; they are afraid of being attacked.

What a picture of a bold, dynamic, new America! A land full of people twisting their necks to look backward over their shoulders! A land full of people fearful of their own thoughts lest, if they utter them, they be "attacked!" One gets the picture of a society of sheep

June 30, 1962

plodding steadily forward into the shadow of nuclear holocaust while looking fixedly backward to make sure its rear is protected. It is an inspiring thought, is it not?

Yet this is the kind of world that the Respectable-Radical Right determinedly is building. And it shows no intention, despite the patent idiocies of Robert Welch, of desisting in the endeavor. Its motive and its determination show clearly in its latest tactic — the labeling of anyone who opposes rabid anti-communism as an "anti-anti-Communist" subversive who is either directly or indirectly under the influence of Moscow.

#### The New Smear

Col. William R. Kintner, deputy director of the Richardson-financed Foreign Policy Research Institute and one of the authors of that "Forward Strategy" that projects a Catoic war, has been one of the bellwethers in this sterling new endeavor. In a *Reader's Digest* article in May, 1962, he proclaimed in his opening sentences: "An insidious, Moscow-fed campaign to bleed the life out of anti-communism in America is now beginning to pay off. Within the past year, it has created such a climate of distrust and confusion that scores of reputable anti-Communist authorities find themselves tainted, suspect, under vicious attack."

The purpose was expressed less suavely, but perhaps more clearly, by Edward Hunter, a writer and former investigator for Joe McCarthy. Hunter fired the first barrage of the "anti-anti-Communist" forces last summer when he took the stand before the House Un-American Activities Committee in the aftermath of Senator Fulbright's memorandum on the collaboration of the Military with the Radical Right. This spring, in a harangue to right-wing extremists seeking amalgamation at a meeting in Washington, he was still pounding the same theme. One and all must beware of Communist traps, Hunter warned, and he identified one of these as "the sudden and vicious attacks on the John Birch Society."

"Be sure," the father of anti-anti-communism told his audience, "not

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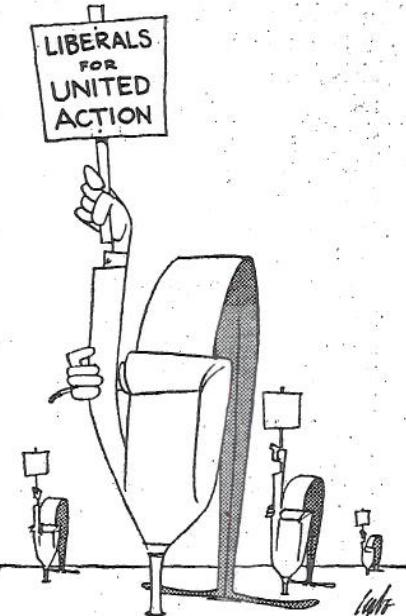
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to participate in any issue which the Communists *may* be exploiting." (Italics added.)

This injunction, if heeded, obviously closes the door on each and every issue. Obviously, the only safe thing to do is never to open your mouth, for if you open it and happen to voice a thought that *may* coincide with some devious Communist thought, well, brother, you have had it. In this type of atmosphere, only one type of thought is safe, and only the demagogues of anti-communism may safely speak.

### A Strange America

Is this America? If it is, it certainly isn't the America of the founding fathers, who dared to proclaim that "the natural rights of man" were more important than the rights of any king, who dared risk the stigma of treason in their day to speak, to agitate, to break finally with the past in search of new freedoms. If they had spent their time looking backwards over their shoulders and wondering whether it was safe to speak their thoughts, this



nation never would have been born.

It is because this is so obvious that the retreat of liberals into their foxholes has been infuriating. Theirs should be the attack. All American precedent is loaded on their side. The most precious heritage of the nation, the freedom to think and believe, and to express one's beliefs without fear or favor, is theirs to defend. It is high time that liberals stopped worrying about communism and anti-communism, a phony issue in this country if there ever was one; it is high time that they began tagging the super-patriots in high places and low who are fanning the campaigns of propaganda and fear and suspicion that tread on the most sacred American rights and violate the most sacred American ideals. As their creed in such an endeavor, the liberals could do far worse than adopt the grass-roots philosophy of a virtually unknown rural California judge, as expounded in a speech this year to the northern section of the California Teachers Association at Fort Jones:

### A Judge's Credo

Judge J. E. Barr sits on the bench of the Siskiyou Superior Court. Siskiyou County is one of the wildest, least tamed areas of California—6,312 square miles in size, total population only 32,885, or some 5.2 persons per square mile. This is "way out," wilderness country; but Judge Barr, in as cogent a bit of reasoning as could be found in any so-

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phisticated city in the land, demolished the Radical Right and its super-patriotic pretenses.

When difficulties appear insoluble [he said], it is easy to rationalize that the condition in which a society finds itself is due to the stupidity or defects of one's neighbors. If one of the dangers confronting society is from external force, all too often this is rationalized as being due to the disloyalty of everyone except one's self.

#### Historical Parallels

The judge cited historical parallels. He noted that, as Athens' power declined and she was beset by foreign enemies in the last fifteen years of the fourth century B.C., a "surge of suspicion of subversion" swept over the city that had been and remains the most shining example of Greek culture.

The reaction of the Athenians to what they regarded as insoluble problems was very much the reaction of the John Birchers today [Judge Barr said]. They brought to trial and banished Xenophon, one of their few successful generals. Shortly before that they had banished Alcibiades and later Thucydides, their two admirals who had brought victory before they were overwhelmed with defeat ending the Peloponnesian War. The suspicion of these ancient far righters then fell upon Socrates, one of the greatest minds of all times. His sin, in their view, was that he was a non-conformist, a questioner of facts, and particularly that he, in a case involving a hysterical court which convicted eight generals of treason without due process, demanded that they have a fair trial.

This placed Socrates in about the same position as the present-day

liberal who insists that persons appearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee be treated fairly. He was tried by a special court of 501 jurors, found guilty of subverting youth and the gods, and executed.

Now the alarming thing about this parallel was that this persecution was not by a tyrant; it was in a democracy, or more probably a broadly based oligarchy. . . . It was perhaps more democratic than in some counties and Congressional districts of our deep South this very day.

Another alarming and characteristic parallel is that the chief victims were the intellectuals. . . . The right-winger, when he becomes crazed with fear, will invariably strike out at the intellectuals whom he cannot understand and whose non-conformity he must, in his terror, equate with treason.

#### Gagging the Teachers

After citing other historic parallels, Judge Barr drew a steady bead on the House Un-American Activities Committee which, he said, had come into California, subpoenaed 116 teachers, and then called off its hearing, leaving these teachers tarred by its innuendo and wrecking "God only knows how many careers." The following year, when the House committee held hearings in San Francisco, student riots erupted in protest of its tactics, and these were chronicled as a deep-dyed Communist conspiracy in its film, *Operation Abolition*. Pressure by liberal and Catholic Church groups, Judge Barr noted, had forced even Chairman Francis E. Walter to admit that the film was "contrived." The tactics, the judge told his teacher-audience, were not unknown in

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"The myth of a death struggle, which Kennedy exploited so effectively, demands as its complement an implacable foe, relentlessly pressing on our defenses at every point. Khrushchev's failure to exploit his lead in missile technology suggests a need on our part for a re-examination of the myth."

Robert Paul Wolff  
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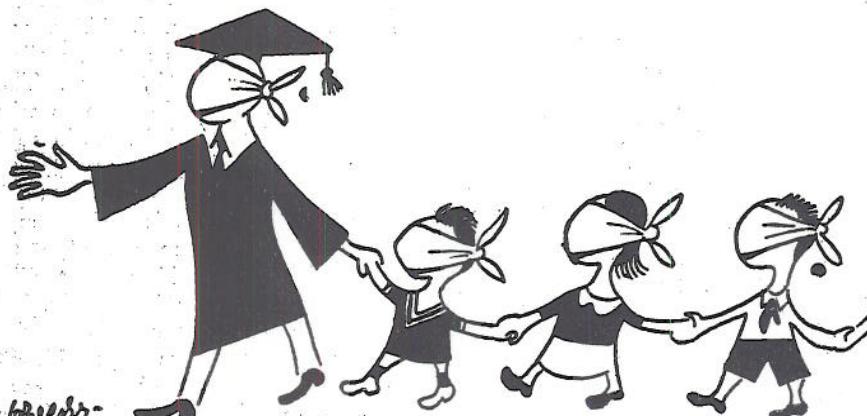
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pre-World War II Europe, and he continued:

Time does not permit any particular discussion of the character-assassination of these teachers [the spattered 116] except to point out that the profession, in California, displayed a startling lack of guts in not backing up the students who were libeled when they demonstrated against this reprehensible and un-American conduct. After all, there was a serious attempt made by the rascals of the extreme Right to impugn the loyalty of over 2,000 Bay Area students.

To reiterate, however, as long as this Rightist hysteria continues you school people must stand up and be counted or you will be shoved into a position where you dare not discuss, or teach, or mention, either in a schoolroom or in private life, any subject except possibly a timid opinion on who is going to win the World Series.

Judge Barr, of course, was talking to a teacher group, but what he said applies to every American. "Guts" is the real issue. We must all, in the judge's words, "stand up and be counted."

—THE END

## LETTERS

(Continued from inside front cover)

condition of continued life, and that the collective people is as easily diverted from its own survival as are its representatives now in power. And just who is it who will be empowered to force men to live? We must learn to face the fact that fateful decisions are already being made for and not by the people. There is a functioning machine in Washington that will carry us all to the destination it chooses. Kennedy chooses not to lead a national discussion of that destination while he does choose to resume nuclear testing. Maybe we need a new and more cynical definition of democracy.

Clumsiness and even a measure of paralysis were built into the American political machine by the founding fathers. So afraid of an abuse of power were they that they gave their best thoughts to methods which would almost automatically frustrate any tendency toward a consolidation of power. They were afraid of a hypertrophy of power, and we seem to be faced with an atrophy of thought. Well, life goes on until death, and it is understandable that passion can be expended on so worthy a cause as medical care for the aged under social security, while the problems of physical security for all ages is hardly debated. It may be that the awkwardness of our political process, coupled with either the unwillingness or inability of American politicians to face the issue of death squarely, are simply facts of American life. It may also be

that the people's great democratic voice is similarly disabled. One hopes that the traditional liberal sport of advocating sweeping changes in the form of government along some more cleverly designed lines has now been relegated to a harmless parlor game. I think that, because of the pressure of time, the American Government as presently constituted will be compelled to decide between life and death. Vested interests, the monumental stake the economy has in the political *status quo*, and the general complaisance of the electorate all contribute to making the liberal's commitment to significant political change seem other-worldly and alchemical.

If those traditional solutions are now not relevant, we must learn to look elsewhere for a way out of death. There is no place left where one can look except inward, and this may mean that death will come. The individual is now thrown on his own resources in a radical way.

\* \* \*

It is, I suppose, reassuring to remind oneself that only individuals are capable of thought. Perhaps someone, somewhere, can generate enough piety to assert that if enough individuals do enough serious thinking, a way to life might actually emerge. Even though such a position now requires faith because of the cruel lack of evidence, it may actually prove to be the case. We cannot now know. In any case individuals will think, and they must also think about the possibility that their thoughts will not affect their own future or that of the world one way or the other.

I do not mean for this to have the ring of despair. It is clear that this new possibility of death has all of the standard ingredients of tragedy, but a tragedy that must be lived through instead of merely observed. From this one should take hope. Perhaps not much hope, but some at least. For it is possible that with a sense of the tragic, of the limits of the possible, of the meaning and therefore danger of human fallibility, men may find themselves in a more realistic confrontation with other men. That added realism may help them to solve or compromise some of their serious differences. It may not. There is no guarantee that either virtue or wisdom will prevail, just as there is no guarantee that an individual may change the course of history by his understanding the hope that inheres in tragedy. The only guarantee that I can find is that the continued pretense that affluence really matters in a death house will earn a reprieve for no one. If death is not

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CONTENTS: The focus of these two books is on the urgent need for transformation of the national economy to one that is planned, organized and operated to guarantee (a) the full employment, increased purchasing power, and the general welfare of American workers—the great majority of the population, and (b) our nation's entry into arrangements, with all countries of the world, for peace and disarmament by means of international economic collaboration and unity.

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seen as an end to life, confusion is naturally inevitable. We are faced with nothing less than the necessity to think our way out of death. This is the way of neurosis, I'm sure, and perhaps we are now reduced to the choice between sickness and death. At the moment, the sickness seems somewhat less irrevocable than the alternative. LOREN BARITZ

Dept. of History, Roosevelt U.  
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs: Carey McWilliams' essay, "Time for a New Politics," is a brilliant diagnosis of what ails our politics. McCarthyism, the disappearance of the Left, the mismanagement of the Right, the timidity of liberals, the adoption by the Center of Madison Avenue techniques—all of these, taken together, have in the last decade cheapened and distorted our political dialogue while increasing its volume to a loud but monotonous roar. The prize example, I think, is the Kennedy-Nixon TV debates of 1960. These became an exercise in showmanship; issues were muddled rather than clarified; and most of the real ones were passed over because they lacked sex appeal, while false ones (like Quemoy and Matsu), were contrived almost as if by conspiracy of the candidates.

It is a little difficult to see how the dialogue can be reconstituted under present circumstances. As McWilliams points out, Kennedy Democrats occupy a wide Center position. They are joined there—not really opposed—by Javits-Cooper-Kuchel Republicans. The so-called Left consists of small bands of liberals such as A.D.A. and the Walter Reuther group in the AFL-CIO. While these are technically to the "left" of the Administration, their challenge is mild because their differences are small and their political power very limited. . . .

If the Left is weak, so is the Right. It is true that the far Right (the John Birch Society, et al.) is well financed and its ability to intimidate and/or neutralize opponents should not be underestimated. However, there is no sign that it can win any elections and unless the GOP wants to commit political suicide, it is unlikely that right-wingers will take over active control of the party. In any case, the GOP is likely to remain a minority party for years to come.

All of this is clear indication of a deficiency in the "liberal-conservative tensions" which McWilliams correctly notes is "required in order to generate the energies that propel the system (of representative government)." Not only is the Center fully in control of the body politic, but its elected representatives,

whether Democratic or Republican, have mastered the new arts of political salesmanship to such a degree that one wonders if, short of war or revolution, they will ever be supplanted in office. . . .

This is of course equally true of the Republican Eisenhower and the Democratic Kennedy, along with their host of imitators—all have consummately mastered Madison Avenue selling techniques and adapted them successfully to the uses of politics. What is most lamentable about this development is that it further diminishes the political dialogue. If the weakening of the legitimate forces of the Left and Right reduces the "tension" of the dialogue, the coaching of candidates and officeholders in Madison Avenue techniques has tended to turn the dialogue into a competitive sales pitch. In this supermarket arena of politics, everyone and everything is "labeled," with the labels denoting purity and virtue on the one hand and vice on the other. In such a lexicon one has only to substitute the term "anti-Communist" for "detergent" and everything else falls into place! It is not necessary to belabor the point because it is clear enough that the language of quick sales is ill-adapted to a serious discussion of the *real* issues of the day, issues which McWilliams notes pertain to the vast changes wrought by the scientific revolution.

How to restore ideological vitality to our politics and unspring it from its semantic trap is the major political question of today, one whose underlying importance surpasses all others.

GIFFORD PHILLIPS  
Publisher, *Frontier*  
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sirs: If there is to be a new politics, able to cope with the consequences of the scientific revolution, it can come about only if there is more of a sense of the person, and less preoccupation with ideology. . . .

The key to social and political capacity to cope with the scientific revolution cannot be found by the pursuit of victory for one or another of the contending ideologies (the process of winning victory only further buries the individual within the conquering ideology), nor is it to be found within science itself. Science has confronted us with the problem of how to use new powers. But the powers belong to us, and not to some abstract thing called science. The problem exists not because of the nature of science, but because of the nature of our relationships with one another and our attitudes toward ourselves.

We are desperate. We cannot reason

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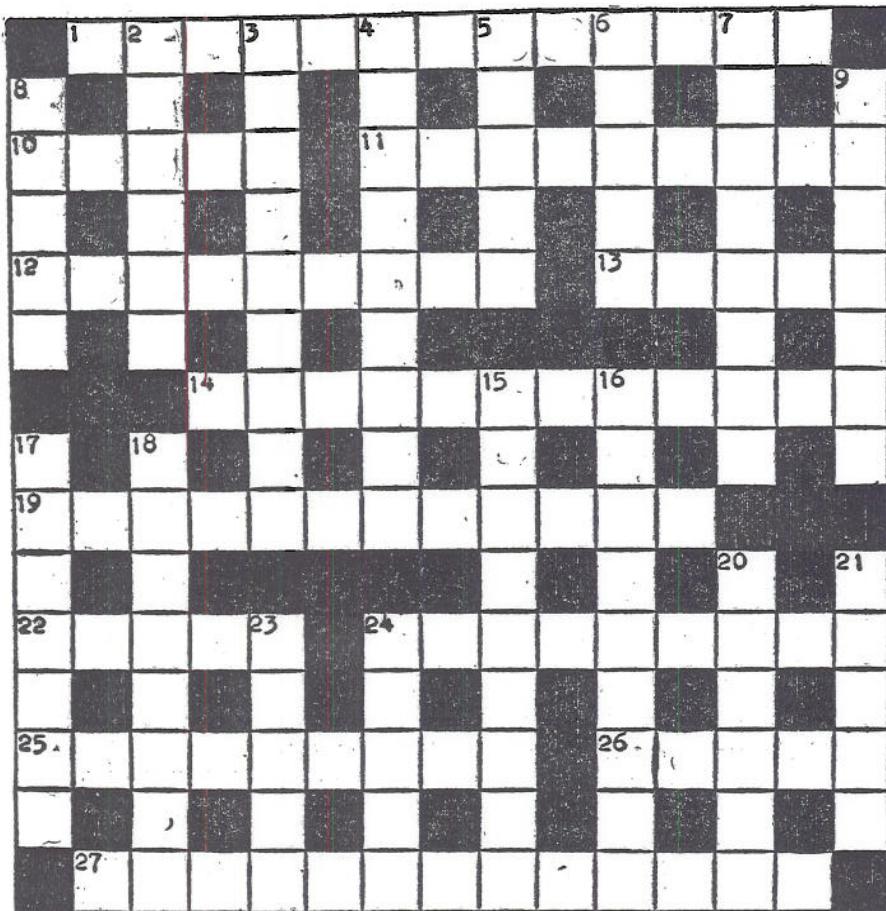
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# Crossword Puzzle No. 969

By FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS:

- 1 The reception given by such a non-fast set might be dependent on one's station. (8, 5)
- 10 Do those who show up with such a draft notice have to have pull? (2, 3)
- 11 A mandarin, in person? (Possibly from the Free State!) (9)
- 12 Cook might have grabbed this up in Texas! (9)
- 13 You might believe in it, any way. (5)
- 14 See 17 down.
- 19 An unruly super-booster should be hard to handle. (12)
- 22 Proving there's a grain of the French spirit here. (5)
- 24 Are the upper joints used in making them at pool? (4, 5)
- 25 Between today and tomorrow, and between summer and winter — it happens every 24 hours, more or less. (9)
- 26 Ten palefaces, descriptively, from Keokuk? (5)
- 27 The Freshman-Sophomore flag rush? (5, 8)

## DOWN:

- 2 If you get cracking, you might wind up with such a rating. (6)
- 3 What to do to cut in? (9)
- 4 Though broken, such a record might

- still remain standing. (5, 4)
- 5 Get around the First Lady who takes our years to heart. (5)
  - 6 This is certainly a peculiar language. (5)
  - 7 Overhanging. (8)
  - 8 What gets wound up in circles? (5)
  - 9 Something different, but you might have no heart for it. (7)
  - 15 An exceptional soldier? (9)
  - 16 Going off to bed, no doubt! (9)
  - 17 and 14 across Homer, if you knew him slightly? (7, 12)
  - 18 Part of the column appearing in a rag last? (8)
  - 20 Does one have to own something to make one? (6)
  - 21 Employing a high-class Mitch program? (5)
  - 23 These must be small items, certainly. (5)
  - 24 Loads things out of phase? (5)

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 968

**ACROSS:** 1 Suplicants; 6 Stop; 10 Colombo; 11 Uxorials; 12 Poultry markets; 14 Aberdeen; 15 Affect; 16 Tea bag; 18 Fishwife; 22 One for the money; 24 Upsurge; 25 Rangier; 26 Days; 27 Stitchings. **DOWN:** 1 Sycophants; 2 Pollute; 3 Limited warfare; 4 Acolyte; 5 Toucan; 7 Thistle; 8 Pale; 9 Book of the Month; 13 Steelyards; 17 Amnesty; 19 Inherit; 20 Inn sign; 21 Urgent.

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